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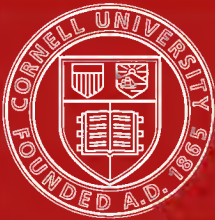
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EVIDENCE ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

COMPRISING

The Complete Testimony,
Affidavits and Exhibits
Presented before

**The American Commission on Conditions
in Ireland**

Transcribed and Annotated

by

ALBERT COYLE

Official Reporter to the Commission

14  14

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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SINCE the sole purpose for the organization of the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland and the publication of this volume of Evidence is to let the American people know the facts about the Irish crisis, will you not render the service of bringing it to the attention of your friends? *Evidence on Conditions in Ireland* may be had for \$1 in art paper covers, \$1.50 cloth bound; and the supplemental *Report* of the Commission (152 pages, illustrated) for 35c per copy. Orders may be sent to Albert Coyle, Official Reporter to the Commission, Bliss Building, Washington, D. C.

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THE COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTY ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

The American Commission on Conditions in Ireland was selected by and derives its authority from a committee of distinguished Americans brought together through the efforts of the editors of the *New York Nation* to perform the service of ascertaining for the American people the truth about conditions in Ireland, which increasingly menace the friendly relations that have existed between Great Britain and the United States. In order to secure an impartial and distinguished body for this investigation, every United States Senator, every State governor, every member of the higher clergy of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish churches, and the leading educators, journalists, editors, mayors, and publicists of the country were extended an invitation to become members of this committee, over 150 of whom accepted, including 5 State governors, 11 United States Senators, 13 Congressmen, the mayors of 15 large cities, the late Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Keane, 7 Protestant Episcopal bishops, 4 Roman Catholic bishops, 4 Methodist bishops, and other eminent public men and women, representing a broad diversity of racial stocks and political and religious beliefs, and covering geographically 36 states of the Union.

The personnel of the Committee of One Hundred Fifty on Conditions in Ireland is as follows:

- Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.
- Hon. Charles F. Amidon, U. S. District Judge, Fargo, N. D.
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- Mayor Peter F. Sullivan, Worcester, Mass.
- Rev. Norman M. Thomas, editor of *The World Tomorrow*, New York City.
- Richard C. Tolman, Associate Director Fixed Nitrogen Research Laboratory, War Department, Washington, D. C.
- Albert B. Unger, Assistant District Attorney, New York City.
- Hon. James K. Vardaman, former U. S. Senator, Jackson, Miss.
- Mrs. Henry Villard, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.
- Congressman Edward Voight, Sheboygan, Wis.
- John H. Walker, President Illinois State Federation of Labor, Springfield, Illinois.
- U. S. Senator David I. Walsh, Boston, Mass.
- J. Barnard Walton, General Secretary, Advancement Committee, General Conference of the Religious Society of Friends, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Dr. James P. Warbasse, President of the Cooperative League of America, New York City.
- William Allen White, editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, Emporia, Kansas.
- Rt. Rev. Cortlandt Whitehead, P. E. Bishop of Pittsburgh, Pa.
- L. Hollingsworth Wood, lawyer, New York City.

PERSONNEL OF THE COMMISSION ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

The foregoing members of the Committee on Conditions in Ireland elected from their number a commission of five, with power to enlarge its personnel by calling other members of the parent committee to aid it in the prosecution of a public inquiry into conditions in Ireland. It was thus assured that the Commission entrusted with the task of making this important inquiry should be composed of persons of national distinction and of ability and integrity beyond question. The Commission as finally constituted consists of the following members:

L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD, *Chairman*—Lawyer and publicist. A graduate of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, and Columbia University Law School, New York City, Mr. Wood was admitted to the bar of the State of New York in 1899, and has distinguished himself in the practice of law in New York City. Besides his professional attainments, Mr. Wood has devoted himself unselfishly to a number of humanitarian causes. He is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, vice-president of the Board of Trustees of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; member of the Board of Managers of Haverford College; president of the National Urban League for the Improvement of Race Relations Within the United States; and an influential member of the Society of Friends (Quakers). Mr. Wood has traveled extensively in Europe, Asia, and Africa; he is one of the few Americans who have toured England on a cricket team; and he has visited Ireland a half-dozen times to study the development of the Irish Cooperative Movement.

DR. FREDERIC C. HOWE, *Vice-Chairman*—Author, attorney, economist. Dr. Howe is one of the foremost American authorities in political economy. His public career began with the practice of law in Cleveland, Ohio, serving in turn as city councillor and state senator. He was appointed special United States Commissioner to investigate municipal ownership in Great Britain (1905); professor of law at the Cleveland College of Law; special lecturer on Taxation at Western Reserve University; lecturer on Municipal Administration and Politics at the University of Wisconsin; director of People's Institute, New York (1911-14); Commissioner of Immigration of the Port of New York (1914-19); director, Conference on Democratic Control of Railroads (1919-20); and since then he has served as executive secretary of the All-American Cooperative Commission. Dr. Howe is the author of numerous books on taxation, municipal government, and the war. His familiarity with European conditions is derived from graduate studies in England and Germany, from frequent trips as investigator and writer, and recently as an expert on international affairs attached to the American delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.

JANE ADDAMS—Author, lecturer, sociologist. Miss Addams is not only America's most distinguished woman sociologist, but one whose international contributions have made her as well known in Europe as at home. After graduation from Rockford College, Miss Addams spent several years in Europe studying applied sociology and political economy, and returned to become head of Hull House, Chicago (1889), which became the model for the development of social settlement centers throughout the cities of the nation. Among many outstanding public services, Miss Addams acted as president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (1909), and president of the International Congress of Women in Switzerland (1919). She is now chairman of the Women's Peace Party, the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, the Women's International League, and a member of the Executive Committee of the American Union Against Militarism, and many other reform organizations. In recognition of Miss Addams' high public services, the honorary degree of LL. D. has been conferred on her by the University of Wisconsin and Smith College, and the A. M. degree by Yale University. Miss Addams is the author of numerous well-known books on sociology and political economy, and is an eminent lecturer on these subjects.

JAMES H. MAURER—Labor leader, writer, legislator. Mr. Maurer has been for many years the president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, which has become under his guidance one of the most progressive labor organizations in America. He is a well-known authority on workmen's compensation, workers' education, cooperation, and other labor problems. He is a member of the Executive Board of *Labor Age*, and serves as director for many other organizations striving for the betterment of the working classes. Mr. Maurer represented the Reading district for a number of terms in the Pennsylvania State Legislature.

MAJOR OLIVER P. NEWMAN—Journalist, lecturer, sociologist. Major Newman was born and reared in the Middle West, where he received his education until his appointment to the National Military Academy at West Point. He followed the profession of journalism in the Middle West for a number of years, distinguished himself also as an author and short-story writer. Major Newman's broad humanitarian interests led him into social service work, where he made a substantial contribution to American sociology as one of the founders of the Social Unit Organization. He is now serving as vice-president of the National Community Board, and is well known as a lecturer on social service and political economy. He was appointed by President Wilson to the Board of Commissioners, the governing body of the District of Columbia, and served as President of the Board from 1913 to 1917, resigning to take up the command of a battalion of field artillery following America's entrance into the late war. Major Newman served ten months in France, and since his return to civil life has continued in the profession of journalism at the national capital.

VIII

U. S. SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS—Educator, jurist, statesman. Senator Norris began his career as a teacher, was graduated from Valparaiso University law school, and admitted to the bar in 1883. After serving three terms as prosecuting attorney, he was twice elected district judge of the Fourteenth District (1895, 1899), which position he held when nominated for Congress (1902). Since that time Senator Norris has continuously represented the people of Nebraska at Washington, serving in five successive Congresses prior to his election to the Senate in 1912, and his re-election in 1918. His fairness and fearlessness in public life have won him the esteem of the nation.

REV. NORMAN M. THOMAS—Minister, lecturer, editor. A graduate of Princeton University and Union Theological Seminary, New York, Rev. Thomas officiated as associate minister of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York (1910-11); minister of the East Harlem Presbyterian Church and director of the American Parish Among Immigrants (1911-18); member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and editor of *The World Tomorrow* (1918--). Rev. Thomas is a prominent lecturer on economic and political reform, and has rendered conspicuous service since the war with a number of reconstruction organizations.

U. S. SENATOR DAVID I. WALSH—Senator Walsh's public services include membership in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, and twice Governor of that State (1914, 1915). He was elected delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention, 1912, 1916, and 1920; delegate-at-large to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1917-1918; elected to the United States Senate, 1918. Senator Walsh has distinguished himself both in the study and practice of law, receiving the Bachelor of Laws degree from Boston University School of Law in 1897, and subsequently the honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Holy Cross College, Notre Dame University, and Georgetown University.

SECRETARIAT

DR. WILLIAM MACDONALD, *Secretary*.
HAROLD KELLOCK, *Publicity*.
ALBERT COYLE, *Official Reporter*.

PREFACE

The publication of the complete evidence submitted to the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland has been prompted by the same motives that brought about the creation of the Commission and led it to undertake a thorough inquiry into conditions existent in Ireland. The American people have a right to know the truth about what is happening in Ireland. That concern is not a matter of idle curiosity. We are bound by ties of kinship and race, by a common culture and language, to the participants in this struggle. Even though we wish, we can not sit unmoved at civil war between peoples whose blood tinctures more than half of our population. The fact that the relatives and loved ones of our fellow citizens are being terrorized, imprisoned without trial, even murdered, and their property violently destroyed, brings this conflict home to our very door. Even though we would ignore the Irish question, the Irish question will not ignore us.

Apart from these particular considerations, the dictates of humanity and civilization compel the moral conscience of America to take notice of conditions in Ireland. We were moved to enter the late war largely as a moral protest against the killing of non-combatants, of women and babies, and the needless ravaging of homes and destruction of towns. Our boys died in France to prevent forever the repetition of such atrocities, and to guarantee to small nations everywhere the right to a free and democratic government of their own choosing. Persistent reports which continue to come to this country indicate that the worst atrocities alleged against the German army of occupation in Belgium are being perpetrated on even a more ruthless scale in Ireland today. For these reasons the situation in Ireland, no less than that which existed in Belgium, cannot be regarded by any civilized nation as merely a domestic affair. It is a matter of grave international concern. And because of our intermingling blood and common traditions, it is only of less concern to us than it is to the British Empire.

The evidence secured by the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland from first-hand witnesses, from competent English, Irish, and American observers, and from the sworn affidavits of the victims themselves, is here presented to the public without color or comment, so that it may judge the issue itself. This evidence is not published as propaganda for one side or the other, except in the sense that the multiplication table is propaganda,—for the truth is always propaganda against ignorance and indifference. Above all, it is sent out in a spirit of profound friendship for both the English and the Irish people, and the hope, already expressed by some of

the best elements in British public life, that the publication of the facts secured by this impartial inquiry will promote a just and early peace in Ireland by enabling the moral conscience of America to assert itself in support of that large and growing section of English opinion which protests against the horror and futility of military subjugation as a means of silencing the demands of a people determined to be free.

This volume contains the complete testimony of all witnesses who appeared before the Commission, as well as all sworn affidavits and other important documents submitted in evidence. It does not contain the findings of the Commission based on this evidence, which are embodied in a separate volume, the Interim Report. For the sake of clarity and ease of reading, headings have been inserted to indicate the logical division of the testimony into unified sections. Otherwise the testimony remains just as it came from the lips of the witnesses. Any errors in the spelling of proper names which may have occurred are due not to the witnesses, but to the obvious difficulties incident to the rapid phonetic transcription of unfamiliar names and places. Those readers unacquainted with legal testimony will find no difficulty in following the questions and answers (represented by Q. and A.) by bearing in mind that where no name follows the Q., the interrogator is the person who asked the preceding question, and that the party answering is always the witness unless otherwise noted.

Since this inquiry was not an official undertaking of the United States Government, the witnesses were not sworn, although many of them expressed the desire to take a formal oath. Nevertheless, the auditors as well as the members of the Commission were impressed by the great care and anxiety of the witnesses to be scrupulously exact and truthful to the smallest detail. The affidavits and depositions submitted in evidence were all duly sworn to before government officials authorized to administer oaths, and, with one exception, the original copies of all these documents are in the possession of the Commission.

ALBERT COYLE.

Washington, D. C.,
May 1, 1921.

ATTEST OF TRANSCRIPT

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss.:

I, Albert Coyle, do hereby certify that I am Official Reporter to the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland; that in said capacity I personally attended each and all of the hearings held by said Commission in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, from November 18, 1920, to January 21, 1921, inclusive, save and except Session Two of the Fifth Hearings, held January 14, 1921; that I personally took down in shorthand the complete testimony and other proceedings before said Commission at each and all of the aforesaid hearings; and that the following is a full, true, and correct transcript of the shorthand notes taken by me at said hearings, excepting only irrelevant and immaterial remarks extraneous to the inquiry.

I further certify that all affidavits, depositions, signed statements, and other documents submitted in evidence to the said Commission by witnesses and counsel at the aforesaid hearings were given over into my custody and keeping; that same were appropriately marked and designated by me for purposes of identification; that I have kept same continuously in my care and custody; and that the copies of same reproduced in the following transcript are true and correct copies of the original documents submitted in evidence as aforesaid.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and seal this eighth day of May, A. D. 1921.

(Seal)

ALBERT COYLE.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss.:

We, Alexander H. Galt and Harry G. Wilbur, do hereby certify that we were engaged by the American Commission to Investigate Conditions in Ireland, on January 14, 1921, to make a stenographic report of its proceedings of that day at the Hotel LaFayette in Washington, D. C.; that we made such report and that the transcript is a true and accurate record to the best of our knowledge and belief, and was duly verified by the witnesses after having been reduced to typewriting.

ALEXANDER H. GALT.
HARRY G. WILBUR.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 8th day of May, 1921.

(Seal)

JOSEPH M. TIGHE,
Notary Public for District of Columbia.

My Commission expires April, 1923.

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<i>Consul-General of the Irish Republic, New York City</i>	

Session Two—January 21, 1921

Miss Louie Bennett (I)	979
<i>Dublin. Secretary of Irish Branch, Women's International League</i>	
Miss Caroline Townshend (I)	1015
<i>Bandon, County Cork. Officer of the Gaelic League</i>	
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CORRIGENDA

- Page 167, line 33: for *1098* read *1908*.
 Page 205, line 19, and page 206, line 25: for *Sid* read *Sir*.
 Page 336, line 16: for *co-called* read *so-called*.
 Page 417, line 30: for *Roddy* read *Ruddy*.
 Page 564, line 4: read *And impropriety* read *Any impropriety*.
 Page 635, line 30: for *Maura* read *Maun*.
 Page 900, for line 41 read: *I happened to be in Tralee at the time. On the first time they came—*.
 Page 908, line 12: for *Police* read *Military*.

**EVIDENCE
ON CONDITIONS IN
IRELAND**

EVIDENCE

ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Presented to the
American Commission of Inquiry on Conditions
in Ireland

JANE ADDAMS	}	COMMISSIONERS
JAMES H. MAURER		
DAVID I. WALSH		
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD		
FREDERIC C. HOWE <i>Acting Chairman</i> ¹		

FIRST HEARINGS

Session One

Before the Commission, sitting at the Hotel Lafayette, Washington, D. C., November 18, 1920.

Session called to order by Chairman Howe at 10:22 a. m.

ORIGIN OF THE COMMISSION

Chairman Howe: This is the first session of the hearings of the American Commission on Ireland. The American Commission on Ireland was conceived of and started by the New York *Nation* in September last as a result of the growing body of public opinion in this country that was seriously concerned over conditions in Ireland. Something like one hundred fifty people, representing all phases of thought, selected from various professions, mostly persons who had been identified with public-spirited enterprises in this country, were associated into this Committee of One Hundred Fifty, which was the body from which this Commission has sprung,—elected by this larger Committee. A complete list of the one

¹ The Commission at its first sitting elected Hon. Joseph W. Folk, former Governor of Missouri, as Chairman, and Dr. Frederic C. Howe as Vice-Chairman. Because Mr. Folk felt that his legal relations with the Egyptian Nationalists might embarrass the Commission, he resigned, and Dr. Howe served as Acting Chairman until the addition to the Commission of Major Newman, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Wood, the latter being then elected Chairman of the Commission.

hundred fifty was sent to all those so selected, and they in turn were asked to vote from out of that larger list for a smaller Commission to hear testimony. It was in the nature of a referendum vote. The votes as they came in were tabulated, and this Commission came into existence in that way. It was picked by one hundred fifty people.

The Commission immediately got into communication with the British Embassy in Washington; with Mr. de Valera; it cabled to England and cabled to Ireland to secure witnesses who might appear before the Commission and give testimony. A number of those witnesses are here today.

MOTIVE AND PURPOSE OF THE COMMISSION

The motives which called this Commission into existence, and its purposes as formulated by the Commission, are as follows:

The American Commission on Ireland, which now opens its first hearings, was elected by referendum vote from a larger committee of one hundred fifty eminent Americans organized through the efforts of the *New York Nation*. Conditions in Ireland have profoundly stirred millions of American citizens of Irish descent. They have created and are creating a widening rift in the friendly relations of English-speaking peoples, not only in America but all over the world. No person who shares our common blood and language can view unmoved the existence of civil war, the killing of human beings, and the substitution of martial rule for the civil state in any part of the English-speaking world. As a people we have been trained by centuries to a belief in orderly civic processes. Only in direst necessity can there be justification of a resort to arms for the adjustment of disputes which it has been our custom and our pride to adjust by reasoned and amicable means.

What the world most needs is peace. It needs an ending of hate. Discussion should resume its ascendancy and reason should displace the employment of force. The orgy of destruction which is now ravaging Ireland is sending its repercussions to every corner of the civilized world. It cannot fail to postpone indefinitely the return of ordered tranquillity to civilization. In addition to all this, the political life of America, as well as its orderly social processes, is profoundly disturbed by the injection of an internecine war between peoples of our own flesh and blood.

THE COMMISSION TO ASCERTAIN THE FACTS ABOUT IRELAND

Feelings such as these gave birth to this Commission for investigating into conditions existent in Ireland. The Commission has set itself to the task of ascertaining the facts. It plans to learn as nearly as possible just what the conditions in Ireland are and what has brought them about. It plans to conduct a series of public hearings in Washington. It will hear witnesses who present themselves representing English and Irish opinion. The Commission plans to send a mission to England and Ireland to make an inquiry into conditions in the latter country.¹ It will investigate the killings and disorders. Quite as important to the permanent adjustment of the dispute, it will investigate into the economic conditions in Ireland, the extent to which the Irish have developed a self-contained economic and cultural life, and the extent to which the Irish people have evolved their own agencies of self-government during the last few years.

In making these investigations, the Commission has received assurances of cordial cooperation from liberal-minded groups in England, who are also deeply concerned over the state of civil war that exists in Ireland. It has received similar assurances from British labor groups and from British statesmen, as well as from organizations in Ireland. Judging by the expressions that have reached the Commission, the creation of this unofficial agency and the delegation of this unofficial mission to Ireland have awakened a genuine hope that through an impartial inquiry into the facts and a disinterested study of conditions, some constructive measures may be formulated for ending the chaotic situation that now prevails.

WITNESSES INVITED TO APPEAR

In carrying out the purposes of the inquiry, the Commission has sent, as I stated, a number of communications to the British Ambassador and to Mr. de Valera.² Persons representing any phase of this subject have been invited to be present this morning. Witnesses who have been called have been given the privilege of

¹ The Commission selected Major Newman, Mr. Maurer, Rev. Norman Thomas, Mr. Arthur Gleason, Dean Robert Morss Lovett, and Dr. William MacDonald as members of this mission. Passports were duly granted to them by the U. S. Department of State, but the British Embassy at Washington refused to visé their passports, and effectively blocked this effort to make a first-hand investigation of conditions in Ireland. For correspondence, see Appendix A of Commission's report.

² See Appendix A of Commission's interim report.

selecting counsel, and the Commission is solicitous that all interests that may be involved should be permitted to make such inquiries of the witnesses as are germane to this inquiry.

The witnesses that have been asked to appear for this day's proceedings are as follows: Mr. Denis Morgan, Chairman of the Urban Council of Thurles, Ireland; Reverend Father English, of Whitehall, Montana; Mr. Francis Hackett, of New York City; Miss Signe Toksvig, of New York; and Mr. John F. Martin, of Green Bay, Wisconsin. I presume that many of these witnesses are here, and they will be called in the order named.

I might say, in order that they may know the nature of these proceedings, that we are not a legal body. We have no power to subpoena witnesses. We desire only statements of facts. If any of the witnesses will indicate that they desire to be examined by counsel, we shall be very glad to grant that privilege. We want them to feel perfectly free to tell their stories in their own way: about the facts, about the background of conditions, about their own experiences; so that this Commission, none of whose members has been in Ireland for a long time, will get as clear an idea as possible of present conditions.

Is it clear that all of these witnesses have been invited by the Commission? Senator Walsh asks me to emphasize that all of these witnesses are witnesses of the Commission. They have been invited by it. Their expenses from Ireland have been paid by it. These hearings are hearings of the Commission.

Mr. Frank P. Walsh (of counsel): May I ask if the petition which I presented the other day to your Commission, that permission be given to the Commission on Irish Independence to be present here and be heard, has been acted upon by the Commission of Inquiry?

Chairman Howe: The petition has been received and granted by the Commission. All witnesses coming here can have counsel in telling their story.

The first witness, Mr. Denis Morgan, of Thurles, Ireland.

TESTIMONY OF COUNCILLOR DENIS MORGAN

Q. What is your official position, if any?

A. I hold the position of Chairman of the Thurles Urban Council, the governing body of Thurles.

Q. That is the same as our town councils?

A. Mr. F. P. Walsh: The same as our town councils.

Q. Will the witness give his full name?

A. Mr. Denis Morgan, of Thurles, Ireland.

Chairman Howe: If you desire, your counsel can conduct your testimony. That will be satisfactory.

Q. Senator Walsh: What kind of a town is Thurles?

A. The town that I was in in Ireland is a town of about five thousand people.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I might say that Mr. Morgan and the other witnesses from Ireland have advised with the American Commission on Irish Independence. You may make your statement to that effect.

The Witness: As regards to that, I have spoken to Mr. Walsh and Mr. Malone for any assistance that I need in hearing my evidence.

Q. Would you like to have them lead you in stating your case?

A. I would like to have them assist me in points.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I think a good background for it would be to give your own length of residence in Thurles. I could ask you some questions that I think would start this.

Q. You are chairman of the town council of Thurles?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the population of Thurles?

A. About five thousand.

Q. Has it any industries? Is it a manufacturing place? What sort of town would you say it is?

A. It is a large agricultural center. It isn't an industrial town.

Q. You say that you are chairman of the town council. Briefly, what does that town council consist of and what are its duties?

A. It is the governing body of the town. There are twelve members of them, which are selected by the voters on the principle of proportional representation.

Q. When were you elected chairman of the town council?

A. On the thirtieth of January of this year.

Q. Were the members of the town council elected by a vote of the people of Thurles?

A. They were.

Q. Briefly, who were candidates and what party did you represent?

A. There were three different parties trying to get representation on the council. There were the Republican candidates; then there was the Labor Party and the Independent Party.

Q. Is the Independent Party the party that is presumably opposed to Sinn Fein?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that three parties had candidates in the field. What party did you represent?

A. I was on the Labor Party.

Q. Are you affiliated with any labor organization in Thurles?

A. I am. I am a member of the Teachers' Association on the Trades Council.

Q. It might be apropos at this time to state what your business was in Thurles and what you have done there.

A. I have been there for the past twelve years and have carried on the occupation of teaching at the Christian Brothers' School and the Diocesan College.

Q. What branches do you teach?

A. English, Irish, and mathematics.

Q. How many students in the Diocesan College?

A. One hundred and twenty students.

Q. In the secondary school?

A. In the secondary school up to one hundred students.

Q. That has been your vocation while you have been in Thurles?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you single or married?

A. I am married.

Q. If you would, state the situation of the election of last January.

A. The election took place on January fifteenth. I was one of those elected. There were five Labor men, four Sinn Fein, and three Independents. The results of the poll were declared on January sixteenth.

RELIGIOUS HARMONY IN THURLES

Q. I am going to ask you a little more about Thurles before you get to the actual occurrences. Are there churches in Thurles?

A. Yes, sir. There are very fine churches there—a cathedral and an archbishopric.

Q. Is there a Protestant church as well?

A. Yes, sir. It is known as Saint Mary's Church. Canon Wilson is there.

Q. Is there a Protestant population in Thurles?

A. Yes, sir; quite small.

Q. How about the surrounding country?

A. In the surrounding country there are a few more Protestants.

Q. Do the members of the surrounding country worship in Thurles?

A. They do.

Q. And the cemetery—?

A. The cemetery of all of Thurles is here in the grounds of the Protestant Church, Saint Mary's Church. The Catholics are interred there.

Q. Chairman Howe: How about the business population? Do non-Catholics carry on trading with Catholics?

A. Yes, sir. I know of a woman, a non-Catholic, who carries on the largest trade in town.

Q. Senator Walsh: Just a word. Has there been a conflict between the people of Thurles at any time since you have been there based on religious prejudices or religious differences between the population?

A. Quite the contrary. There have always been the most friendly relations between the peoples of all religions in Thurles. In fact, the chairman of the Urban Council, who had been the whole time president for the past twenty-five years, was a Protestant.

ABSENCE OF CRIME IN THURLES

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: As to the character of the people of Thurles: is it a lawabiding place?

A. Very.

Q. You say it is a city of five thousand inhabitants?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. During the twelve years of your residence, has there ever been a murder trial there?

A. None.

Q. Has there ever been a case of assault to commit murder?

A. No.

Q. Has there ever been a burglary?

A. If you mean a petty larceny—

Q. No, a serious breaking in—

A. No, I think not.

Q. Has there been, in the entire time that you were there, a case of forgery, rape, embezzlement, or any of the major felonies?

A. No, not to my knowledge.

Q. Have there been courts in Thurles?

A. Yes.

Q. Please describe, up to the time that I understand what had been the regular government courts were abandoned, what sort of courts you had and how they were operated?

A. We have what are known as petty sessions courts, sitting

about once a week, presided over by one of the R. M.'s—the resident magistrates.

Q. What is the character of these magistrates?

A. The R. M.'s are appointed by the Government.

Q. Did the resident magistrate who presided over the Thurles court live in Thurles?

A. He did. We have certain gentlemen who get the position of justice of the peace. They are allowed to sit on the bench also. If the resident magistrate is not present, then the senior member of the justices of the peace can take his place.

Q. Please state to the Commission the general character of the litigation that takes place in these courts.

A. At these weekly petty sessions the general matter is of such nature as stray animals on the road, or a man going home at night without a light on his car, or a certain man going home that had been imbibing during the day too freely.

Q. What was the nature of the punishments in these courts?

A. There would be a fine of, say, five shillings imposed. Or, if a man had trouble with a neighbor, he might be bound to keep the peace.

Q. Chairman Howe: Who appoints these justices of the peace?

A. Dublin Castle, the representative of the English Government in Ireland.

Q. Then they are Government officials?

A. They are.

MILITARY OCCUPATION OF THURLES

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Are there military barracks in Thurles?

A. There had not been up to the last two years. The hospital we had there was commandeered by the military and has been fitted up by them as the military barracks.

Q. Prior to that time what was the method of policing Thurles?

A. There were fifteen or twenty police under the district inspector.

Q. Senator Walsh: Who appointed them?

A. They are Government appointees.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: I wish that in your own way you would state to the Commission the constitution of the Royal Irish Constabulary; whether or not they are residents of the district in which they operate; the character of the arms used by them; and a résumé of the entire organization of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

A. The system as regards appointing the men to a place is that

the native of the county where the police are is never appointed to that county. If a Tipperary man joins the police force, he will be sent to any county outside of Tipperary. So that you have no such thing in Ireland, even prior to 1910, as a local police appointed by any power in that community. They all came from some other place.

Q. Did the Town Council have any authority over the police?

A. None whatever.

Q. So that the administration of justice and the preservation of peace and order was entirely under the control of the British Government?

A. Yes, sir. If a constable of the county married a girl in that county, he was immediately removed from that county.

Q. He was removed?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do these constables patrol now?

A. They go in lots of eight, each man carrying a carbine, the man on the right with a rifle and the man on the left with a shotgun. They carry revolvers in their belts.

Q. Where are they located at the present time?

A. In the barracks, which is at one end of the town.

Q. Describe what implements of warfare they have.

A. They are served out hand grenades and rifles and shotguns and also revolvers.

Q. Do they have machine guns?

A. Yes, sir. They always have machine guns in the barracks. All the barracks are sandbagged.

Q. Do they have materials for barricades?

A. Yes, sir. They have barbed wire and the like.

COUNCIL ELECTED UNDER ENGLISH LAW FAVORS IRISH INDEPENDENCE

Q. Unless there is some other background in regard to the situation you desire to state, I wish you would describe the election. Was it an orderly election?

A. Perfectly orderly.

Q. Prior to that time, had you had any trouble at your elections, or were they always orderly?

A. Yes, sir, always orderly.

Q. They were carried on in good temper by the people?

A. Yes, sir; always.

Q. Relate what incidents in regard to the situation you think

would be interesting to the Commission, in regard to the political organization. Suggest the method, or begin with your own election and the constitution of your council and the conduct of your business.

A. As I stated before, the election took place on the fifteenth of January and the polls were declared on the sixteenth. There were five Labor members,¹ four Republicans, and three independents elected.

Q. How were they elected?

A. All elected on the proportional representation system.

Q. Senator Walsh: That does not mean that these Labor people got the largest vote necessarily. It means that under the system of proportional representation each party had to have a certain number of members on the council?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does that system prevail all over Ireland?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. All town councils and urban councils and county councils use the proportional representation system?

A. Yes, sir. The poor-law guardians are also elected in the same way.

Q. You stated that a non-Catholic citizen had been chairman of the council for the last twenty-five years?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What proportion of the electorate was Catholic and what non-Catholic during those years?

A. The non-Catholic amounted to about twelve.

Q. Twelve per cent?

A. No, twelve persons.

Q. During the twenty-five years that a non-Catholic was president of the town council?

A. Yes, sir. The same gentleman carried on one of the largest businesses in the town.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Now, go ahead with the organization of the council.

A. The first meeting of the council was fixed for the thirtieth of January in order to appoint a chairman.

Q. Were you acting under the English statutes or under the statutes of the Irish Republic?

A. We were acting under the rules for elections laid down by the Local Government Board.

¹ The Irish Labor party is officially committed to Irish independence, and on national issues is allied with the Republicans.

Q. What is the Local Government Board?

A. The Local Government Board is a system brought in by the English Government for extending to the Irish people more freedom in their own affairs. It has been in force for many years.

Q. So that the Local Government Board could arrange the election under the proportional representation principle?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it was under that Board that you elected these officers?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the Local Government Board were officials appointed by the British Government?

A. Yes, sir. In fact, that proportional representation law was passed in the House of Commons.

Q. And this election was held under laws and machinery that had been existing in Ireland for many years?

A. Yes, sir.

ARRESTED WITHOUT A CHARGE

Q. Now, about the election of a chairman?

A. The election of a chairman was fixed for the thirtieth of January, fifteen days after the polls were declared. At that meeting a chairman was to be elected by majority vote of the council. On the night it was to take place, just as I was going to the meeting, I was arrested.

Q. Where were you arrested?

A. In my own home.

Q. By whom?

A. By the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary.¹

Q. How many?

A. Eight armed men.

Q. Describe just what took place, what hour it was, and how they approached you and your family.

A. It was just about the hour of six-thirty in the evening. The meeting was fixed for seven. I remember it well. I heard a knock at the door, and as I opened it a hand was placed on my shoulder. A member of the Royal Irish Constabulary said, "I arrest you." I said, "On what charge?" He said, "On the orders of His Majesty's Government."

Q. Did he read a paper, any paper?

¹ The Royal Irish Constabulary is the Imperial British police force in Ireland. See index.

A. No, sir.

Q. Describe your own home and the members of your family who live there. You live there with a wife and two children?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The ages of the boys?

A. One five years and the other was two.

HOME "SHOT UP" AND FAMILY TERRORIZED

Q. Were your wife and children in good health at that time?

A. Yes, sir. The child of five years was very healthy. My wife was approaching her confinement. On the twentieth of January, before the arrest took place, about eleven ten, my wife was in bed and my boy of five years was in the cot. I had put out the light and had got ready to go to bed when I heard shooting going on in the town. My house is about five hundred yards from the Royal Irish Constabulary barracks. It is on one of the corners of the street facing up toward the town. The town contains a large square—Liberty Square, they call it.

Q. What had been the name of it prior to this?

A. It was known as the Main Street, but it was changed by the new council, which changed most of the names of the streets.

Mr. Walsh: Proceed.

The Witness: On the side of the house facing toward this Liberty Square there are seven windows. All the rooms are exposed toward it. On the front there are six windows looking out into the street. When I heard the shooting first I thought it was only isolated shots, and then I heard heavy volleys. So I said to my wife, "We must get out of this room immediately. If there are any stray shots, we shall be in danger." We hastily got out of bed and got down to a lower basement where it was fairly good protection from the side and also from the front, because we were in the back. I went back and got the youngster out of his cot. I had to go on all fours lest a bullet should come in. I dragged him down and had to go back for some clothes to cover us. All that time the firing was going on heavily. And it got nearer and nearer.

Q. Had any of the bullets struck your place?

A. Not up to that time. Just as I got inside the basement with the clothes I heard bullets hitting the house. There was a door there facing the street. The bullets came in through the hall and swished by the door where we were standing. We heard the glass going and the plaster falling off the ceiling.

Q. The glass of your own house?

A. Yes, sir. I placed my wife and the little boy flat on the floor. We tried to protect ourselves as well as we could. It was a miserably cold night. My wife, in her condition, being within two weeks of her confinement, was in a terror-stricken state. We lay there. The firing continued. The heavy volley we heard outside seemed to pierce every window in the house. Then the firing moved back to town again. It lasted altogether for about an hour, and it stopped. We remained in the same position, anxious to know if it would break out any more. In half an hour's time it started again, but on the second occasion it did not last so long. Only about ten minutes. We could not stir from the position we were in because we did not know at what moment it would break out again. So that we had to lie on the stone floor all night.

THE TOWN "SHOT UP" BY GUARDIANS OF THE LAW

Q. Did you go out in the morning to make an examination of the city?

A. Yes, sir. There was a crowd outside my house looking up at the front of it and wanting to know if we were all alive. I examined the front there, and every window in the house had been pierced by bullets. Some struck the doors. I counted twenty-one of them. Inside the rooms the ceilings were all torn and the wood-work was all shattered. There was debris lying on the floor and all around. I proceeded up town to see who had been killed, and the whole street was littered with plate glass shattered by shots along the side of the large square—both by breaking and by rifle shots. The newspaper office, to which I proceeded, had been shattered by hand grenades. Just inside the window you could see the large holes in the floor where they bursted. In several shops the glass was completely broken.

Q. Could you see who carried on this firing?

A. I did not attempt to put 'out my head.

Q. All you know about it was what you ascertained the next morning?

A. Yes. The statements made by the inhabitants were that the Royal Irish Constabulary had come out of the barracks and had gone down the street, and were acting under orders. Several people told me they had orders given to them.

Q. Were there any soldiers employed in addition to the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. There were.

Q. Who was the District Inspector?

A. District Inspector Golden.

Q. He was in charge of the military proper?

A. No, sir; I could not tell you that.

Q. That was on the fifteenth?

A. On the twentieth—the night of the twentieth and the morning of the twenty-first.

Q. And your election came on the thirtieth?

A. Yes.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: It would be well to carry this on chronologically.

Q. Senator Walsh: The election was on the fifteenth?

A. Yes.

Q. But the election of the chairman was on the thirtieth?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The chairman is elected at the first statutory meeting of the council, is he?

A. Yes, sir; at the first statutory meeting.

REPRISALS INFLICTED ON INNOCENT TOWNS- PEOPLE

Q. Chairman Howe: Prior to January twentieth and those disturbances that you have described, were there any actions on the part of the people of that town of a lawless character, or any disturbances of the peace, or anything that would appear to be a justification for an attack on that town?

A. In the morning I ascertained that a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary had been shot the evening previous.

Q. Where was he shot?

A. Back of the main square, this Liberty Square.

Q. Do you know by whom he was shot?

A. Oh, no.

Q. But the night before there had been a member of the Constabulary shot?

A. Yes, sir. That was what I heard the next morning.

Q. And the attack was made following the shooting of one of the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there a row, an open fight, over the killing of this member of the Constabulary?

A. Oh, no.

Q. Was there any disturbance of any kind?

A. No, sir. In the country towns people are not out late like in the large cities. By half after ten the houses are all closed and the people in bed. You would not meet anyone in the streets. By half after eleven the town was perfectly quiet—no one on the streets.

Q. Were there any other disturbances of any kind or any assemblies or gatherings of a lawless character previous to these two events?

A. Oh, no.

Q. So that after the shooting of a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, the next night following this shooting up of the town was done?

A. The same night. It all occurred on the same night.

Q. You learned the next morning that it all occurred on the same night?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What area of the town was covered by this shooting?

A. The area was directly along the main thoroughfare.

Q. About a mile?

A. A mile and a half.

Q. Was every house attacked along that thoroughfare?

A. No, only certain houses were attacked.

Q. Senator Walsh: About how many in number?

A. To the number of ten, I would say.

REPRISALS PENALIZE POLITICAL OPINIONS

Q. Were there any business houses attacked?

A. Yes, sir. Most of them were business houses. A man with a large trading establishment had the front windows shot out and bullets through the upper rooms. Two licensed premises on the opposite side of the street had the same—plate-glass windows shattered. Two private residences—mine and another member of the Urban Council—shot up. I may mention that of the members of the Urban Council, there were four members whose houses were attacked on that night—four newly elected members.

Q. Was it apparent that these houses were picked out because of the political opinions of the owners?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was known to be the political opinion of the members of the Council whose houses were attacked?

A. They were all known to be associated with the movement for national independence.

Q. And they were all among the local leaders of the movement?

A. Yes.

Q. So it was apparent that they picked out those who were associated with this movement?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: You spoke that a member of the Irish Constabulary was shot. Is that merely hearsay, or do you know definitely that a member was shot?

A. Yes, sir; we knew afterwards that there was.

Q. You knew afterwards?

A. Yes, sir. He was shot about an hour previous to that time.

Q. You are satisfied that one was shot?

A. Oh, yes. There was a funeral afterwards.

Q. Senator Walsh: Were these Labor members who were elected to the Council in favor of a republican form of government for Ireland?

A. Yes, all of them.

Q. How many were in favor of a republican form of government?

A. Nine.

Q. They were unanimous?

A. No; nine out of twelve. But one of the independent men, who was in opposition to a republic, is now in favor of it.

Q. Where is the town of Thurles?

A. In the heart of Ireland, in Tipperary.

Q. Is it a seaport town?

A. No; well inland.

Q. In what province?

A. Province of Munster.

Chairman Howe: That takes us to the approaching election of the chairman of the Town Council and his arrest.

ENGLISH LABOR COMMISSION FIND THURLES WORSE THAN FLANDERS

The Witness: Previous to that let me state that the morning after the shooting we had a visit from the members of the English Labor Party, who were sent over to Ireland to look into affairs. It happened that they came along at twelve o'clock of that day and passed through the town on their way to the hotel from the station. They saw the damage and issued a statement that evening.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Who were the members of this mission?

A. Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Adamson, and several others.

Q. Have you their statement?

A. I did not bring it with me. I did not know whether it would be permitted to bring papers with me.

Q. What was the nature of that statement?

A. They said that they had been in Flanders, and the scene they saw in Thurles that day was worse than anything they had seen in Flanders.

Q. What was the effect of this on the people in your own home?

A. My wife suffered a nervous breakdown.

Q. And the child?

A. The little boy was very frightened. He was in a very nervous state as a result.

ANONYMOUS THREAT PRECEDES ARREST WITHOUT CHARGE

Q. And your arrest?

A. On January twenty-third I happened to be investigating one of the houses that had been shot up. I was talking to the man at the door when eight members of the Irish Constabulary came along and asked me what I was doing on the streets after six in the evening. I told them that I was talking to this man. They said I had no business to be on the streets.

Q. Were you then a member of the town council?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were elected on the fifteenth. Had you yet taken the oath of office? When did you officially become a member?

A. On the date of the election, the fifteenth.

Q. So at the time these eight officers intercepted you, you were performing a duty of an officer of the town?

A. Yes, sir. I was ordered to proceed home. I met my wife and child coming up the street. She asked me to come back to one of the shops. They came along after me. We crossed the square and they followed us and remained outside. I said to my wife that we had better go home. And they followed us until I got inside my own house, and then they departed.

Q. Were there any disturbances at that time?

A. Oh, no. All the disturbance was over. That was two days after the shooting.

Q. Were you not allowed on the streets at night? Was that a continuous order of the authorities?

A. It was no order at all. Everybody was doing their business

on the streets. I was accosted because I was talking to this man at the door.

Q. Were you ever on the town council before?

A. No, sir.

Q. But you were a school teacher in the town for twelve years?

A. Yes. On the morning of the twenty-fourth I received a letter in a disguised handwriting saying: "You will depart this life if you do not leave this town within twenty-four hours," signed "Vengeance." I received that on Saturday morning, the twenty-fourth, I think it was. I did not pay any attention to the letter. Things kept on quietly for the next week.

Q. You have no knowledge of the authenticity of that letter?

A. No, sir; no direct knowledge. But I have a very good idea of where it came from. On the thirtieth this meeting of the council was to take place, the statutory meeting at which the chairman was to be elected. I was arrested, as I said. I asked the charge. They said there was no charge; only Government orders. I was marched up to the town surrounded on both sides by the Royal Irish Constabulary. I was marched away up to the other end of the town to the police barracks. I was brought inside and all the contents of my pockets turned inside out. This threatening letter I got on the Saturday previous was among the letters I had in my pockets. All these documents were taken away after being gone through by the police. I afterwards received them all back with the exception of the threatening letter. I never received that threatening letter back.

I was left about an hour in the cell in the police barracks, and then I was taken to Templemore, about seven miles from our place, to the large military barracks there. We were surrounded by armed soldiers in motor lorries.

THREE LEGALLY ELECTED TOWN COUNCILLORS ARRESTED AND DEPORTED

Q. How many prisoners?

A. There was Mr. Tulane, another member of the Urban Council.

Q. What is his business?

A. He carries on a large business as a seller of hides.

Q. What party was he elected on?

A. He was elected on the Republican Party. And then there was a Labor member. He was organizer for the Thurles Irish Transport Workers' Union.

Q. What was his name?

A. Eamon Hayes. And then another chap named Eustice.

Q. What parties did these two others belong to?

A. The organizer was a Labor man and the other chap was a Republican.

Q. The whole four were in favor of a Republic?

A. Yes. We were handcuffed in pairs, placed in motor lorries, and taken to Templemore and thrown into cells there. At midnight we were taken out by armed soldiers, handcuffed all the time in pairs, and proceeded to Limerick, which we reached about three o'clock in the morning.

Q. How far is Limerick?

A. About forty miles. We were handcuffed there until about eight in the morning. We were then put in motor lorries, again handcuffed, and carried to Cork jail, which we reached about eight in the evening. We were put into cells there. The second of February we reached Cork. On the fourth of February I got a telegram announcing the birth of the son.

Q. You got a telegram on the fourth of February?

A. On the fourth of February.

Q. And you were arrested when?

A. On the thirtieth of January.

Q. That was the first word you had received from home?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did they know where you were?

A. There were people who had seen us on the way and it was announced in all the papers.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Q. Up to this time was there any information given you or any other man with you as to the reason why you were arrested, or the charge against you?

A. No. They refused to give us that. In fact, we did not know our destination. We were simply taken away.

Q. Your family or the townspeople were not advised?

A. Oh, no. Nobody knew.

Q. Was there any indictment against you? Were you ever tried?

A. Oh, no, sir. We were taken from Cork on the eighth of February at about four-thirty in the morning. We were told to pick up. I asked the warden where we were going, and he said he did not know. We were lined up in a procession of fourteen motor lorries preceded by an armed car. Four prisoners handcuffed in pairs were put in each motor lorry, and the car was then filled up with armed soldiers wearing helmets and fixed bayonets.

Q. How many prisoners?

A. Fifty-five in our batch. We were brought down to Cove, that was formerly Queenstown, and we were put on two lighters, two tenders, and shipped out into the bay, where there were two war sloops waiting for us. We went aboard the first sloop and had to cross from the deck of this sloop onto the next sloop. The handcuffs were not removed. The captain of the second sloop said he would not permit any prisoner to pass the gangway of his sloop until the handcuffs were removed, because it was too dangerous. We were brought across to Milford Haven, where a special train was waiting for us, and carried us on to London. As we went aboard the war sloop an officer came along and read out a document which said that whereas I was an individual who had acted or was acting or was about to act in a manner prejudicial to the peace of the realm, I was a fit person for deportation. That was the purport of the document, but it did not state any charge.

Q. How long were you handcuffed continuously?

A. Practically twenty-four hours.

Q. Handcuffed to the other men?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did they put you in the ship?

A. Down in the hold. Away down in a little square hole just large enough for a man's body to go down.

Q. How many in the hold?

A. Thirty-five prisoners.

Q. And ventilation?

A. No sort at all.

Q. None otherwise than the hatch?

A. No, sir. Some of the men were practically lifeless when they got across. One of the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary force came down with us before we started, and he had to be carried out in about five minutes.

Q. The air was foul?

A. Very foul.

REFUSED PAROLE TO SEE DYING SON

I was interned up at Wormwood Scrubbs prison about the second of April. There was sickness in my family. If a man interned there had one of his relations who were sick, it was the common custom that a man would apply for leave to go home, giving his parole that he would come back by a certain date. There had been about six paroles before this date. Every one had been kept. One

chap got a telegram that his mother was—

Q. Senator Walsh: Where did you say you were?

A. In Wormwood Scrubbs prison.

Q. Where is this prison located?

A. In London, in Shepherds' Close district.

Q. How large is it?

A. Very large. I think it would hold about two thousand prisoners.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Have they workshops in it—make brushes and the like?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. It is a combined jail and penitentiary then?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. About paroles?

A. Oh, yes. This chap got word that his mother was dead in Cork. He just had time to ask for leave and to catch the Saturday boat, and had to take a motor about forty miles into the country. He just got there and met the funeral of his mother. He came back in three days, and had previously applied for extension of parole and had not got word of it. He reached the prison gate and was just talking and shaking hands when he learned that his parole was extended, and then he went off again. That was the system. Every man got a parole who had reason for it. On the second of April I got word that my son was dying.

Q. Which son was that?

A. The oldest. I immediately applied for a parole to go home because my little boy was dying. No reply came to that application; it wasn't granted. Another telegram came.

Q. Meantime, had you heard of the condition of your son?

A. Yes, I got word from my wife that he was still dying. On the ninth I got a telegram that the child was dead. I sent in another application for parole. He had died on Friday night, and was to be buried on Sunday, so that I just had time to get there. I got no answer until five-thirty in the evening. Then the warden came along and said, "I'm very sorry, I've got this document to read to you." The document was that the Irish Government could not see its way clear to grant the parole to Mr. Morgan.

Q. The Irish Government?

A. Yes, the Irish Government, the government set up at Dublin Castle by the English—what we call the Castle.

Q. The child was buried in your absence?

A. Yes. I tried to get word through to my wife. I sent her word, but she did not get it. The first word she got was from the

stop press news in the papers. The child was buried the next evening in the cemetery of the Protestant church of which I spoke.

ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL WHILE IN JAIL

Q. Did the election of the chairman of the council proceed?

A. Yes, sir. The night I was arrested, while I was still in the lockup in the Irish Constabulary barracks, the news reached me that the election had taken place and I was elected chairman. There were two candidates, myself and Mr. Tulane, who was along with me in the cell.

Q. Was it known that there were two candidates?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it known before you were arrested that you were candidates?

A. Yes, sir. Everyone knew it.

Q. So that the two men arrested were known to be the candidates?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had it been published in the local press?

A. In the *Star*, yes.

Q. How many votes did you receive from the eleven members present?

A. There were not eleven members present. There were two of us in the lockup cell and there were two men on the run.

Q. You mean by that there were two other members who were eluding the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes, sir. They were being looked for. The police went down and looked into the meeting and did not find the men they wanted and left.

Q. What was the vote?

A. Four to three was the vote.

HUNGER STRIKERS THROWN INTO "PUNISHMENT CELL"

One thing more about while we were in prison. On the twenty-fifth of April we put in a demand to the Government that we be tried on some charge or other. We demanded to be brought to trial or else released. They refused. We got no answer to the demand, and we went on hunger strike. We refused to take any food in the prison until we were released or tried. Two hundred of us went on hunger strike at this time. When some of the men began to get exhausted and were collapsing, we asked the governor of the jail

if he would leave the cell doors open in the night-time so that those of us who were not in as bad state as the rest, we could look after them. That request was refused, and we broke down the doors that night. So we were taken out of the cells where we were and thrown into what are called punishment cells. We were three days on hunger strike at this time, and were getting pretty weak. These punishment cells are in the basement, low down. They had not been opened for twenty years, I think. They were very small and close and the dust was thick in them.

Q. What was the size of those cells?

A. Twelve feet by eight, I suppose. We were left there for four days. The conditions were bad there. We were never given any water to wash ourselves or anything else. We were left in a filthy condition.

Q. How many days were you in those cells?

A. Four. I was taken out of the cells in the low basement and placed in the very top of the house, up four flights of stairs. We could take a little exercise at certain times of the day, walking out of the cells and down into the yard and walking back again. I used to do this until my legs gave way due to hunger. I was then locked up. None of the doors were ever opened after that. The doctor came along and asked me to take some medicine, and I said, "No, not so long as I am in the prison. As soon as I am out of the prison gate, I will take medicine." He tried to force it down my lips, but I threw the glass out of his hand. The next day at twelve o'clock a man arrived and said to me that an ambulance was waiting outside for us. He did not tell us where we were going or anything else. They brought us to the ambulance and took us to St. James Hospital.

Q. What hospital was that?

A. St. James Hospital, in London, near Wormwood Scrubbs jail. We were in the hospital then for about three weeks. We never got a thing when we left. I may tell you that upon leaving the jail, we were simply taken out of the bed and put into the ambulance. We had no clothes. The money we had on us when we were arrested was taken at the prison gate. Our watches were also taken. When we came out, we got back none of our property or our money. We were three weeks in the hospital.

Q. Did you ever get your money back?

A. Oh, yes, eventually. Another thing was that if a man was released from a prison in England, he had to be sent back to Ireland. You got a voucher to bring you back to the place where you were arrested. When we came out of the hospital we asked for a voucher and for our watches and our money. They were all refused,

Q. How, then, did you get back home?

A. Fortunately some of us had friends in London, so that we got some money and got home. We kept applying and applying, and finally after six weeks I got my money back. But we were never paid for our railway fare.

THE REPUBLICAN ARBITRATION COURTS

The result was that I took up my position on the Urban Council in June. There was a great assembly called of all the public bodies in the county to appoint judges for the Republican system of arbitration courts. The government courts of Thurles had fallen into disuse for about twelve months past. These courts were all practically falling into disuse altogether.

Q. By reason of the fact that the military authorities were assuming control of all disorders?

A. No, by reason of the fact that the people were refusing to go into these courts.

Q. Senator Walsh: That means in civil cases. But were not the police arresting citizens and bringing them into these other courts?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. These petty offenses of which you spoke, where were they tried?

A. In these petty sessions courts.

Q. But all the civil cases were not tried there?

A. No. The weekly sessions fell through. They were not held any more because of the fact that there was nothing for them to do. The people wouldn't use them.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Are there any lawyers in Thurles?

A. Oh, yes. We have four lawyers.

Q. They formerly practiced in these petty courts?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. What do they do now?

A. They go into the Republican courts.

Q. How about this meeting, this assembly?

A. We called a meeting of the whole constituency. That is, a village area takes up the whole council. We called a meeting of all the governing bodies.

Q. What governing bodies?

A. The urban council, the district council, the labor bodies, and other public bodies. We got them all to send representatives to the assembly at Thurles. At that meeting they appointed five judges.

Q. Who were these judges?

A. Five citizens—Mr. O'Byrne, Mr. Dwyer, Mr. Leady, Father O'Brien, and Mr. Hassett.

Q. Could you give the businesses of these men?

A. Yes. Mr. O'Byrne is a barrister, Mr. Dwyer a farmer, Mr. Hassett is also a farmer, and Father O'Brien is a local priest.

WHOLESALE DEPORTATIONS

Q. Chairman Howe: May I ask the witness? You said there were two hundred people in the jail at the time you were. Were two hundred men arrested as you were? Where were they from and what was the cause of their arrest?

A. Yes, sir; there were fifty-five deported on the first occasion. Every day there were batches coming in from Ireland, just as we were, on deportation orders.

Q. They were under indictment?

A. No, they were all deported. There was just a deportation order.

Q. Senator Walsh: Who were they signed by?

A. Mine was signed by Ian MacPherson. Others were signed by Viscount French, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Q. Were they all on hunger strike?

A. Yes.

Q. Did any of them die?

A. No, sir.

Q. How long were they on hunger strike?

A. Some of them were on hunger strike for twenty-four days.

Q. Were they all released as you were?

A. Yes.

POLICEMAN SHOT "BY PERSONS UNKNOWN"

Q. Chairman Howe: I should like to ask about the killing of the policeman in Thurles. That happened the night of your arrest?

A. It was a few days before that.

Q. What reason had they to connect that with the leading Republicans of the town?

A. You mean why we were shot up on account of the shooting of the constable?

Q. Yes.

A. I could not say. This is only a theory of mine: they thought they would make prominent members of the town suffer for it.

Q. Did they make any inquiries into the cause of his death?

A. Oh, there was an inquest. But he did not die on that night

of the shooting-up. He died two days after. There was a coroner's inquest—a coroner and a jury of twelve men. They found he was shot by some persons unknown.

Q. This took place in the town itself?

A. In the town itself.

Q. Do you know of any reason, any enmity or animosity, that would lead to his being murdered?

A. No.

Q. Was he conspicuous in any work there among the British officers that might make his particular actions offensive to the people of the village?

A. Well, you see, I could not really tell you what his duties were. In these cases we have no control whatever over the Royal Irish Constabulary. We have no control, we know nothing about the duties they were performing.

Q. Did you personally know this particular officer?

A. I did.

Q. What was his name?

A. Constable Finnegan.

Q. Had he been obnoxious in any way? Had he been over-zealous in his duties?

A. I really could not say.

Q. At that time had they abandoned the coroner's inquest?

A. No, not at that time.

Q. The finding was merely that he was shot down by persons unknown. No other finding?

A. No other finding.

Q. It was not attributed by the court to anyone?

A. No.

Q. What were the circumstances of his shooting? Was he on his beat?

A. I think so. I think he was going home.

Q. Was he a citizen of that town?

A. No, he could not be. No constable is ever sent to his home town.

Q. Did he have any quarrel with the neighbors?

A. I do not know. It could happen, but I do not know about it.

Q. What was the best information you obtained as to the time when the officer was shot?

A. The time that he was shot was about half after ten.

Q. Where was he when he was shot?

A. He was going toward his own home.

Q. That was about half past ten?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long after this policeman was shot did the shooting up of the town take place?

A. About an hour.

Q. And everybody in town was practically in bed or in his home at that time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You said that there were two hundred men in that particular jail under arrest with you. Were there men in other jails?

A. Oh, there were. In Brixton prison, the scene of the late tragedy, there were five more.

Q. How many all told?

A. About three hundred all told.

Q. From different parts of Ireland?

A. Yes, different parts of Ireland.

REPUBLICANS WIN NINETY PER CENT. OF TOWN COUNCILS

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: The elections to which you referred under the Local Government Act which resulted in the return of Labor men and Republican men: do you know what the results generally were of the elections throughout Ireland at that time?

A. Oh, yes. There had been a great sweeping at the polls in favor of the Republic.

Q. About what per cent. of the urban councils went Republican?

A. I would say about ninety per cent.

Q. All over Ireland?

A. All over Ireland.

Q. North as well as south?

A. Not so much in the north; but if you take the whole of Ireland—

Q. Ninety per cent?

A. Ninety per cent.

Q. What per cent of the councilmen were Labor men and what per cent. Republicans and what per cent. Unionists?

A. Our own council is a good case: about five Republicans to four Labor men, and three who are for union.

Q. On the whole, do the men who run as Labor candidates adhere to the principle of Republican organization for Ireland?

A. All of them.

Q. But they maintain their own party organization?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is a political party, just like the Labor Party or the Liberal Party in England?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. But do the individual members all adhere to the principle of a Republican government in Ireland?

A. All of them.

Q. When you say that ninety per cent. are Republicans, you mean that ninety per cent. of those voting indicated their preference for those candidates? But in every council there must be a minority of non-Republicans because of the proportional representation system.

A. Yes, sir. Under the old system there would have been no minority representation at all.

Q. Did other arbitration councils organize as yours and proceed as you did?

A. Yes, sir. In the larger cities they have a different method. But in the towns and smaller cities they are organized along these lines.

Q. About ninety per cent. of the local agencies are Republican?

A. Yes, today.

Q. On the night that they shot up the town, was anyone killed?

A. No.

Q. Anyone wounded?

A. There were some very remarkable escapes, though.

Q. Just property destroyed?

A. Property destroyed. For instance, the bed in which I was sleeping was struck. Had I not the good sense to get out of the bed, I would have been struck.

Q. Had you any personal knowledge of the facts surrounding the killing of this constable, or do you know of any resident of Thurles that had such knowledge?

A. No.

Q. You do not know whether it was a private feud, or whether he was executed?

A. No, I do not know.

Q. Direct or indirect, by hearsay or personal knowledge?

A. No, I could not give you any idea.

Q. What was the popular sentiment in that town? How did the people feel about it?

A. The people were so terror-stricken and absorbed in their own safety that they did not have time to think about anything else.

Q. Since then it must have been discussed among the neighbors.

A. Yes, but the people do not know who committed it.

Q. I do not mean who committed it, but the fact that it occurred. How did they feel about such an occurrence in your town?

A. I could not say.

Q. Chairman Howe: Do you, Mr. Walsh, wish to continue? Is there anything more?

A. Mr. F. P. Walsh: If you please, yes.

MURDER OF M'CARTHY, DWYER AND ROONEY

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Has there been any further shooting up of the town since you came back?

A. Oh, yes. While I was in prison it was shot up twice, similar to the first time.

Q. I wish you would detail anything you had knowledge of in the immediate vicinity—for instance, in Templemore, the killing of the men. Would you detail?

A. First of all, while I was in jail in March, there was another member of the Urban Council named McCarthy who was very prominent in demanding an inquiry into the shooting up of the town. At the Urban Council he put forward a resolution that some inquiry be held as to the importance of the damage done and everything else in the shooting up of the town. This chap got a letter informing him that if he came up Pryor Street in the direction of the barracks they would give him all the information he wanted. Naturally he did not move. But there was a sad sequel to it. A few nights afterward, after the family was in bed—they live off the Liberty Square—the family was in bed about two o'clock in the morning. A knocking came at the door, and they asked who was there, and they said they were looking for one McCarthy. The member of the Urban Council is Michael McCarthy. The brother, a lad named James, who never takes part in public life in any way, simply a chap who is fond of going around with dogs and sporting, he said he would go down and answer the door. As he answered the door the men asked him what his name was. Immediately two shots were fired, and he fell back dead in the hall. His sister and brother came down. The sister said she would go to the priest's, and she ran down the street in her bare feet. As she proceeded, two shots were fired after her.

Q. Did they hit her?

A. No, she luckily escaped. There was a coroner's inquest held over him. The verdict of the jury was that he was murdered by men dressed in the uniform of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

The next night, at a place named Ragg, three miles from Thurles,

there was a chap there named Dwyer. A knock came at the door, and his sister, a married lady, opened the door, and they demanded her brother.

Q. What was his position?

A. He was a licensed trader. She said he was upstairs. He came down with a candle in his hand. Two shots were fired and he fell. A man at the door said, "I think I will finish him." And he fired another shot into him. The verdict in that case was, "Wilful murder against the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary."

Q. Wilful murder against or by?

A. Against them. The verdict was against them.

Q. In other words, the verdict was that this young man's death was caused by wilful murder by the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes. In the case of this chap Dwyer, the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary came through in motor lorries about three days afterward shouting: "Dwyer is dead and a very good job." They came back to the house where this sister, this married girl lived, and smashed all the bottles in the house and fired shots through the ceiling. The result was that she had to leave the shop altogether. The shop was shut up for several weeks. She came back after a time and a similar occurrence happened. The shop was shot up again.

There was a case at Holy Cross, about three miles from the old abbey of Holy Cross, where a wake was being held. A girl had died, and a wake was being held at the house. At a wake in Ireland the neighbors assemble and they say the mass for the dead and sit up all night with the corpse. At the wake there was a poor old simpleton.

Q. What was his name?

A. Mr. Rooney. He happened to go out of the corpse house about three o'clock in the morning. He was riddled with bullets. Shots were also fired through the doors and windows of the corpse house. There was another man, the village postman, who was brought out and told to look at the body of the dead comrade. He expected to be shot too, and he said, "But you know me; you know who I am. I am the village postman." They said, "No, we don't know who you are."

Q. Who were "they"?

A. They were the men who came in lorries. They were not from Holy Cross. Finally one of the men spoke up from the lorry and said, "Yes, I know him. He's the postman." The verdict again was wilful murder.

Q. Who returned that verdict?

A. The coroner's jury of twelve men.

Q. Who selects those twelve men?

A. The police; that is, the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Q. Was that verdict rendered by a jury established by the Republican government of Ireland, or by the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. By the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Q. So that the verdict of a jury called and convened by the Royal Irish Constabulary pronounced that crime as wilful murder?

A. Yes, wilful murder committed by the armed forces of the Crown.

Q. What could be the motive and reason for shooting up a house where there was a dead body?

A. I was just coming to that. The next morning there was an official notice appearing in the papers coming from Dublin Castle.

Q. Dublin Castle is the representative of the British Government in Ireland?

A. Yes. This report stated that there had been an attack on the police barracks in Holy Cross and one of the members had been shot dead.

Q. Had there been an attack on the barracks?

A. No. None at all.

Q. And this chap was a poor simpleton?

A. Yes, just a poor simpleton.

Q. How old was he?

A. About sixty years of age.

Q. Were there any other shots fired or persons killed?

A. No other persons were killed, but other shots were fired, lots of them, through the house.

Q. What was it that prevented them from killing others in the house? Was there any person who intervened?

A. There was a man who was a cousin of the person who was dead. He was an ex-army officer. He came out, and they asked him what business he had there. He said he was an ex-army officer—he explained who he was. I think his presence saved the other men from being shot also.

Q. Was there other shooting at Holy Cross besides at the place where the dead body lay?

A. No, but at a place about seven miles away there was an attack on a police barracks, but not there.

WARNING OF IMPENDING MURDERS BY POLICE

Q. If it will not interrupt your narrative, when was the Lord Mayor of Cork killed, Mr. MacCurtain, with reference to your confinement in jail?

A. He was killed in March.

Q. And you were then in Wormwood Scrubbs prison?

A. I was.

Q. Did you have any advices prior to the death of Mayor MacCurtain that he was to be killed? Please tell that incident.

A. On the sixteenth of March there was a prisoner from Ireland arrived in Wormwood Scrubbs. I happened to know this man. He was Mr. Dwyer, a member of the arbitration court. When he came in, I shook hands with him. He was telling me about home affairs. He said, "By the way, I heard something coming over on the boat, that yourself and Lord Mayor MacCurtain were sentenced to be shot by the Royal Irish Constabulary."

Q. He said that Mayor MacCurtain was to be shot to death by the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes, by the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Q. When was that date?

A. The sixteenth of March.

Q. When was his life taken?

A. He was shot on the twentieth.

Q. Did you receive any information from any member of the English Labor Commission who was present in Thurles the day following the first shooting as to what information he had from the Royal Irish Constabulary as to their future movements in your town?

A. Yes, I did. I had an interview with the members of that Commission, and was talking with Mr. Arthur Henderson. Just as he was leaving the town he called me aside and said to me: "Mr. Morgan, I want to speak to you a minute. When I arrived at the station this morning I was speaking to a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary. I said the shooting up of the town was terrible. He said, 'Well, they deserved it for shooting one of our men, and it is nothing to what we will give them tonight if he dies.'" That was Mr. Arthur Henderson of the British Labor Party.

TEMPLEMORE SHOT UP; TOWN HALL BURNED

Q. Do you know of any further disturbances in this locality?

A. Of what nature?

Q. Violence, disturbances, and shootings.

A. Oh, yes. Templemore, seven miles from us, was shot up and the town hall completely gutted.

Q. By fire?

A. By fire, incendiary bombs.

Q. Did you examine the premises?

A. I did. Only the four walls remained.

Q. What was the occasion for attacking that building? Was it an attack?

A. The same day there had been a district inspector shot in the town of Templemore.

Q. So that as soon as a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary is shot they proceed to fire up the town?

A. Yes. That night they shot up the town.

Q. Are there other instances of that sort?

A. Yes, they are quite common.

Q. Is that what is meant by reprisals?

A. Yes. These are what are meant by reprisals. Something happens. Any town in that vicinity will be attacked in a similar manner: shooting and everything of that kind; big motor lorries of troops arrive.

THE BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Does the Royal Irish Constabulary do this, or the military?

A. They are so mixed now it is difficult to tell. The original Royal Irish Constabulary forces are now supplemented by what are known as the Black-and-Tans. They are police who have been recruited in England in large quantities and sent across to fill up the forces in Ireland. They did not have uniforms enough of the original kind to give them, so they dressed them in khaki and put R. I. C. caps on them, which are black, and a black belt; so the black and khaki together made what is called Black-and-Tan.

Q. Have they had difficulty in recruiting members for the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes. They could not get them to enlist in Ireland. As a result this Black-and-Tan has been introduced.

JUSTICE SUPPLANTED BY ARSON AND ANARCHY

Q. Has any person in your vicinity been arrested or tried or even accused by the public authorities for the commission of any of these murders or assaults upon officers?

A. No.

Q. So that the method which has been invoked to attempt to

stop or to bring to justice the perpetrators of these murders has been to fire upon the town?

A. Exactly. There has been no trial in our vicinity of anybody on any of these charges.

Q. Discussing the wake where the simpleton was shot, you said that that same night, about seven miles distant from the wake, the barracks of the police had been attacked?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the nature of that? Was anyone shot or any damage done?

A. No one was killed. The barracks were just shot up.

Q. You described the report made by Dublin Castle on the killing of this simpleton. Was it at Templemore where some buildings were set fire to and people burned to death?

A. Yes.

Q. Just describe that.

A. About two days after Templemore had been shot up, an officer who had taken part in it, named Captain Beattie, died. A report appeared in the papers that Captain Beattie had lost his life in a gallant attempt to save an inmate's life in a burning building in Templemore.

Q. Is that all? Did they say what burning building?

A. Oh, no; they did not say what building.

Q. What was the result?

A. The urban council of Templemore met and issued a repudiation of that statement. They said that Captain Beattie did not lose his life in rescuing an inmate of a burning building, but had lost his life in attempting to burn the town hall.

Q. What were the facts?

A. The best of my information is that Captain Beattie and a private soldier entered the building to burn it, and before they could get out, it was set afire from the outside. There was just a window from which they could escape. The window was a good height. A person could jump out from it into the street. What I imagine happened is that the soldier lifted the officer up to the window to jump out, and then he could not get out himself because he had no one to help him, and his body was found inside.

Q. Do you know where the soldiers got the petrol to burn this building?

A. Yes, sir. The soldiers went to a petrol shop in Templemore and demanded petrol. The owner said he would not give it to them, and they took it anyway from him and threw some of it back lighted and burned the shop down.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Demanded what?

A. Petrol, petrol.

Chairman Howe: Gasoline.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Who was the owner of the shop?

A. He was a Protestant gentleman.

Q. Were there any inmates of the town hall at the time the attack was made upon it?

A. No; fortunately it was night time and no one there.

REPUBLICAN COURT ONLY JUDICIAL BODY IN THURLES

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: I would like to go back for a moment to the constitution of this arbitration court. After this court was formed, did the people of Thurles submit their cases to the arbitration court?

A. Oh, yes; hundreds of cases were tried.

Q. Hundreds of cases. Do the lawyers of Thurles practice in the arbitration courts?

A. They do.

Q. Are they allowed to carry on their business without restraint on the part of the military? Do they do it in public or do they have to do it in private?

A. Oh, they have to do it in private.

Q. Are the decrees of this court respected by the people of Thurles?

A. Absolutely. I may say that at first the court did sit openly, and then a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary came along and closed the court, and since then they meet surreptitiously.

Q. Do the people submit their controversies to them and respect their decisions and abide by them?

A. Oh, yes, absolutely.

Q. There are now no other courts in Thurles?

A. No, nor have there been for several months.

Q. They are abandoned?

A. Yes. The petty court has quit sitting and the court house is falling into dilapidation.

COOPERATIVE CREAMERIES BURNED BY CROWN FORCES

Q. Are there any creameries in your neighborhood?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. You might sketch how they are gotten up.

A. Yes, these creameries are started by the farmers' cooperative societies. They take all their milk there. These have been very successful for the last several years in Ireland.

Q. About how long?

A. Thirty years, I suppose. I am not quite sure on that point, but I think about thirty years.

Q. The farmers started them themselves?

A. Yes. These creameries! the petrol that was taken from this shop this night at Templemore, the motor lorries took this petrol the same night and went around the country burning the five creameries systematically.

Q. Were these large creameries?

A. Yes, very large.

Q. Was butter stored in these creameries?

A. Yes, sir.

EFFECT OF TERRORISM ON PEOPLE

Q. What has been the effect of this terrorism upon the life of the people in the market towns? What effect has it had upon the price of necessities?

A. In the first place, many people are afraid of their lives and are leaving business and giving up their places for sale. The roads of the district are patrolled. Armed motor lorries are rushing along day and night. The people are afraid to go on the roads at all. Only in case of necessity are people using the roads at all. People do not go on the roads except in day time when they have to, and they go straight home.

Q. What effect has this had upon the price of products?

A. It has sent up the price. Often necessary food cannot be brought in from the country because the people will not venture on the roads.

Q. What effect upon the people?

A. The people, naturally, are living in a state of terror. Take the case of my wife. She finds it very hard to sleep at night. At the least noise she is startled and rushes out of the house thinking an attack is to be made.

Q. At the time of the shooting up of Thurles your little boy was in good health?

A. He was a very strong boy.

Q. Did this seem to have a profound effect upon his nerves?

A. Yes, it shocked him profoundly.

Q. How about the people of the town, the rest of them?

A. I have not been able to stop at my own home since January last.

Q. Where do you stop?

A. I stop at friends' houses.

Q. And your wife?

A. She usually sleeps in the house, but any noise sends her flying from the premises.

Q. Is that common in Thurles? How about the prominent citizens?

A. Yes, no man who is prominent will stop in his own home over night.

Q. For fear of attacks?

A. Yes.

Q. I was asking about the little boy. Subsequent to this, when was the first notice you had of any condition of the boy's heart?

A. We never had any trouble with him. We never had a doctor for him.

Q. After this shooting, what was the course of his life?

A. He was a great favorite of my own. He was a little chap whom I was bringing up in his own language.

Q. Irish?

A. Yes, Irish. I kept him with me so that I could talk to him in his own language. When I was taken away the poor little fellow was constantly calling for me. The week that he was dying, he used to look at the mother and say, "When is Daddy coming home?" and "Daddy, oh Daddy!"

Q. What is he said to have died of?

A. Heart trouble.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I think that is all.

The Witness: As regards the town hall. We have a very fine town hall in Thurles that is used as a place of recreation for the young men of the town. That hall a year ago was commandeered by the military.

Q. Is there any social life left in Thurles at all, any intercourse between the inhabitants, educational meetings?

A. Oh, no. We used to hold classes in Irish, and they have all had to be discontinued.

Q. Prior to that time was there social intercourse?

A. Yes. We used to have classes, Irish and other classes.

Q. And that has all been wiped out?

A. Yes, that has all been wiped out. It is scarcely safe for traders to keep open. I have seen the armed forces of the Crown

come along and enter a meat shop and take down all the quarters of meat, put them down on the block, cut them up, and take them away.

Q. Did they give any payment for it?

A. They offered payment, which was not accepted. In the case I spoke of it was not accepted.

TROUBLE IN IRELAND DUE TO DEMAND FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

Q. Senator Walsh: I would like to ask you some questions about the government of Ireland and the changes which have taken place there. I understand that some years back the government of your town consisted of a town council elected by the people, and an Irish Constabulary appointed by the British authorities, and magistrates and justices of the peace appointed by police authorities; that there came a time when there was brought to Ireland a British army, and this hospital you spoke of was taken over for barracks, and the town hall also. When was the date of the coming into Ireland of the British army?

A. The British army?

Q. Yes, the British army.

A. You know we have always had British garrisons in Ireland.

Q. When did they take over the hospital?

A. The hospital was taken over two years ago.

Q. The town hall?

A. A year ago. They do not have it now, but they had it that winter.

Q. In speaking of garrisoned towns, you mean recruiting stations where officers and soldiers are drilled and trained for the British army?

A. Yes.

Q. But there was no actual operating on the part of the British army until the past two years?

A. No, sir.

Q. They did not assume any authority or police the streets?

A. Oh, no. There would be none of the armed lorries going by.

Q. When did the Black-and-Tans appear in Ireland?

A. The Black-and-Tans appeared in Ireland some six months ago.

Q. How far had the people of Ireland proceeded in their attempts to establish an Irish Republic when the British army began to take an active part in attempting to preserve law and order?

A. The establishment of the Irish Republic would date back to the time of the election in December, 1918.

Q. Two years ago this next month?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. About that time the British army became active in Ireland?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. It has been active ever since?

A. Ever since.

NATURE OF MILITARY OCCUPATION OF IRELAND

Q. So it was the advent of the Republican form of government that brought the British army to Ireland?

A. Yes.

Q. They have established barracks in every large town and city all over Ireland?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. So that they had in your town this large building you speak of?

A. Yes.

Q. What was that building used for before they took it?

A. A fever hospital.

Q. And you say they took over by summary process the whole building and turned out the inmates?

A. Yes, and turned out the inmates.

Q. And also the town hall?

A. Yes, the town hall.

Q. What appear to be the duties of these British soldiers? What are they doing by day and night?

A. It seems to me that they are a garrison.

Q. Are they acting in the capacity of police officers?

A. They are going around on all these raids.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Eight of them go together?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say soldiers. It is no longer the Irish Constabulary?

A. It is all soldiers now.

Q. Senator Walsh: What do the Black-and-Tans do?

A. I really could not tell you. They do not do anything.

Q. Where are they lodged?

A. In the police barracks. You must discriminate between the police barracks and the military barracks.

Q. The Black-and-Tans are taking the place of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes. Irishmen refused to join them. Resignations have been taking place constantly and continuously.

Q. How are they dressed?

A. They are dressed in khaki the same as soldiers, with a black cap and black police belt.

Q. Do they carry any weapons?

A. Rifles in their hands.

Q. How many Black-and-Tans are there in your town?

A. I could not tell you. It would be dangerous for anybody to ask. You might be sent to two years in prison for asking such a question.

Q. Has not the Town Council any authority to ask about how many British soldiers there are in the town?

A. Oh, no.

Q. What is your best judgment as to the number of Black-and-Tan officers in the town?

A. I suppose there would be forty there.

Q. And how many British soldiers?

A. I really could not tell you. It is constantly changing. The units are changed. I really could not say what number.

Q. Are these officials practically all British or Englishmen now?

A. Oh, yes. All Black-and-Tans. Of course there is a corps now known as the Auxiliary Corps.

Q. What is that?

A. This is a corps that has been recruited from what has been described in the House of Commons as ex-army officers in England. I think they are principally for raiding purposes. They dress in civilian clothes and in soldiers' clothes. They dress in every way. You can never tell them. They go around in motor lorries every day raiding houses and raiding streets and holding them up.

BRITISH POLICY TO STAMP OUT SELF-GOVERNMENT

Q. Back of all this disorder and the conditions you have described is an attempt of the British authorities to wipe out and stamp out and eliminate from Ireland the efforts of the Irish people to organize the Irish Republic?

A. Yes.

Q. And as soon as the people of Ireland would give up any effort to establish a republic and agree to accept British authority all this would end?

A. That is apparently the case.

Q. Chairman Howe: These local bodies to which you were elected a member, are they not British statutory bodies? Were they not elected in accordance with an Act of Parliament?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And the people were authorized to use them?

A. Yes.

Q. They were legalized political agencies that had been used by the people for a long time?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And when they used them to elect Republican members, this attack intervened?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And I understand you to say, Mr. Morgan, that you had not slept in your own home since this happened?

A. I have not slept in my own home since January twentieth, the night of the shooting.

Q. How many people in Thurles do that—of how many is it true?

A. I know of my own personal knowledge that it is true of over a dozen, I am sure.

Q. Do you show yourself on the streets of Thurles?

A. Yes, in the day time, but not after dark.

Q. You have been back in Thurles?

A. Yes.

Q. You do not sleep at night where you may be found?

A. Yes.

Q. All these massacres take place at night?

A. Yes, sir, always at night. The day I was coming away I was in Dublin, before I came here. The night before I came the whole block where I was staying was hemmed in by Black-and-Tans. I was afraid I would be detained, and so I left early in the morning. I came down in a taxi cab to see my sister. The motor car was held up by two armed soldiers by the road and I was ordered out by the side of the road to be searched. The officer came along and looked me over and said, "I guess we will have to go back." And so I made the boat just in time.

Q. You had a passport?

A. Yes, I had a passport.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you come here in response to the invitation of this Commission?

A. Yes, sir.

THE CAMPAIGN OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Q. Has the Republican organization in any way of your knowledge aided or abetted or encouraged the commission of murders of officers?

A. Never.

Q. Has there been any action taken, secretly or in any way, to wreak vengeance upon English soldiers who are implicated in reprisals?

A. No.

Q. As conditions are such as you have described, it is but natural that there have been excitable Irish citizens who engage in assaults.

A. But they control themselves. In the town of Littletown there was a police barracks. About three weeks ago that barracks was attacked on Sunday afternoon and taken without a shot being fired. The members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, men who were there, were taken out and never molested, and told to wait for a time until the men took away the stuff in the barracks, and they were never injured. That was a case where they captured the whole barracks and had all the men in their hands, and none of them were ever molested.

Q. Has the movement in Ireland for an Irish Republic been based upon orders that murders or the loss of life shall never be tolerated or committed? That is, has the campaign of the Irish Republican authorities been one of passive resistance?

A. Yes, certainly. The organization is there for the establishment on a permanent basis of the Irish Republic if possible.

Q. To what extent have they proceeded to organize by passive resistance? What is their plan?

A. They set up their own executive bodies. The arbitration court is an instance of it. In our council, for instance, we have repudiated the authority of England to hold any dictatorial power over us or forbid us to do this or to do that. We have our own government now, established with what is known as all the public representatives of the people assembled. We have a regular executive organized.

Q. In a word, your organization has appealed to the people of Ireland to make known through their votes their wishes to abandon any association with the British Government and to establish a government of their own?

A. Yes.

Q. And you were elected to form a town council to notify the

British authorities that you would not recognize the British Government but would establish an Irish Government?

A. Exactly. We repudiated any connection with Britain.

LAW AND ORDER MAINTAINED BY IRISH CIVIL AUTHORITIES

Q. To what extent have you gone in warning and preventing your supporters and aids from doing violent acts, and what steps have you taken to prevent lawlessness in Ireland?

A. We have established in Ireland our own police, who have been very effective in bringing to account those who have been guilty of burglary and assaults and larceny and everything of that sort. They have captured the criminals in several cases of hold-ups of banks in Ireland. The streets of Dublin at night time are policed by our men.

Q. Is there any other authority appointed and named and elected by the people of your town and the towns of the vicinity, other than what has been elected by the people with a desire to have a republic in Ireland?

A. Is there any other authority in operation?

Q. In operation elected by the people?

A. No.

Q. The only other authority is the British army and the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes.

Q. No civil authority?

A. No, there is no civil authority now with the exception of the Republican executive bodies.

Q. There is no other group of civilians, either elected or named by the British Government, seeking to administer to the people politically?

A. No.

Q. How many British soldiers or members of the Royal Irish Constabulary in the last two years have been assaulted, killed, or murdered by unknown parties in your vicinity?

A. In the vicinity? In the town there have been two cases of shooting in or near the town.

Q. Commissioner Addams: In the last two years did the Republican police try in any way to investigate or protect the constables?

A. Do you mean on this particular occasion?

Q. On any occasion?

A. On the first occasion our police were not operating. That was a good while ago, two years ago. But they have been very

active since. I have known of cases of soldiers rescued from the hands of mobs; that is to say, drunken soldiers who are taken and apt to be maltreated. I have known them to be taken and rescued by the Irish police officers.

Q. Are they known as such?

A. Oh, no. They act secretly.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: What would happen to a man who was known to be acting as an Irish police officer?

A. He would be arrested on the spot.

Q. Commissioner Addams: I mean about policing the town generally?

A. There is more terror struck into criminals now than ever before. They know they cannot escape from the Irish Republican police.

Q. What happens to a man who is taken by your police?

A. He is taken to what is known as an unknown destination. If the destination was known the army would swoop down on them.

Q. Has he a regular trial?

A. Yes, a regular trial.

Q. What happens to him? You have no jails.

A. Sometimes there are jails. A secret house will do. And there are fines. And we order them to leave the district. They may be deported out of that, and sent away. Very often they are taken down to the boat and sent away to the other side, for very often they are from the other side.

IRISH LABOR SUPPORTS REPUBLIC

Q. Commissioner Maurer: To what extent is the town you live in organized?

A. I beg your pardon.

Q. To what extent is the town you live in organized as far as labor is concerned?

A. All the labor possible in our town is organized, and then we have a trades council, which consists of elected members from the trades unions.

Q. Is this council molested in any way?

A. Oh, yes. There has been a meeting of the Irish Transport Workers broken up by the police.

Q. Are the organized labor groups in sympathy with the Republic?

A. Oh, every one of them. One hundred per cent. Every one of them.

Q. Senator Walsh: Can you give us a financial statement of the amount of damage that has been done to property in your vicinity by attacks on your town?

A. By attacks on the town?

Q. What that represents in dollars and cents?

A. No, I would not attempt to do that. That would be a financial matter that I could not answer.

Chairman Howe: It is now one o'clock. We will adjourn until two-fifteen.

* * * * *

2:25 P. M.

Chairman Howe: Will the hearing please come to order? Are there further questions that members of the Commission want to ask the witness?

SUPPRESSION OF FREEDOM OF PRESS AND SPEECH

Q. Senator Walsh: There is one question I want to ask the last witness. To what extent, if at all, have restrictions been put upon the printing in the press of Ireland of news items relating to the activities of the Republican movement and the officials of your council?

A. All the papers have been warned from the English Government that if they publish any news like that they will be suppressed.

Q. Have you any specific instances where there has been a refusal to print propaganda in favor of the Republican movement?

A. On the occasion of the floating of the Republic Loan, any paper that published the advertisement, the prospectus, was immediately suppressed.

Q. Were they suppressed?

A. Yes, there and then they were suppressed.

Q. Do you know how many papers were suppressed?

A. One of the leading papers in Dublin, the *Freeman*, published it and was suppressed immediately.

Q. Was that one of the papers of largest circulation?

A. Yes.

Q. To what extent has freedom of speech been restricted?

A. No such thing as a public meeting is now allowed.

Q. For how long a time has that been in force?

A. For eighteen months or two years.

Q. Has there been any interference with the religious rights of the people?

A. Oh, yes. On my own experience, a fortnight before I left for here. I was leaving a church. The whole street was suddenly blocked up by motor lorries and soldiers, and every man coming out of the church was held up and searched.

Q. How many were thus held?

A. There must have been thousands.

Q. When was that?

A. About a Sunday before the seventh of November.

Q. Just this year?

A. Just this year, just before I left.

Q. What were they searching for, arms or documents or something else?

A. It must have been arms. I presume arms.

Q. Has there been any interference of your personal knowledge of the holding of religious services by any religious denomination?

A. Not of my own experience.

Q. Do they have religious services at night?

A. Yes.

Q. Are they still held at night?

A. They are.

Q. What if any effect upon the attendance is due to this condition you have described?

A. We have missions in Ireland, perhaps once a year, for a particular parish or a particular church. It has happened that as the people came out of the churches, it might be a bit late, they have been stopped and searched.

Q. Apparently to find out if they are carrying arms?

A. Yes, sir.

CONDITIONS BECOMING WORSE

Q. Chairman Howe: Much of your testimony related to the early part of this year?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are the conditions improving or getting worse?

A. Getting worse. As to that there can be no question. There is now no end of suppression of freedom of speech.

Q. How about the military authorities? Are there more clashes with their men than two months ago or not?

A. It is constantly reported in the papers daily that more troops are coming over, coming by thousands.

Q. You mean that troops are being massed by the thousands?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they come organized as a military expedition or more as a police force?

A. It is very hard to place this Auxiliary Corps I spoke of under any head. It is not a police force. It is more for raiding purposes. It seems to be particularly the duty of the Auxiliary Corps to carry out raids on houses.

Q. You have described conditions around about Thurles. How is it elsewhere?

A. I have had experience at Dublin for the past few weeks before I left. You might be going down the main streets any time of the day, and suddenly you hear a shout, "Whoop," and suddenly both ends of the street are stopped up. Shots are fired over the heads of the bystanders and then everyone is searched. Now they are always accompanied by armored cars carrying machine guns. The armored cars drive right up on the foot path where the people stand so that they have to clear out in all directions in order to escape. On almost any street of Dublin you can see these armored cars going along with bayonets sticking out, and very often they fire shots, apparently to see the women and people scream and fly in all directions.

Q. Very often they fire in the air?

A. Yes.

Q. The reason for searching persons is to see if they have any firearms?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do they do it?

A. They take a particular street or a particular section and search that. There was D'Olier Street a short time ago. Both ends of the street were cut off by a cordon. No one was allowed to go inside it. They were raiding some house inside that area. A shot went off. Immediately an officer gave orders to his men and they immediately lay flat on the ground with their guns pointed on the ready. Suddenly a man rushed out of his office and said to the officer: "Hold, that shot was fired by one of your own men." The officer had the presence of mind to say "Hold" to the men. And it was found that a soldier had accidentally dropped his rifle and it had gone off. It was only the presence of mind of the man who rushed out of the office that saved the situation.

POLICE FORCE SUPERIOR TO ELECTED AUTHORITIES

Q. Commissioner Addams: I would like to know whether, in your official position as executive of the town, if there should be another of these killings of constables, you would feel it a part of your official duty to go into it and try to apprehend the man responsible?

A. You must remember that that does not come within the scope of my duties. We do not have that power now and we did not have it under the old regime. We cannot do anything of that kind. We have no control over this Irish Constabulary force. We cannot direct them to do this or to do that or anything else.

Q. But if he is injured on the streets of the town of which you are acting mayor, you can do nothing about it then?

A. No. We have nothing to do at all about that. We have no power to do anything.

Q. Under the old system could you call upon the Royal Irish Constabulary to preserve order?

A. Anybody can do that.

Q. But you had no authority under the old system?

A. No.

Q. Under the present system you are looked upon as outlaws and as enemies of the British Government?

A. Yes.

SUPPRESSION OF CORONERS' INQUESTS

There is a point about the coroner's inquest that I spoke of this morning. Now there are no coroners' inquests allowed.

Q. Chairman Howe: When did they stop?

A. Within the last couple of months, when this latest emergency legislation came out. The coroners are warned not to hold any inquests in case of a shooting. Instead, a military inquest is held and an official account is later issued. In fact, English newspaper reporters writing up the situation have been threatened openly by the police.

Q. Can you give a specific instance of that?

A. Mr. Hugh Martin, who represents some big English paper, was across in Ireland for his paper, and he wrote up an account of a shooting by the Constabulary, and he reports that his life was threatened on the streets of Tralee.

Q. What kind of a threat?

A. That if he did not clear out he would be taken.

GOVERNMENT WITHOUT CONSENT OF GOVERNED

Q. To what extent have the Irish citizens refused to serve in the British courts?

A. They have absolutely refused to obey the summons of these courts.

Q. Is that practically unanimous all over Ireland?

A. Yes.

Q. The same thing is true about the Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes.

Q. So it is practically impossible for the British Government to get a citizen of Ireland to serve on a jury or in the Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes, sir; quite difficult.

Q. Are there any other civic bodies where Irishmen formerly rendered service under British authority where they have protested against it now, other than police and jury service?

A. Of course the magistrates have all handed up their magistracies.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Are there any magistrates now except the R. M.'s—that is, the resident magistrates, who are paid officials?

A. No.

Q. So the protest has practically gone to the extent of every Irish man and woman refusing to hold a position of authority in Ireland under British rule?

A. Yes, they refuse to recognize the functions of the other party in Ireland.

THE WRONG MAN SHOT

Q. Are there any other points you want to bring out?

A. There is just one other case in regard to shootings, which happened in Thurles. There was a man named Cleary. I happened to be in Dublin at the time. This night his brother by some means got word not to sleep in his own house. His name was John—John Cleary. So he did not go home and sent word to his mother not to allow his brother to sleep in his house either. Michael stopped out until one in the morning, and then thought that everything was quiet and safe and proceeded home. At one-thirty there was a knock at the door, and he went down in his trousers and opened it. He was immediately confronted by four armed men wearing trench helmets, and was asked something about whether he

knew anything of the killing of a policeman, and immediately he was fired upon. The bullet entered his chin and penetrated the shoulder and came out of his back. He had a very narrow escape with his life. Fortunately, he has not died. He was not the man they wanted. They wanted his brother. The same night the assistant town clerk of Thurles was looked up, about a half hour subsequent to that. He was not at home at the time.

Q. Who was Cleary? What was his position?

A. He was a coach builder in the town.

Q. A reputable citizen?

A. Yes. He was only a young chap, an ex-pupil of mine.

Q. How old?

A. About twenty-three.

Q. Was he a Republican in politics?

A. Yes, he was known as a Republican. He did not have a very prominent part, however.

Q. What was the date of this shooting?

A. I cannot give you the exact date. However, it would be about five weeks ago.

Q. Had any British officer been injured or shot previous to that?

A. No.

Q. Was it, to your knowledge, due to any act of assault or murder committed by the citizens of your town?

A. We could not find anything at all happened.

Q. So far as you know, what was the motive for these British officers to call at this house, either for Cleary or his brother?

A. They probably considered that his brother was a member of the I. R. A., the Irish Republican Army. They probably intended to take him out and shoot him. He was not there, and so they shot the brother instead.

Q. What was the question they asked him?

A. Did he know anything about the shooting of a policeman.

Q. Had there been any policeman shot?

A. No, not since the preceding January.

Q. Senator Walsh: Is there any other testimony?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: We have one question we would like to ask him. You detailed a number of coroners' inquests wherein the verdict was that it was a wilful murder. Was there any action taken after the coroner's jury verdict by the British Government?

A. No.

WITNESSES IMPARTIALLY SUMMONED BY COMMISSION

Chairman Howe: I might say that the cablegrams asking witnesses to come here were sent to officials of towns and cities which were quoted as towns in which outrages of some kind were carried on. The Commission cabled to Belfast and thirty-four other towns, to the mayors of those towns. It was an impersonal cable rather than a personal cable.

Q. Senator Walsh: You personally received a cable from this Commission?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you receive it?

A. On the Sunday before I left.

Q. So no Irish society brought you here?

A. No, I came only at the request of the Commission. I received a cablegram and immediately proceeded the following Sunday morning.

Senator Walsh: I am asking you because I want it a matter of record that you are brought here and your expenses are paid by this Commission, and you came as a witness for the Commission.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

Chairman Howe: There are three Americans who have recently been in Ireland who are here and want to testify and get away this afternoon. They are Father English and Mr. Furnas and Reverend Cotter. The testimony of these American witnesses will be conducted by the Commission. Father English.

TESTIMONY OF REV. M. M. ENGLISH

Q. Chairman Howe: Father English, will you please state your name and residence and your professional position and any other preliminary facts?

A. My name is Michael M. English. I live in the town of Whitehall, Montana. I am the pastor of the Catholic Church there, the only Catholic Church in the town.

Q. Where were you born?

A. In Ireland.

Q. How long have you been in America?

A. I have been in America for thirteen years. I came to this country in 1907.

Q. Where did you get your education?

A. In Saint Paul, Minnesota.

Q. Are you an American citizen?

A. I am.

Q. When did you become an American citizen?

A. Just one year ago. The reason the citizenship was postponed was that because, when I arrived in this country, I was just sixteen years of age, and waited until I was twenty-one before getting my first papers. Then I made a visit back to Ireland, and I found upon my return that I could not get my citizenship papers because of my absence from the country on my trip to Ireland. I had to take out my first papers again, and became a citizen just as soon as possible.

Q. Chairman Howe: Are there any other preliminary facts?

A. No.

Q. You have been recently in Ireland. Now proceed and tell what you saw.

Senator Walsh: What was your reason for going to Europe?

A. First of all, to visit my parents in Ireland and to visit in England some friends of mine, and to visit France, Italy, and especially Rome. I arrived in Ireland about the third of May of this year. I sailed from Cove in Ireland about the first of September. I was in Ireland all of this time with the exception of about five weeks, which I spent in France and England upon two occasions.

Q. Proceed with the story of your experiences in Ireland.

RAID ON FATHER'S HOUSE

A. The part of the story I wish to relate first is the most intimate experience I had in Ireland. It occurred on the evening of Monday, the twenty-ninth of August. I left my father's home on Tuesday, the thirtieth of August, to go to Cove and take the boat for America the next day.

Q. Cove was formerly Queenstown?

A. Yes. That is the name it legally has now, even under British law.

Q. Did you not state where your father's home was?

A. In the County of Limerick.

Q. The parish?

A. The parish is Templebredan. The nearest town is Hospital, four miles away. On this evening, while my baggage was being made up, consisting of two grips and a trunk, I was in my father's house, which is about a hundred yards from the road. About half past five a military lorry came down the road from the direction of the town of Hospital and stopped at the gate. The soldiers ran

into the avenue and surrounded the house. There are two doors in the house, a kitchen door and a hall door facing the road on the other side. I came to the hall door just in time to see the troops form a circle around that end of the house. These troops, I might explain, were dressed in khaki and wore trench helmets and carried rifles with bayonets on them. Two men who seemed to be officers, whom we afterwards discovered to be officers, were armed only with revolvers in their belts. One of these officers came to the door and demanded that all of the men in the house must come out on the lawn in front of the house and be searched. They told my mother that the ladies and myself did not need to come out, because I was a priest. My brothers were all searched except my small brother, about seventeen, who said, "I refuse to come out." And the officer pulled his revolver and said: "You come out or I will give you the contents of this." Then the search went on. As my father's watch was taken out of his pocket he said, "I want you to return the watch." The officer said: "Escort this man to the lorry." The search of the other men proceeded. The body search was finished in about fifteen minutes. Then the officers attempted to enter the house.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP IGNORED

I was standing in the hall door. I said: "I want to know who the commanding officer is." He said, "I am." I said, "I have property in this house, my personal belongings. As an American citizen I require that these be immune from search." He said, "Your American citizenship does not count here. You are on British soil." I said, "Still I am an American, and subject only to the ordinary civil courts." He said, "That does not count. Your citizenship does not entitle you to any privileges here." He repeated, "It does not count here, and your property will be searched." Then I said, "I am anxious on my return to America to enter a protest to my government against this. In order that my protest may be intelligent, I want to know your name, your rank, and the name of your regiment." He said, "I absolutely refuse to give you any information." I said, "Do you mean that I am not going to know who is searching me?" He said, "I will give you no information whatever. I have been forbidden to do so. I cannot do it." I said, "Then I require you to produce your authority for searching me." He tapped his revolver and said, "This is my authority." I said, "That is not enough." He said, "Do you want to see a little more of it?"

The search of the house proceeded. They started on the lower

floor. There is a parlor, a large room, and a little breakfast room on the lower floor. One of the officers, whom I afterwards discovered to be Captain V. H. Wells (the other one, with whom I held the conversation, was afterward discovered to be Major Gray), —the captain went into the little breakfast room accompanied by my mother. The major asked me to accompany him on his search. In the parlor he took the rug off the floor. I also wish to state that during the search no property was damaged in any way. He removed the rug off the floor, lifted up the tablecloth, examined all papers in the room, took the pictures off the wall and removed the cardboard off the back of them. Evidently he was looking for documents. On the mantel piece were also some letters of mine addressed to me, containing nothing but social and personal correspondence. These the major took in his hand. I said, "All these letters are mine." He said, "I am going to read them." He put them in his pocket, although I requested him to hand them over to me. Those letters were never returned. The captain, who searched the other room, reported that he was through. Then all four of us went upstairs. On one side of the stairway upstairs are two rooms, one the room that I had been using, and the other room used by a couple of my brothers. I stood again in the door leading into the room which I had been occupying, and I said, "This is my room. There is nothing in here that is not my property, and I insist as an American citizen that it be not searched, at least without a proper warrant." The major stated again that that made no difference, and the protest was unavailing. My mother accompanied the captain during the search of my room. I went into my brothers' room with the major. In that room is a wardrobe with coats and vests and trousers hanging in it, and one bed. He searched the wardrobe. In a pocket of the wardrobe he discovered a card of membership in the Irish Volunteers, made out in the name of Patrick English, a brother of mine. He showed me this card at the time he found it. He said, "Who is Patrick English?" I refused to give him any information whatever. He said, "We will take every man here until we discover who he is. We will remove them all." He proceeded with the search. He took the bedclothes off the bed, including the mattress, removed the rug again off the floor, looked on top of the wardrobe and under it (it was a loose wardrobe, not attached to the wall), and then he sounded the ceiling with the butt of his revolver, and he sounded portions of the floor and the wall. In the meantime, the captain, as I have stated, was conducting the search of my room. I went in there with the major. This captain who was conducting the search in my room never at

any time appeared in the room where we were. I discovered that things were considerably upset, but nothing damaged, indicating that a very thorough search had been made. I found that other letters which were only of a personal nature were taken, that a photo which had been taken of myself in Butte, Montana, many years ago had also been taken, and that notes of mine from my trip around England, Ireland, and France had also been taken. I asked the major again for the return of these notes, but he again refused. They also searched the rooms on the other side of the stairway. As far as I know, nothing was taken. Then we all went downstairs.

The major said, "Who is Patrick English?" My brother stepped out. He said, "You are under arrest." They removed my brother down to the gate. My mother, my brother, and myself went down to the gate to see him off. He said, "What charge have you against me?" The major refused to reply. As we were going down to the gate, I warned the others to go back. I said, "They might fire on us. They are liable to turn the machine gun in the lorry on us. We had better go back."

HIS LIFE THREATENED

As a continuation of this, the next morning, as I was leaving for Cove to take the boat, the next morning about half past ten a young man who lives in a house about three miles from there named Kirby came up there and said to me privately, "Our house was raided last night at midnight. They asked where you lived and one of them said, 'We are going to shoot English on the morrow.'" That was the last I heard until I got to Montana, and I got a letter which said that my brother had been sentenced to six months. I also got a letter from my father, who said that on the next evening the Black-and-Tans came and surrounded the house and fired on my brothers, who were out in the fields around the house, but they did not get hurt. The District Inspector was in charge, and he asked for the Reverend English. He was told that I was on my way to America. The District Inspector swore that if ever he got his hands on me it would be a long time until I saw New York. On the mantelpiece was a picture of George Washington.

Q. Who was this District Inspector?

A. He was the district inspector of police from a place called Pallas. He took the picture of George Washington, threw it on the floor, and put his heel on it and said, "This is what ought to happen to all these bloody Americans."

That is all of my personal experiences.

POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE RAID

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you at any time during your presence in that town participate in any way in political matters?

A. No, I made up my mind that I would not take any part in politics. I was asked to speak on one occasion in Limerick, but refused on that ground.

Q. Did your father or brothers participate in any way in any attacks upon British officers or authorities?

A. No, not at any time.

Q. Can you give us any information why they singled out the house where you were for this raid?

A. The explanation which I think is feasible is that, like other people in that part of the country, my father is known to be desirous of a Republican government in Ireland. He has made no secret of it, and has advocated it on all occasions. He happens to be one of the most prominent farmers in that part of the country. I suppose that was one reason. Another reason is, and I forgot to state it, in the course of the search a telegram was found in one of the rooms—an old telegram. It was sent by me to my brother. It was sent from Lisdoonvarna, in the County of Clare. I sent it about the first of August to my brother Patrick, who was arrested that night. There were races taking place in Galway. I had been away from home about two weeks, and had wired to my brother to join me at the race meeting. Everybody goes to the race meetings in Ireland. I wired him: "Will you be able to come to the meeting in Galway? Bring New York papers." The major discovered this and called the captain's attention to it (he carefully refrained from calling him captain), and said, "Here is something." That was pocketed. This bore out a suspicion they might have had that I was a medium for communication between New York and Ireland.

Q. This meeting was a race meeting and they interpreted it as a political meeting?

A. Yes, evidently.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: You mentioned that when your father's watch was taken, he asked that the watch be returned, and then the officer in command ordered that he be taken away. What happened to your father?

A. He was sent back when the lorry left. He was only taken to the gate. He was not injured in any way.

- Q. How old is your father?
 A. About fifty-one years of age.
 Q. A farmer?
 A. Yes, a farmer.
 Q. How large a home have you there?
 A. It is about sixty acres, which is a fair-sized farm in that part of the country.
 Q. Did your brothers work upon the farm?
 A. Yes, with the exception of the one who is going to college.
 Q. This young brother of seventeen was going to college?
 A. Yes, he was going to Rothwell.
 Q. There was nothing in the conduct of the members of your family that would justify such a raid?
 A. Absolutely nothing, except that our sympathies were well known.
 Q. Did you find out that the sympathies of the other people in that village were of the same kind?
 A. Yes, the sympathies of all the people in that part of the country are Republican.
 Chairman Howe: Now you may proceed.

ORDINARY EXPERIENCES IN IRELAND TODAY

The Witness: I will try to give a chronological account of my experiences. I remained in Ireland all the time, except for a brief visit in France and England, up to my departure for this country. In traveling around to visit my friends it was an ordinary experience to be held up by the military on the country roads. A motor lorry would be alongside the road surrounded by soldiers, and everybody in the car was searched and the car itself was searched, all except myself. I never was searched, although I was held up many times with others who were searched. These lorries drive along the principal roads almost every day, going to and fro at a high rate of speed.

- Q. Will you describe these lorries?
 A. The lorry is a large truck with an automobile engine. It is very large. It seats between twenty and thirty. In the large ones they have machine guns, and soldiers or Black-and-Tans (it depends upon who is going in the lorries), sitting along the side and in the back with rifles at the ready. These soldiers and Black-and-Tans frequently fire on cattle or horses and destroy them on their trips around the country. I will give one example of which I have personal knowledge. About a half mile from my place lives a neigh-

bor in a cottage by the road. He has about a half acre of ground. His hogs are generally along the road by the house. The road itself is about twenty-five feet wide, and on either side there is a hard surface. Along the side by the hard surface is a grassy surface about eight to ten feet wide on either side. One afternoon a lorry was passing along, and two pigs were on the hard surface between the road and the fence. It was a big heavy lorry filled with soldiers. The lorry turned in off the road and ran over the pigs, breaking the back of one and the legs of the other, so that they had to be butchered. I came along about a half hour after this, and the young man showed me that the lorry had turned off the road and ran almost into the fence in order to run over the pigs. I give this as an instance of the mischief they do.

· WANTON MURDER OF PATRICK LYNCH AT HOSPITAL

On the night of the fourteenth of August there was a shooting in the town of Hospital. On the morning of Sunday, the fifteenth of August, I went from my own place to the town of Hospital, and there I found the people in a state of terror. I discovered upon investigating that upon the previous night a number of soldiers had entered the house of a man named Lynch, Patrick Lynch, a harness maker, a single man forty years of age living with his two sisters and a blind father. These soldiers had entered his house at eleven-thirty on Saturday night, the fourteenth of August, while they were on their knees saying the rosary. They dragged him—or rather they first asked him to come along. He said, “Just a minute until I get my cap.” They said, “You will not need your cap in the place to which you are going.” They took him out about a hundred yards to a place called the Fair Green, the village square. And then they shot him.

The local doctor lives in a place about fifty yards from where he was shot, and they dragged him out and told him a man was shot. He had lived in this town about thirty years, almost as long as Lynch himself. The doctor saw that Lynch was dead. There were about four wounds in his head. His body was badly battered. The powder marks were on his face in such a way that the doctor did not recognize him. He asked the military who the man was. He said, “Does he live in this town?” The doctor knew Lynch, but he did not recognize the body, and he could not understand why he should be shot. So he went down with the military to Lynch’s house, and knocked on the door and asked the sisters and said, “Is

your brother home?" They said, "No, the military took him out about half an hour ago." He then knew it was Lynch.

Q. Had they notified the sisters?

A. Yes. The next day a report was made public by the police that Lynch was shot by the forces of the Crown in attempting to escape from arrest. An inquest was arranged for. This was before the abolition of coroners' inquests in the county of Limerick. I believe it was called for the following Saturday, which would be about the first of August, I think. At the request of the county coroner, who corresponds roughly to what we call the county attorney, the inquest was postponed for two weeks.

Q. At whose request?

A. The county coroner, the representative of the British Government, requested that the inquest be postponed. At the end of two weeks it was held. I was present at the inquest in Hospital on Monday, about the twenty-second of August, if Monday was the twenty-second of August. It was called for one o'clock in the afternoon. The coroner was there. A jury was there, which had been summoned by the Head Constable of the Constabulary at the next police barracks, which was about five miles away. The witnesses were there, and the audience.

Q. The jury was not from that town?

A. No, the jury was not from that town, but summoned by the police from five miles away. They waited for the appearance of the Crown Solicitor until three o'clock, and for the appearance of the witnesses of the military. Then a telephone call came from Limerick from the Limerick County Solicitor, Gaffney, stating that his side would put in no witnesses. The inquest was held. The doctor, his sisters, and all the other witnesses who saw how the man had died and the nature of his wounds, testified. The verdict was "wilful murder" against the military stationed in Hospital at that time. As far as I could discover, before I left Ireland and since, I have heard of no action whatsoever that was taken against any of those men who shot him, although a verdict of wilful murder, brought in under all the rules of English law in Ireland, was rendered.

Q. Did the soldiers give any reason to the doctor, when they called him to view the body of Lynch, for murdering him?

A. No, they gave no reason whatever.

Q. Do you know from your personal inquiries and investigation as to whether Lynch had been active in doing anything that would anger or create any hostility against him?

A. I know that Lynch, in the first place, was a man who was

not in full possession of his faculties; he was not insane, but he was slightly what they call over there simple. I knew him when I went to school there at the age of sixteen. I knew him as a very harmless individual who never took part in politics of any nature, not even in the old days.

Q. What explanation do you give for the murder of Lynch?

A. The explanation that I heard around there from the people, and which has since been verified to a certain extent, was that they were looking for some Lynch or for another Lynch. They found that he was the only man of that name in Hospital, and they shot him.

Q. Some Lynch that they thought was prominent in the Republican movement?

A. Yes, some Lynch that was prominent in the Republican movement.

HOSPITAL SHOT UP

Also in the town they seized the house of the man to whom they came first, of a man named Sullivan. His house overlooks the three short streets of the town. They seized this house about the middle of July—from the first to the middle of July. On the street in front they built a barricade of sand bags and stones, and in this barricade they placed a machine gun. This blockade and the hollow square inside it were always manned by some soldiers. One afternoon about a week after they had occupied this house, they turned the machine gun on one of the streets of the town and raked the streets of the town for fifteen minutes. Fortunately, the people got word in some way of what was going to be done, and there was no one injured, except glass broken and walls injured where they were hit.

Q. Had any attacks upon soldiers been made in that town?

A. No, absolutely none. The condition in Hospital was that that was a police barracks in Hospital until about the fifth of May. The police evacuated the barracks about the fifth of May and left for some other town. On the night that they evacuated the police barracks, it was burned. That was all that had happened in that part of the country at any time since 1916.

Q. Had these men who had occupied these barracks and evacuated resigned?

A. No, they had not resigned. They were moved from this barracks and taken to larger quarters.

INDISCRIMINATE FIRING AND BURNING IN LIMERICK CITY

I live fourteen miles from the city of Limerick. Frequently during the summer I visited the city, staying over night or for three or four days, for I had some friends there. In the city of Limerick there is a large military barracks containing on an average perhaps six hundred soldiers. And then there are two police barracks, large ones, containing possibly four hundred, three-fourths of whom are Black-and-Tans, and the other members were the old members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. During the months in which I visited Limerick, it was a frequent occurrence for the Black-and-Tans to go out through the streets at night, and especially in one section of the town, Pennywell is the name of it, and there about eleven or twelve o'clock let loose their guns, firing in the air or at some house. Anyway, nobody was personally injured. I was present myself in Limerick one night. I was staying with a clergyman on the outskirts of the city. We had to walk through this district of Pennywell. As we were proceeding home some Black-and-Tans passed by us. Just as they turned into another street we heard firing, and concluded it was the Black-and-Tans firing there. And so it was. They were not attacked. They did not state that they were attacked. They were firing to terrorize the people. To such an extent was that true that this district of Pennywell was called the Pennywell sector of the city of Limerick because it was so often under fire.

Then again, on Sunday, the fifteenth of August, on the day on which I had discovered about the shooting of Lynch, I went home to my father's house, about four miles away. I heard that a part of Limerick was on fire. On Monday I went to the city of Limerick to investigate the matter. I remained in Limerick on that occasion for three days. I went out to the Pennywell district and there I saw that, according to my estimation, about two hundred houses had been injured, some slightly and others more seriously. I found there the marks of bullets, and in a number of instances the marks of bombs, where bombs had been hurled through the windows and exploded on the floors; and other places where the fire was still smoldering. Whether the fires were set by matches or by direct application of bombs, I do not know. I discovered that all that had been done on the day before by the Black-and-Tans. They also returned to the city proper and set fire or hurled bombs into two business houses, one of which was known as the Railway Bar, near the railroad station.

Some time previous to that, on Queen Street in Limerick, a house belonging to a man named Hartney was destroyed at about midnight. The members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, or men in their uniform, were seen running away from the house about midnight. Immediately a tremendous explosion took place and blew the whole front of the house down, to such an extent that the second floor leaned down on the first floor. Fortunately, this was a tea shop, where tea and light lunches were served. There was no one in the house on this night, and there were no lives lost.

DESTRUCTION OF CREAMERIES

Then again, in regard to the burning of creameries. On Tuesday, the twenty-second of August, I was passing through the town of Knocklong, in the County of Limerick, and there I discovered that the creamery was partially destroyed. It was a creamery belonging to a man named Cleeves, Sir Thomas Cleeves, a Unionist in politics. He lives in the city of Limerick, and had been knighted by the late King Edward. This creamery was one of the largest in the south of Ireland, probably hiring about fifty or sixty men, and was worth about three hundred thousand dollars. I stopped off there when I saw the crowd around. It was partially destroyed. I inquired from those around what had happened. They told me that at about two o'clock on that morning a lorry containing men in the uniform of the Royal Irish Constabulary appeared in town, entered the creamery, and threw bombs in the engine room, which was the center of the creamery, and attempted to set fire to other rooms in that creamery, and then left. The people, on the departure of the police, all turned out, and they extinguished the fire in a very short time in the other part of the building, but the bombs had already destroyed the machinery in the engine room. The central engine plant of the creamery was a total wreck, and the creamery was out of business and is as yet. The result is that the farmers in that part of the country—it is a dairying country—the farmers have been compelled to feed the milk which they sent to the creamery to the pigs and calves or throw it away. They can no longer supply it to the creamery, have it made into butter and cheese, and get a return for it.

I must also state that no compensation has at any time been made by the British Government for any of the work of destruction that has been proved against its own forces in Ireland, especially in the line of the destruction of creameries and the blowing up and burning of houses.

Q. Did you hear of any explanation for the destruction of this creamery?

A. Yes, I did. About the date that I arrived in Ireland, a fresh correspondent there, one of the representatives of the Paris *Matin*, had an interview with Lord French, the Lieutenant Governor of Ireland. This was published in the papers over there, the English and Irish papers. He asked French what the trouble was in Ireland. French said the difficulty in Ireland was two hundred thousand young men who should have emigrated. I believe that the only possible reason and the explanation that I heard around there was that the reason for the destruction of these creameries and other business houses was to throw out of employment the young men and compel them to leave the country—in addition, of course, to the auxiliary reason, the attempt to terrorize out of the minds of the people their hope for independence.

Q. Did the owner of this creamery, whom you state was a Unionist, do anything there in that part that would create a hostile feeling toward him?

A. Nothing except that he has been known as a Unionist in politics. He has taken no part in politics, however. He owns large creameries all over the south of Ireland, and large business establishments in Limerick.

Q. Has he made any statement of this matter?

A. I am sure he has made a statement to the British Government, but no statement of his has been published.

DRUNKENNESS AMONG BRITISH TROOPS

Q. Commissioner Maurer: May I ask the question: You have been close to some of these soldiers, these Black-and-Tans. Ireland is not dry. Have you noticed any drunkenness among them?

A. I have. I have noticed in the city of Limerick a number of soldiers and Black-and-Tans that were very ostensibly under the influence of liquor. I have heard it stated in their barracks that they were given in their barracks free drink, in addition to their ration, especially just before going out on a raid. But I have seen them myself very much under the influence of liquor.

Q. Chairman Howe: On duty or off duty?

A. It is very difficult to tell. I know that they are almost always on duty.

Commissioner Maurer: Oh, yes; a soldier is almost always on duty except when on leave of absence.

COMMANDING OFFICER INCITES POLICE TO VIOLENCE

The Witness: Then again events occurred over there while I was in Ireland. There was a charge made by Divisional Commissioner Smyth, of the Royal Irish Constabulary, to members of the police force in Listowel, in the County of Kerry. This charge was made about the fifth of July. It was a statement he made, a speech he made to them in their barracks. There were sixteen police in the barracks at the time. They published an account of the statement that Mr. Smyth made to them. They signed it and it was published in some of the Irish papers and English papers on Saturday, the tenth of July.¹

Q. Senator Walsh: After these police officers had resigned?

A. After they had resigned. The statement was made while they were official members of the police force. Afterwards they made it public. I have the statement here. It is brief. I am going to read it for you, with your permission. The statement says:

Mr. Smyth, the Divisional Commissioner, addressed us as follows: "Well, men, I have something of interest to tell you, something that I am sure you would not wish your wives to hear. I am going to lay all my cards on the table. I may reserve one card for myself. Now, men, Sinn Fein has had all the sport up to the present, and we are going to have the sport now! The police have done splendid work, considering the odds against them. The police are not sufficiently strong to do anything but hold their barracks. This is not enough, for as long as we remain on the defensive, so long will Sinn Fein have the whip hand. We must take the offensive and beat Sinn Fein with its own tactics. Martial law applying to all Ireland is coming into operation shortly. I am promised as many troops from England as I require: thousands are coming daily. I am getting seven thousand police from England. Now, men, what I wish to explain to you is that you are to strengthen your comrades in the outstations. If a police barrack is burned or if the barrack already occupied is not suitable, then the best house in the locality is to be commandeered, the occupants thrown out in the gutter. Let them die there—the more the merrier. Police and military will patrol the country roads at least five nights a week. They are not to confine themselves to the main roads, but take across the country, lie in ambush, and when civilians are seen approaching, shout 'Hands up!' Should the order be not obeyed,

¹ The charge in question was made on the nineteenth of June, but was not published until several weeks later. See Report, Appendix "E."

shoot and shoot with effect. If the persons approaching carry their hands in their pockets or are in any way suspicious-looking, shoot them down. You may make mistakes occasionally and innocent persons may be shot, but that cannot be helped, and you are bound to get the right parties sometimes. The more you shoot, the better I will like you; and I assure you that no policeman will get into trouble for shooting any man. Hunger strikers will be allowed to die in jail—the more the merrier. Some of them have died already, and a damn bad job they were not all allowed to die. As a matter of fact, some of them have already been dealt with in a manner their friends will never hear about. An emigrant ship left an Irish port lately with lots of Sinn Feiners on board. I assure you, men, it will never land. That is nearly all I have to say to you. We want your assistance in carrying out this scheme and wiping out Sinn Fein. Any man who is not prepared to do so is a hindrance rather than a help to us, and he had much better leave the job at once.”

This statement was made by Commissioner Smyth about the first of July in Listowel, before the members of the R. I. C. Their spokesman stood out and said: “We are Irishmen. It is evident that you must be an Englishman. We will not obey these orders.” Smyth turned to the others and said, “Arrest this man!” The others refused and said, “If this man is arrested, this room will run red with blood.” This matter caused considerable comment even in England. The subject of conducting an investigation was broached in the House of Commons. The speaker of the House refused to allow the motion for an investigation to be put, on the grounds that it was outside of their sphere and not a matter of very great importance. Smyth himself did not deny the statement that had been made. He simply said that his words had been misinterpreted.¹

MILITARY POSSESS UNLIMITED ARBITRARY, POWER

Another experience that I wish to give you is one that I had in England. It pertains to the affairs in Ireland. On my way on the train from London to Holyhead—

Q. Senator Walsh: Do you think it pertains to this inquiry?

A. Yes, it does. About the fifteenth of July I met a young man on the train who told me he was an army officer, a first lieutenant,

¹ In consequence of this speech, Divisional Commissioner Smyth was later shot and killed “by parties unknown” at the Cork County Club, July 18, 1920.

about to be sent to take command of his company in Ireland in the County of Roscommon. He told me he had been over there before and was home on a furlough for two weeks. He said, "I wish to God I never had to go over there again." I said, "Why?" He said, "Because it is the most distasteful work I have ever done." He looked young. I asked him, "How old are you?" He said, "I am not quite twenty-two yet, and only out of the military school a short time." I said, "What is the nature of your duties in Ireland?" He said, "I command a body of about one hundred fifty men in the County of Roscommon. I am to look after that part of the country." I said, "Are you given full jurisdiction there?" He said, "Yes." I said, "How, for instance, would you act in the case of a riot or in case your men were going through the country and stones were thrown at them, or you saw people who looked suspicious?" He said, "I have the right to order my soldiers to fire."

The reason I introduce this is to show that a young man not yet twenty-two years of age has the power of life and death in that part of the country.

THE RESTORATION OF ORDER IN IRELAND ACT ¹

In regard also to the law under which the people of Ireland, the British law under which they are living today, I wish to quote a couple of clauses from the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act. This order was promulgated and put in force in Ireland on the twenty-first or twenty-second of August last.

"Regulations 2 and 3: Ordained that any Irish subject may be arrested and tried by court martial for an act done at any time in the past, which act was not at the time it was done but which is now an illegal act."

"Regulation 3, Paragraph 6: Ordained that any Irish subject arrested may, on an order made by the competent naval or military authority, be detained in any of His Majesty's prisons until thence delivered by order of the competent naval or military authority."

"Regulation 14, Paragraph 2: If any person has in his possession any document relating or purporting to relate to the affairs of any such association (these are proscribed associations) he shall be guilty of an offense against the regulation. Where a person is charged with having in his possession any such document and the document is found on the premises under his occupancy or under his control or on which he has resided, the document shall be presumed to have been in his possession unless the contrary is true."

¹ Commonly known as the Coercion Act.

Regulation 16 abolishes the coroners' inquests. Regulation 4, the fifth paragraph, ordains that any Irish subject can be sentenced to death for political offenses by these courts martial.

WITNESS INVITED SOLELY BY COMMISSION

Q. Senator Walsh: For the sake of having it appear in the record, we would like to ask you to say who invited you to testify.

A. Mr. William MacDonald, the secretary of this Commission.

Q. Have you come here solely at the request of this Commission?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that no Irish association has invited you?

A. No, sir.

Q. The reason for inviting you is that you have recently been to Ireland and know what is happening there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have spoken to none of the members of this Commission until today?

A. No, I have not.

Q. So that you have not even communicated with Mr. MacDonald?

A. No, sir; I have not.

The witness was thereupon excused.

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF JOHN F. MARTIN

Chairman Howe: Mr. John F. Martin, of Green Bay, Wisconsin.

Q. Now, Mr. Martin, will you please qualify yourself professionally?

A. My name is John F. Martin. My residence is Green Bay, Wisconsin, and my profession is an attorney-at-law.

Q. Are you an American citizen?

A. Born in Green Bay, Wisconsin.

Q. Born and always lived in Wisconsin?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have recently been in Ireland?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you return?

A. I sailed from Cove on the twenty-third of September.

Q. When did you land in Ireland?

A. I was in Ireland seven days. I might say that I went to

Europe not specifically to visit Ireland, but as a member of the Commission of the Knights of Columbus to present the statue of La Fayette and incidentally to visit France and to present to King Albert and Cardinal Mercier a medal from the Knights of Columbus, and to the latter a check. I went from the duties of that Commission to Malignes and Brussels, and from there over to London.

Q. How long have you practiced law?

A. About twenty-five years.

Q. What offices have you held in Wisconsin?

A. I have never held any office in Wisconsin.

Q. You have always been a plain practitioner of the law?

A. Yes, very plain.

Q. What office have you in the Knights of Columbus?

A. I am a member of the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus.

Q. How long were you in Ireland?

A. Seven days. I went into Dublin on the sixteenth of September. My observations in Dublin would probably be not worth while. They were similar to those of Mr. Morgan. I wanted to visit Limerick, which was the birthplace of my mother; but I was advised that there was railway trouble. I wished also to visit Tipperary, but was informed that I could do that better by auto than by train. So I arranged to go by auto, accompanied by a British subject, Mr. J. J. Leary, of Saskatoon.

Q. You say he was a British subject? Of what nationality?

A. He was a Canadian of Irish parentage.

THE WAR ZONE AROUND LIMERICK

We left our bags in Dublin and went by auto over to Tipperary, and then sought a conveyance to Limerick. We had considerable difficulty in procuring a conveyance to Limerick, but finally, after very diligent search, we got a man who promised to take us over. When he came to the hotel he had a very dilapidated Ford car, with half the hood gone and with one headlight that would not work. Without knowing anything of the experiences to encounter, we went along to Limerick Junction and Oola. We suddenly came across a great stone wall built across the road at Pallas. This stone wall was about six feet high and three or four feet thick, with an opening in the center just wide enough to permit a car to pass through. To the right-hand end of it, it circled around a house built up close to the road. I might say that many houses in that

country are built up close to the road. It was about a two-story house with a flat roof. We got within perhaps a hundred feet of this stone wall when we saw six or eight men in uniform back of the wall. Three of them stepped to their rifles, which were resting on the wall, and one to a machine gun. One man was parading on the rather flat roof with a rifle, and all four were trained directly on us. The men behind the wall were aiming at us, and the man with the machine gun as well. They yelled at us, accompanied by the command to halt. I might suggest that less would have stopped us. After they had us thus covered, three men in uniform came out to search us. They did a very thorough job, searched the car, asked some questions, particularly of the driver. They wanted especially to learn where we were going, and if we expected to come back through there that night. They finally let us go with the statement that we must get back by nine o'clock if we expected to get through there. We decided we would be back before nine o'clock.

We went over to Limerick and passed about an hour driving about Limerick. Owing to the nine o'clock restriction at Pallas, we abandoned my intention of visiting a little town not far from Limerick. On the streets we observed not hundreds but thousands of men in uniform, it seemed to me. As we were driving along, suddenly there sped out in the street in front of our car six, seven, or eight large fellows dressed in black uniforms. One whipped a revolver out of his back pocket and commanded the driver to halt. He did not stop the engine, because it was almost impossible to start the old engine after it was once stopped. They insisted, and the officer in charge of them commanded him to stop the engine. The officer became very abusive, and asked the driver some questions about his permit to drive about in that part of the country. The young man was not the owner of the car, but only the driver. It seemed that his permit was in the name of the owner. The official spokesman said, "Young man, you will go along with us." This was a little disconcerting to us, in view of the fact that our baggage was at Limerick Junction, twenty-five miles away. I ventured to say something to the officer: "Perhaps you overlooked the fact that I am an American citizen. I am here under a passport"—which I produced and showed to them—"and this young man is under my employ. We hired him this afternoon to take us over here and bring us back to Limerick Junction. This man with me is a Canadian citizen. I presume that he has a right to travel here. I am going to object to your right to interfere with my progress. I am due back at Limerick Junction tonight." He examined my passport

and rather insolently tossed it back to me. I said, "I have further proof"—a ticket that I bought at Dublin for Mallow. He looked that over and finally he turned to the driver of the car and said: "On account of these men with you, you may go on this time, but don't let us find you here again or you will not get through."

We hastened back to get through Pallas before the curfew hour. Incidentally, the lights did not work, and we had some tire trouble. We got to Pallas a little late, but explained that tire trouble had detained us, and we were allowed to go through without headlights. A little later we observed a lorry coming down the road with great large headlights. Our driver pulled alongside the road. The lorry stopped and searched us, but found nothing objectionable. We were allowed to go on, and got back to our hotel.

RAIDS, TERRORISM, AND DESTRUCTION IN IRISH CITIES

The next day we went down to Killarney. We found the largest hotel there—I think it is the Southwestern, the largest hotel there—commandeered by the military and surrounded by a barbed-wire entanglement, around which were soldiers and officers parading.

The next morning at ten o'clock we saw in front of that place eighty or ninety soldiers, and saw them march down and make a raid on the Presentation Convent, a place where they manufacture a very special brand of Irish lace, the excuse being that they suspected that firearms were there.

We went from there to Cork, where we saw a greater number of motor lorries than at any other place. They were driving through the streets at a rapid rate of speed, sending the people helter-skelter, and promiscuously bent on frightening them. They were loaded as has been described to you before. The rear part of the lorry has a body, say, three feet high. In this the men were standing or looking over the top of the body, all with their rifles ready. We were told that night that two men were shot because they had failed to comply with the curfew law, which hour is ten o'clock there.

We went to Cove, from which we were going to sail on the twenty-third. We learned down there that the town had been sacked and a reprisal made because of the killing of a soldier at a little town, I think Middleton, about fifteen miles outside of Cove. Having the conditions described to us by the young lady in the hotel, we walked down the street to make some observations. I personally counted, beginning at the Queen's Hotel and going up the street, within five blocks eighty plate-glass windows broken on both sides

of the street. The little round holes in the broken windows looked like bullet holes, but we were informed that they were not; that they were made by what they call trench hammers. The lady who lived up at the end of where this district began said that late at night a band of soldiers came charging up the street. The officer in charge said, "Not a window left from here down to the station," and the work began.

Q. Chairman Howe: They were broken by mallets?

A. Yes; most of them were small, round holes, apparently like the hole of a stone. They said it was a small, round hammer that struck it.

That is all that I think would be of any interest to you. I left there on the afternoon of the twenty-third.

POLITICAL UNANIMITY OF IRISH PEOPLE UN- AFFECTED BY RELIGIOUS ISSUES

Q. Commissioner Maurer: What did you find among the people, a spirit of terror?

A. Yes, I found that. But if I may give the results of my conversations, there was an absolute unanimity of opinion among the people that they were going to stick it out until they got the right to govern themselves. I talked, going out of Dublin on the train, with a man who appeared to be a very distinguished gentleman, who told about the raid that took place at his home about a week before, while he was away at the races. A dozen or more men, all masked, came about midnight, searched his house for munitions and firearms, and finally found one sporting gun. His daughters were very much aroused and excited. The next day the military came along for the same purpose. I said, "I assumed that when you told about this first raid, you were speaking about the military?" He said, "Oh, no, I was speaking about the Sinn Feiners, and I was damn glad they got there first, for I would rather have them get it than the military. They probably heard the military intended to raid my house for arms, and so they beat them to it." He said, "My name is Kirk. I am not a Catholic. You Americans think that we are not in agreement over here because in some places there have been religious differences. But when it comes to politics we are all Irish, and we believe in the right of Irishmen to govern themselves."

At Killarney we stopped at the Glede Hotel. Mr. Graham, a Scotchman, was the proprietor. He said, "We are all of one thought politically, and religion does not enter into it at all."

WITNESS COMES SOLELY AT REQUEST OF COMMISSION

Q. Senator Walsh: How did you happen to become a witness here?

A. I don't know. I got a telegram from here signed William MacDonald.¹

Q. That was all?

A. Yes. I am a little curious to know how you knew that I was in Ireland.

Q. It was through newspaper reports. You came solely at the Commission's request?

A. I came at Mr. MacDonald's request; at his request only.

Q. Chairman Howe: How much territory did you cover in Ireland?

A. I went to Dublin for two days, and then down to Limerick, about one hundred miles, and then down by train to Killarney, and over to Cork, and then down to Cove.

Q. Two or three hundred miles altogether?

A. I should think so, about that.

Q. These conditions you have described are fairly typical in those towns?

A. I think they are much worse in the north of Ireland. By reading the newspapers after I got back I find that we are not getting very much information over here. They are much worse in the north of Ireland.

PEOPLE ESTABLISHING THEIR OWN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Q. Do you think the people are forming their own civil processes there?

A. Yes. A young man of our party was fortunate enough to get into a Republican court, and he found that the people of Ireland are submitting their questions to their own courts and are perfectly glad to do so.

Q. There is a de facto political life there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Do you know anything about the industrial conditions of Ireland?

A. Yes, a little.

¹ Dr. William MacDonald, Secretary of the Commission.

Senator Walsh: Don't you think that a witness like Mr. Hackett could give us more about that?

The Witness: The industrial life was very prosperous until the attacks on the creameries got in vogue, and that, of course, is putting them out of business.

The witness was thereupon excused.

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF REV. DR. JAMES H. COTTER

Chairman Howe: Reverend James H. Cotter, of Ironton, Ohio.

Q. What is your full name?

A. Reverend Doctor James H. Cotter.

Q. Where are you stationed?

A. Saint Laurence Church, Ironton, Ohio.

Q. You are the pastor there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you lived in that town?

A. Thirty-one years, over thirty-one years. In addition to being pastor, I would say that I am on the staff of *The Columbiad*, the Knights of Columbus organ.

Q. That is to say that you are a member of the editorial staff of the Knights of Columbus official organ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been a Catholic priest?

A. Thirty-eight years.

Q. All of that time your work has been confined to the State of Ohio?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where were you born?

A. County Tipperary, Ireland.

Q. How old were you when you came to America?

A. Fifteen years.

Q. Have you recently visited Ireland?

A. Yes, sir. I have been there for eight weeks exactly.

Q. What months?

A. From the twenty-third of July to the twenty-third of September.

Q. How long since you last visited Ireland?

A. Twenty-three years.

Q. What was the occasion of your visit to Ireland at this time?

A. I went to visit Ireland because I was anxious to see for myself the conditions there.

Q. Not for the purpose of printing in any newspaper?

A. Only as a result. I was for six years the editor of the *Union and Times*, of Buffalo, and I was then for three years editor of the *Columbia*, of Columbus, Ohio, and then for a while I was on the staff of the *Columbiad*.

Q. So that you were desirous, for personal reasons and also for newspaper purposes, of studying the conditions in Ireland?

A. Yes, so that I would know the questions intelligently and could discuss them editorially.

Q. Will you relate to us your personal investigations of lawlessness and military conditions in Ireland?

A. When I went to Ireland first I landed in Dublin on the twenty-third of July. I was not long in Ireland before I learned that England's sole purpose was to tempt the Volunteers¹ into the open in order to mercilessly shoot them down. Ireland's sole purpose—it was a surprise to me, knowing that they were an enthusiastic and political race—was to curb their passions, their indignation, and anger.

NO RELIGIOUS QUESTION INVOLVED IN REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

The first question that I desired to study was the religious question, naturally, as a sequence of my own profession. As my mother was a Protestant, I went to see my niece, who was married to an Episcopal rector, Reverend William Stewart, of Keenish Rectory, Enniskillen. That was as far north as I dared to go.

Q. How far north is that?

A. It is in Fermanagh, one of the nine counties of Ulster.

I went to see my niece, who is married to this gentleman, and I was very curious to fathom his mind, since he lived in the north and differed from me in religious principle. I found him very much in sympathy with the Republican movement, and disowning the fact that there was anything like a religious difference in the movement. I in his presence drew the distinction between the Protestants of Ireland and the Orangemen. I held that the Protestants of Ireland were good and very sincere men, who served their God through their fellow men; while the Orangemen had only a creed of hatred begotten by the devil.

I also went to see some relatives in Ballyeagan. I found the same conditions there. They did not ask what their neighbor's

¹ The Irish Volunteers, the nucleus from which the Irish Republican Army has been formed.

ith was when it was a question of devotion to country and a desire for liberty. And at Ballingarry, where I have some more Protestant relatives, I found the same thing is true there.

I also met some editors, or rather authors, since I was an author myself. I met Darrell Figgis, a Protestant author in Ireland. He holds a position in the Republican Government of Ireland. I also met Erskine Childers, whose book, "Military Rule in Ireland," I have here and with your permission will place in evidence.

Q. Is that recently published?

A. It is a revised edition of "Military Rule in Ireland," published not long ago.

Q. What is the date of publication?

A. Mr. MacDonald: Here is the date, 1920.

Q. Senator Walsh: Is the author of that a member of the Republican Party?

A. He holds a state office in the Republican Government of Ireland.

Q. Do you happen to know his religion?

A. Protestant. These are all Protestants.

Q. You are now dealing with your experiences with Protestant people in Ireland?

A. Yes. As far as I have gone they are all Protestant people in different parts of Ireland, in the north and in the south. Mr. Figgis lives in Dublin. Mrs. Bryce entertained me for an afternoon in her home in Bantry Bay. Mrs. Bryce is the sister-in-law of Ambassador Bryce, who was in this country. She was such a radical Sinn Féiner that I have learned she was once put in jail. She was going to Wales to lecture on the labor question, and while going she was arrested and put in jail for five hours. Then I met Mrs. Waddell, of Achill, in western Ireland. She is one who is heart and head with the Republican movement.

Q. She is a Protestant also?

A. Yes, Senator, I saw Protestants especially because I wanted to get the other side of the question, to see if there was any truth at all in the assertion that it was a religious question.

Q. Chairman Howe: This Mrs. Waddell?

A. Mrs. Waddell is a very wealthy lady whose estates are in Russia. She lives in the west of Ireland. Her estates there are in all ways.

Then there is Mr. Biggs, a Protestant gentleman of Bantry, who, because he put a notice in the paper sympathizing with the movement and deprecating English propaganda, particularly the brand Americans got, his store, valued at thirty thousand pounds, was

burned immediately afterwards—I think it was the next day or the next night, immediately after his declaration in the local paper. Then his magnificent home was commandeered by the military some short time after the burning of his store.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was any judicial action taken to determine who burned and destroyed his store and place of business?

A. It was generally understood, and although no court was ever held on it, it was understood that it was the work of the military police.

Q. What was the date of that destruction, approximately?

A. It was previous, Senator, to my going to Ireland.

Q. Do you know how long before?

A. Something like a week before.

Q. Did you see that man himself?

A. No, I did not interview him.

Q. Just talked with him?

A. No, I did not see him, but it was very well known there. It was taken as a maxim that it was the work of the military as a matter of revenge.

Q. For his public utterances of sympathy with the Republic?

A. For his public utterances of sympathy.

CONDITION IN ULSTER “LABORIOUSLY ARTIFICIAL”

To Ulster I did not go, but I learned that the condition there was laboriously artificial—I mean as an argument against the Republican form of government for Ireland. It is a mixture of fanaticism and the cry, “To hell with the Pope,” in order to keep the laborers in the linen factories of Belfast away from the realization of the hell from which they themselves were suffering. Some of the girls there are working for a miserable pittance in water up to their ankles all day. It is well known that these linen factories are the subjects of great profit. Among the proprietors are Sir Edward Carson and Bonar Law. Regarding what I saw myself—

Q. Senator Walsh: Before you take up that, Doctor, did you learn from these people with whom you had interviews as to the sentiment among their neighbors and parishioners, among people of Protestant faith?

The Witness: Will you kindly repeat the question?

Q. You have told us of the sentiment that these individuals have produced to you. Did they communicate to you the sentiment among their Protestant neighbors and parishioners?

A. Yes, they remarked that their neighbors did not know what the faith of their other neighbors was; that they were all for the Republic. They were not interested in the other things. It was an issue which they met on common ground, and did not bother their heads about inquiring as to the religious convictions of the other parties interested.

Q. Did you meet any Protestant men or women, or did you hear of any, that are out of sympathy with the Republican movement?

A. Not one. As I stated, it is a laboriously artificial condition that they have a great difficulty to preserve in its present artificial state in the north.

Q. You indicated that that is due to the efforts on the part of the manufacturing interests to divert their employees' attention from organizing so as to better their conditions?

A. Yes. And that was confirmed by a passenger coming over, a Protestant gentleman who was leaving Belfast because of the fanaticism that was guilty of such wild work there. He was leaving Belfast forever and coming to this country. He confirmed the thought that I had got elsewhere.

Q. Senator Walsh: Now will you continue?

MURDER OF MAYOR MAC CURTAIN CLOAKED BY HYPOCRISY

A. Yes. I want you to know, Senator, very particularly about the murder of Mayor MacCurtain, of Cork, for the reason that a thousand pounds reward—oh, yes, here it is; this affair, the burning of Mr. Biggs's place of business was on July twenty-sixth—a thousand pounds reward was offered in the American papers for the arrest and conviction of the Sinn Feiners that murdered Mayor MacCurtain, of Cork. I was very anxious to know how that question stood, because of the hypocrisy that cloaked the crime. So I went to Cork and interviewed one of the jurors. I will not mention his name, for the reason that I would be fearful that something might happen to him as a result of the interview. He said: "Dr. Cotter; that street was guarded by the military. The converging street was guarded by the police. And in from the band of police went eight policemen and murdered the mayor of Cork"—Mayor MacCurtain, who preceded immediately Mayor MacSwiney; as afterwards his sister-in-law told me in Brixton Prison in London, murdered him with his babe in his arms. A policeman's button was found on the floor, but never was the circumstance considered at all. The verdict of the jury was that Mayor MacCurtain was

murdered by Lloyd George, by Field Marshal French, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; by Ian MacPherson, by Swanzy, the district inspector of police, and some unknown members of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Q. Was that the verdict of the coroner's jury?

A. That was the verdict of the coroner's jury.

Q. Formed under English law?

A. Yes, before they were abolished. They are abolished now.

Q. I suppose that the verdicts were so often against the English Government that they thought it wise to abolish them?

A. I do not know why, but the fact is that they were abolished.

Again I say that I have a hesitancy in mentioning names of persons, because I believe it would be productive of disaster to them. Just as you know of men whom you have summoned and who will not get their passport, and who are in jail; like the guard of honor of eight who were sent over to accompany the remains of Mayor MacSwiney and are now in jail; they never came back from England.

DUM-DUM BULLET FIRED AT MISS MACSWINEY

In Cork I was shown by Miss Mary MacSwiney, the sister of the late Lord Mayor, I was shown by her a bullet that flattens as it strikes. It was fired and intended for her, but went wide of the mark. This was a dum-dum bullet. It was not made in Ireland. There, instead of having a munitions factory, if you carry a gun you get two years or anywhere around that.

NIGHTLY TERRORISM IN CORK

The curfew is the cloak for night work. In Cork first came down from the barracks armed lorries, armed motor cars.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you see these yourself?

A. Yes. At ten o'clock or a little before ten—ten o'clock was the hour for the curfew, but they used to come a little before—these motor cars filled with soldiers with their guns at the ready and fixed bayonets. They would be accompanied often with tanks and searchlights.

Q. And this happened every night?

A. Every night. And then the night made hideous with shots and shouts, making you tremble because of the indifference of the parties themselves and the lack of responsibility, as the sequel proves.

Q. Where did this procession go?

A. Down Patrick Street, the principal street in Cork.

REPRISALS BASED ON MANUFACTURED PRETENSE

Now, to give you an instance of the way they found a pretense for what they called reprisals. A reprisal is a word that has an English and not a general meaning. It is an elastic term not found in our dictionary, but used by England at the present hour to justify any barbarity that has no connection whatsoever outside of manufactured reason. Right opposite the Victoria Hotel, on the sidewalk, there was a hand grenade thrown—on the sidewalk! The soldiery made this a reason for raiding the Cork *Examiner's* office, directly opposite the Victoria Hotel, and a shop called the Black Thorn Shop, where one hundred pounds' worth of stuff was taken. That night the raid was made, and they made the hand grenade the reason for that action. The hand grenade, however, came on the sidewalk. You have to suppose either one of two things: either that the man who owned the house had thrown a hand grenade from his own house at his own window, or that a man on the sidewalk threw it at his toe. It evidently came from the center of the street because of its marked destination. And yet that was made a reason for raiding the newspaper office and the Black Thorn Shop. I give this as an instance of a manufactured reason for wanton conduct.

Q. Do I understand that the claim was made that this hand grenade was thrown from the window of this establishment at a soldier or at an officer?

A. It could not have happened.

Q. But was that the claim made?

A. Yes, that was the claim made.

Q. But you are saying why the claim was invented?

A. Yes; the claim was that they were justified in the reprisals because the hand grenade was thrown at them. How, nobody could figure out.

Q. But this happened while you were there?

A. Just the day before I came to Cork they were raiding the Cork *Examiner's* office. When Mr. Ryan, who owned the Black Thorn Shop, reported the theft of one hundred pounds' worth of his property to the general in charge of the troops, he was told that his application was not mannerly. The letter was pasted up in the shop window, and that was the gist of it all.

SOLDIERS EQUIPPED FOR WAR LINE STREETS

From Cork I went to Queenstown. It was about the end of July or the first of August. I went to the boat regatta that they have there. In the evening the little boys, as part of the play of the day, had a donkey race. They raced down the street on donkeys. They had to go through a line of soldiers with loaded guns and fixed bayonets. I saw that from the window of the Rob Roy Hotel.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you learn that that was a nightly occurrence for these soldiers with fixed bayonets to be on the main thoroughfare?

A. They are always on the main thoroughfares whenever they can accommodate them. For instance, in Limerick they were having a mass in one of the churches at—

Q. Did you see that?

A. Yes, I saw it.

Senator Walsh: We only want what you saw personally.

The Witness: I was on the outside. The crowd came out of the church onto the street. While they were saying mass the soldiers came and stacked arms and fixed bayonets and made sounds to indicate to people that they were there. And then they picked up their arms and passed on. It was really an interruption of a religious service.

Q. Senator Walsh: Is there anything else in Queenstown besides the instance you refer to?

A. Nothing, except that when they were having their little dance—some little girls had a step dance on the platform after the boat race,—the soldiers were massed on the platform right near with their loaded guns and fixed bayonets.

RAIDS, REPRISALS, AND KILLINGS IN LIMERICK AND GALWAY

In Limerick five times in succession they raided at two o'clock in the morning the house of a lady and her three daughters. The last time the Black-and-Tans came in there perfectly drunk. They did not know what they were doing. One of them took a bayonet and was ripping up an oak floor.

Q. From whom did you get this information?

A. From the parties themselves.

Q. You visited the house?

A. Yes, I visited the house.

Q. How soon after these raids had been made?

A. About a week following.

Q. What was the pretended purpose of these raids?

A. The pretended purpose was to search for arms or for persons carrying arms or for those who were on the run—that is, those who, if they were caught, would be put in jail, and so they sleep away from their homes.

The curfew was put on in Limerick after two drunken soldiers had been relieved of their revolvers. A whole street called Kerry Row, a street where everybody was exceedingly poor, was raided in reprisal. I went into their houses and saw the results and sympathized with them. The windows were all broken and everything smashed. The butts of guns and bullets did not have far to go in order to destroy everything those poor people had.

Q. What was the occasion of this destruction?

A. The taking of two revolvers from drunken soldiers.

Q. This followed that act?

A. This followed that act. I mention it to show that there is no comparison between the occurrence of the act and its punishment. This whole street had nothing to do with the couple of boys who took away their revolvers. Besides the houses which were fired there, a beautiful window set in a tower opposite the Dominican Church was destroyed.

Q. By what was it struck?

A. By the military.

Q. By what weapon?

A. I would suppose by hand grenades.

In Galway I saw what was to be seen. I was in the railroad station after returning from the Islands of Aran. The boat was very late. It was nearly twelve o'clock. Suddenly we heard a sharp report. I was with Father Kelley, of Spiddle, a place near Galway. I said to him, "These are shots." Three to five shots were then heard. Then a pause and six or eight more shots. Then very quickly a Black-and-Tan went out on the platform that leads to the back door of the railway hotel, and when the people were coming to get the papers off the train at midnight, he used his revolver in any way, shooting in any direction. He shot a young fellow named Mulvoy. I saw him the next day. He was shot directly through the temple.

Q. Where was this young boy?

A. On the platform getting the papers with the rest. They had brought up the papers giving the news of Mayor MacSwiney's condition.

Q. The train comes in at midnight and they were trying to buy the newspapers?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see him the next day?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you talk with him?

A. No, he was dead.

Senator Walsh: I beg your pardon. I thought he was only wounded.

The Witness: A civilian jumped on the back of the Black-and-Tan and tried to get the revolver out of his hand. He tried to twist his hand so as to shoot the man on his back. While he was trying to do that he wounded a couple of bystanders.

Q. That is, after the soldier had shot Mulvoy?

A. Yes, someone jumped on the back of the Black-and-Tan, and while he was trying to twist the revolver from him, he wounded two others.

Q. So far as you know, Mulvoy was an innocent bystander. He was not connected with politics? He had not been too patriotic in any way?

A. I do not know. So far as I know, no. There virtue is regarded as a vice. I would say, Senator, in reply to your question, that all young men are patriotic.

Q. So that no matter in what direction they shoot, they are apt to shoot a patriot?

A. Yes, sir. After he had wounded a couple of men, a civilian shot him. An English officer on the platform said it was the only thing to do with the scoundrel. In every civilized land under the sun, an action like that would be considered the right thing to do. But it begot reprisals. These reprisals had no connection with the deed and were entirely out of proportion to it, even as punishment, and utterly unmerited, because it was a virtuous act to kill the murderer.

Q. Now, what were the reprisals?

A. The reprisals were about two hours afterward—about two o'clock—

Q. I understand that you were present and saw this shooting?

A. Yes, sir. Two hours afterwards. Lights were put out at once, because they thought they would come, and so half-way prepared for their coming. With the lights out in my room, I peeped out under the blinds and saw what appeared to be about two hundred fifty soldiers or police halted at the front door of the hotel. Immediately after the order "Halt!" came the word "Fire!" So they shot there for several hours through the street, terrifying

everyone. I left my bed and lay under the window—it was a stone building—to escape a possible bullet.

Q. How long did you stay in that position?

A. About an hour and a half.

Q. I suppose you thought that was the safest place from a stray bullet through the window?

A. That is the place that is generally advised in Ireland—under the window.

Next day I learned that after shooting up the street, they went to a Mr. Broderick's house, locked an old woman of sixty-five or seventy years of age—no, not locked, but shut her into a little room in her own house, poured petrol into the parlor and everything near, and set fire to her house. I went to see the ruin the next day.

Q. What happened to that fire? Did they burn the house down?

A. They did not burn the house down, because some neighbors dared to come out of their houses and extinguish the flames. But the piano was burned, and a trunk that belonged to a woman who had just come from America, who has been fifty years here, and it burned her trunk. From Broderick's they went to a house where a man named Quirk was lodging. They took him out of bed, did not give him any time to dress, tied him to a lamp post, and shot him nine times below the belt, literally disemboweling him. An inquest was forbidden to be held. I have forgotten to say that they destroyed the Galway *Express* office, smashed all the type, and destroyed the linotype.

Q. That was a newspaper office?

A. Yes, a newspaper office.

Q. Did that newspaper have Republican sympathies?

A. Republican sympathies? Yes, sir.

Q. This all happened in one night after that railroad station affair in the town of Galway?

A. Yes, sir. I went the next morning to the Galway *Express* office. The owner of the paper was picking up pieces of broken type off the floor. They gathered together enough to print a paper on a sheet about the size of that (indicating a sheet of business letter size), and in big block letters on the top of the sheet was "Keep Cool," which is really the philosophy of the passiveness that Ireland is practicing right now. Mr. O'Day, a solicitor of Galway, for the sake of the good name of the community, inaugurated an informal inquiry into the happenings, and his house was bombed—or, rather, his office was bombed—the following night. And so it goes, and the story is kept from the rest of the world.

UNANIMITY OF IRISH SYMPATHIES

Q. Do you know the political sympathies of this last party?

A. Yes.

Q. What were they?

A. Like the sympathies of everyone I met in Ireland, Protestant and Catholic—Republican.

Q. Republican?

A. Republican. It is the only government.

Q. The only civil government?

A. Yes, civil government.

Q. That is, you found no vestige of British civil authority in Ireland at all?

A. Absolutely none, except this meaningless madness that is the work of government.

Q. Chairman Howe: You say you met no one in Ireland that is not in sympathy with the Republican form of government?

A. None at all.

Q. That is literally true?

A. Literally true.

Q. You mean to say that you never met anyone at all who is not sympathetic with the Republican form of government?

A. No, absolutely none at all.

Q. You mean to say that you could not find them?

A. Yes, I could not find them.

A SOLOMON'S JUDGMENT IN REPUBLICAN COURT

I asked them about their courts. They said that one court gave a regular Solomon's judgment. Two sons were disputing about a legacy. The judgment of the court was that the eldest should divide the property and the younger take his choice. It was very simple, but it was right.

LYNCH MURDERED IN BED BY POLICE

I was in Dublin when Mr. Jack Lynch was killed in the Exchange Hotel.

Q. Do you know the circumstances of that?

A. Yes, sir. I was not there to see it, but I know from every mouth.

Q. You investigated it?

A. Yes. Six to eight police—I do not know the exact number, but it is immaterial—or rather six soldiers came to the door of

the hotel at two o'clock in the morning, asked to see the register, looked for a name, and went to room number six. They left. Nobody heard any sound. And some half hour or so afterwards two policemen came and knocked at the hotel and said to the night clerk: "We are going to guard room number six, where a man lies dying. The military told us to come there." All the next day they stood guard at that room, and did not even admit the proprietor of the hotel into that room. They supposed the man was dying. He was shot in the throat. Nobody heard the shot, because they blanketed the revolver. The military held the inquest. The coroner was first notified not to perform the functions of his office.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do you know what was the pretended reason for attacking Lynch?

A. He was an officer in the movement.

Q. He was an officer of the Irish Republican movement?

A. Yes, he was an officer.

Q. Had he committed any outlaw act that you know?

THE PURPOSE OF THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS

A. None whatever. The purpose of the Volunteer is to inculcate three virtues in a very practical way: the first, truth; the second, sobriety; and the third, patriotism. There is no officer in the Volunteer army that touches drink.

Q. And I suppose that they appreciate that the whole success of their movement, if it can be called successful, is to proceed orderly and without the commission of murder?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In other words, there is the highest form of passive resistance that has been ever attempted in the world?

A. Yes, sir.

To that same barracks from which the police came to take charge of that room where the man was dying, as it was supposed, I went to report to the police, as I was ordered to do on leaving the ship at Liverpool. The man who was at the desk had evidently been imbibing. The lines of the face indicated it. He said to me, "I will give you ten days to get to Darlington. If you do not get there in ten days, report to the police, for they will be looking for you." I was going there to see a relative.

Q. He knew you were going there?

A. Yes, I told him I was going to that place.

CRUELTY DRIVES WOMAN INSANE

In Tuam there was a magnificent draper's place, the finest shop in Tuam, a splendid cut-stone building valued at forty thousand pounds; the contents, with the building itself, was destroyed by the police. The wife of the proprietor—

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you see it?

A. This is what I did not see, but got from others who did see it.

Q. How soon after the occurrence happened?

A. About two or three weeks.

Q. This establishment was destroyed?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was the owner of it?

A. I cannot remember the name—something like Carey. It was the principal building in town.

Q. Did you see it?

A. Yes, I saw it.

Q. And when you arrived there a few weeks later you investigated?

A. Yes, sir. I heard about it, and then when I got there, went and saw it and investigated.

At Tuam the wife of the proprietor escaped from the burning building with her child in her arms, when she was covered by a loaded gun in the hands of a policeman and told to get back there. She escaped over a high wall in the rear to a neighboring premises. As a result of her awful experience, she is insane.

Q. Where is she stationed—in what institution?

A. I do not know.

Q. You did not see her? This is what the neighbors told you?

A. This is what the neighbors told. But I generally ask people who are intelligent to get the straight of it.

Q. Did you learn what had been done to incur such a thing?

A. Absolutely nothing. There were two policemen shot a day or two before.

Q. Chairman Howe: Up to the date of the burning of this man's home, nothing had happened to call forth a reprisal that was known to the general public?

A. Nothing at all.

Q. Was this man obviously connected with the Republican government or movement in Ireland?

A. I do not know.

Q. Senator Walsh: Will your testimony take much longer?

A. Very short, sir.

In that same town a Mr. Casey, who identified himself very prominently in the Republican movement, told me that in a raid on his house his wife was made to walk barefoot over the back yard that was full of glass. They extracted fourteen pieces of glass from her feet. She was confined the week afterwards and bore her first son.

Mrs. Annan Bryce, the lady whose name I have already given, held a country dance in her garage, and the next night her garage was burned down.

Q. Is this the sister-in-law of Ambassador James Bryce?

A. A sister-in-law.

Q. Did she tell you this herself?

A. Yes, she told me this herself, and wrote a letter giving the details to the papers of Glengariff.

Q. Have you a copy of that letter?

A. I am not sure. But I can send it to you, whether I have it or not. I saw it upon arriving in Glengariff.

Arthur Griffith, the vice-president of the Republic, told me that England was planning a massacre. Before I left Ireland I found that his words were true. I found that G. K. Chesterton, the leading scholar in London, in his magazine, *The New Witness*, exposes the plot entered into by the House of Commons after their last adjournment prior to the present session. Ireland has been generally devastated. Her railroads have been stopped by Sir Eric Geddes, the brother to the Ambassador here. The way they stop them is to send soldiers with loaded guns to the train; and then the train does not start. The engineers will not start them when they are used for military purposes. The creameries, you have heard about them being destroyed. It is a plot to destroy the economic life of the people.

There is no use going over about the boy being shot going to bring his mother to church, and about the Midletown boys who were taken to the Cork jail and were strapped back to back. The officer in charge took it into his head to see if one bullet would kill the two men, and shot them, the bullet going through the back of one and through the shoulder of the other.¹

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you investigate this yourself?

A. No; I heard of it from responsible people.

Senator Walsh: I think we should rather have things that, as a newspaper man, you have investigated for personal reasons rather

¹ The Buckley case. See affidavit of Bartholomew Buckley and index.

than general comment about what had happened here and there.

The Witness: In England I found that the English were as much deceived about conditions as the Americans. I found that the government dare not tell the people, noble and humane, dare not tell them the truth about Ireland.

I would like to ask the Commission to read a little extract from the inscription by the author of a work written forty years ago, by the sister of Admiral Fitzgerald, of the English navy.

Senator Walsh: I am afraid we would be getting into a great deal of matter that would be interesting and historic, and yet would not pertain to the immediate inquiry here. I think we had better confine ourselves to just what is going on in Ireland today, what acts of lawlessness are taking place and how much destruction of life and property and loss of blood there is, and how much and to what extent humane treatment has been abolished or done away with.

THE HUNDRED "COWARDLY MURDERS OF POLICE"

The Witness: I will state just one more thing. I wanted to know something about the hundred cowardly murders of police. They have no such word as police is with us. They use a different dictionary. I wanted to know about the cowardly murders. I had heard about these cowardly murders through the speeches of Lloyd George. The cowardly murder takes place in this way: The people in certain parts of the country become infuriated. They have no weapons of their own. They attack a police barracks, almost with their bare knuckles. That barracks is fortified and well protected to keep anything like violent hands off. In that attack on the barracks the policemen are killed. So too are the civilians killed. And they attack armed lorries that have their guns at the ready, and there they are killed. But instead of being a cowardly act, the civilians that attack these barracks and these lorries have no arms at all with which to meet their purpose.

Then, too, the police are spies. When a camp of military comes to town, they point out to this military marked men, and these men's houses are raided or they are shot. And they are treated as spies. The people conceive of a state of war as existing, which leads them to regard the policemen as spies and give them the fate of spies.

That is about all.

WITNESS SUMMONED SOLELY BY COMMISSION

Q. Senator Walsh: Doctor, you were summoned by this Commission and invited to come here and testify?

A. I was summoned by Mr. MacDonald.

Senator Walsh: I want to have it in the record that you are here on the invitation of this Commission and nobody else.

Chairman Howe: Are there any other questions?

Q. Commissioner Maurer: The inhabitants of Ireland are not allowed to have in their possessions any firearms?

A. They will get two years for having in their possession firearms.¹

Q. How about finding firearms in their homes?

A. It is the same.

The Witness: Thank you, gentlemen, for your courtesy.

Chairman Howe: The hearings of the Commission will adjourn until ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

Adjourned 5:20 p. m.

¹Under the recent proclamation of martial law in Ireland, the death penalty may be inflicted for possession of arms or ammunition.

FIRST HEARINGS

Session Two

Before the Commission, sitting in the Hotel La Fayette, Washington, D. C., Friday, November 19, 1920.

10:15 a. m.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN DERHAM, OF BALBRIGGAN

Chairman Howe: The Commission will please come to order. The hearings will begin by the testimony of Mr. John Derham, of Balbriggan, Ireland. Mr. Derham.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Mr. Derham has asked me to act as his counsel in bringing out his testimony.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: What is your name, please?

A. John Derham.

Q. Where do you reside?

A. Balbriggan, County. Dublin, Province Leinster.

Q. How far is Balbriggan situated from the city of Dublin?

A. Twenty miles north.

Q. What communication is there between Balbriggan and the city of Dublin?

A. The Northern Railroad and a main road between Belfast and Dublin.

THE INDUSTRIES OF BALBRIGGAN

Q. I wish you would describe to the Commission the sort of town Balbriggan is, industrial or agricultural?

A. Industrial.

Q. What are the industries?

A. Hosiery, Balbriggan hosiery.

Q. There are two main factories there?

A. Two, yes.

Q. What is the size of them?

A. The largest factory employs about three hundred or two hundred and fifty in the factory.

Q. The smaller one?

A. The smaller one, one hundred twenty.

Q. One was burned, I believe?

A. That was the smaller one.

- Q. That had one hundred twenty employees?
 A. In the factory.
 Q. Were there others in the town that worked for the factory, and in what way was that done?
 Q. Chairman Howe: What is his official position?
 A. Town commissioner.
 Q. Senator Walsh: When were you elected?
 A. The fifteenth of January.
 Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: I believe you also have a son?
 A. Yes, he is the chairman of it.
 Q. He is here?
 A. No, he is in jail.
 Q. He was in jail at the time you came?
 A. Yes, he is in jail at Mountjoy prison.
 Q. Senator Walsh: For what offence?
 A. For riding a bicycle at night. Nothing found on him. No charge. He had to go on hunger strike for three weeks to get the charge.

BALBRIGGAN A NATIONALIST STRONGHOLD

- Q. Tell us a little more about the election on the fifteenth. What parties were candidates?
 Mr. F. P. Walsh: Just describe that. The election was of what date?
 A. The fifteenth of January.
 Q. How many parties had candidates?
 A. Republican, Nationalists or Redmondites, and two Unionists and one representing the Soldiers' and Sailors' Federation.
 Q. Any Labor Party running?
 A. Two Labor.
 Q. What was the result of the election?
 A. The result of the election was that Labor and the Republicans, who are the same, five; two Unionists, two Nationalists, and the Soldiers and Sailors, none.
 Q. Your town commission consists of how many members?
 A. Nine.
 Q. Did you perfect your election before your son was arrested?
 A. Oh, yes, he was not arrested until June.
 Q. What was your son's name?
 A. James.
 Q. Was it a full and free election, participated in by the men and women of Balbriggan?

A. Yes, all the people of the town.

Q. Was there any disturbance?

A. Not the slightest. There was a very full vote.

Q. How many votes were cast?

A. I do not know.

Q. How many members of the council were elected?

A. Nine.

Q. How many of the members elected were sympathizers with the Republican movement?

A. Five Republicans.

Q. Were any other of the men sympathizers?

A. The other four were not.

Q. Which party received the highest vote?

A. The Nationalists.

Q. Which party came in as members of the council through minority representation? That is, there was some one party which got the highest vote, and the others—the minority representation was given to the others.

A. The highest vote was got by the Nationalists. The next was got by a Labor and one of the Unionists.

Q. And the Republicans last?

A. No, my son came next, the Republican. Then one, a Labor man, and another Republican after him.

Q. As the council was finally made up, the sympathizers with the Republican movement were five out of nine; but, as a matter of fact, the highest vote was given to other than Republican candidates?

A. Yes, you can explain that by the Unionist and Nationalist members. The Nationalist member was a very old member there, for nine or ten years.

Q. Then there was not so much of an issue as to sympathies with the Irish Republic as with local conditions?

A. The Unionists had a great deal to do with that, because the Unionist candidates were members of the large factory.

Q. Was it a victory for the Republicans, then?

A. Yes.

Q. Your town was a Nationalist stronghold?

A. A Nationalist stronghold. But it had not been tested for three years.

Q. You say that factory that was burned gave employment to one hundred and twenty, and gave out work to others to do at home. How many?

- A. Between three and four hundred.
- Q. How many did the largest factory have that did their work at home?
- A. Between five and six hundred.
- Q. The backbone of the town was the hosiery industry?
- A. Yes, it extended to Skerries and Rush.
- Q. It went to villages around in the neighborhood?
- A. Certainly. There were not people enough in our town to do it.
- Q. Was there any work done in Dublin?
- A. Yes, the big factory had some work done in Dublin.
- Q. Was there any other industry?
- A. Yes, linen.
- Q. What was the size of that?
- A. Forty or fifty working on linen ticking, tablecloths, sheets, and the like.
- Q. Has Balbriggan any other resources? Is it anything of a mountain town?
- A. No. There is the sea on one side. We are not far from Drogheda. Then there is the national fishing fleet motor boats in Balbriggan.
- Q. You are the proprietor of a licensed public house?
- A. Yes, for about thirty years.
- Q. How long have you lived in Balbriggan?
- A. For about thirty years.
- Q. You are a married man?
- A. Yes.
- Q. How many in the family?
- A. Eight.
- Q. Can you give their names?
- A. Yes. Mary, James, Elizabeth, Michael, Kathleen, John, Morris, and Louis.
- Q. Did these children all live at home with you?
- A. Yes.

CROWN FORCES IN BALBRIGGAN

- Q. What sort of a barracks, if any, is there in Balbriggan?
- A. A large house, an old house.
- Q. Was there a police barracks in Balbriggan prior to this time?
- A. Always in Balbriggan.
- Q. How large a one was it?

A. The house was fairly large.

Q. How many members of the Royal Irish Constabulary ordinarily were there?

A. Ten to thirteen.

Q. After the war was there any military establishment close to Balbriggan?

A. During the latter end of the war there was an aerodrome built for flying at Gormanstown, three miles further north, a very large one.

Q. Subsequently what has that been used for?

A. Turned into a training quarters for Black-and-Tans. There is supposed to be fifteen to twenty hundred of them. We cannot tell. They come by rail and motor lorries.

Q. When did they begin to use the aerodrome for that purpose?

A. I should say about July when they came first.

Q. The population of Balbriggan is?

A. Twenty-five hundred.

RELIGIOUS HARMONY

Q. How did you find the population was as to Catholics and non-Catholics?

A. Oh, the population is Catholic. We have, I suppose, sixty or seventy Protestants.

Q. Are there two churches there?

A. There are, the Protestant and the Catholic Church.

Q. Who is the pastor of the Protestant Church?

A. The Reverend William Jamison.

Q. How long has he been there?

A. I should say about a year.

Q. Has there been harmony or not between the Catholics and Protestants in Balbriggan?

A. Harmony.

Q. Has there been any differences there between them, caused by any differences in belief on the part of the inhabitants?

A. Not the slightest.

Q. Do they cooperate and help each other?

A. Yes, they always cooperate. If there is anything for the Chapel, they all help.

Q. How is that?

A. The Catholics are in the best economic position to do so, and they extend help cheerfully.

ORIGIN OF THE NIGHT OF TERROR

Q. Upon what night was there violence in Balbriggan?

A. The twentieth of September.

Q. Was there a Black-and-Tan killed in Balbriggan?

A. One killed and another wounded.

Q. Were you present at the time?

A. I was not present at the time of the shooting.

Q. I wish you would proceed and give the details of what occurred at your own home and at the Smith public house. There is a public house there kept by a woman named Mrs. Smith?

A. Yes, Mrs. Smith has a house known as the New Bar.

Q. Please state to the Commission what you learned the following morning about what occurred in that place.

A. No, that night. On the night of the twentieth of September I was in my own bar. My son, John, came in about half nine and told me there was a row in the New Bar with the Black-and-Tans, and that two of them were shot.

Q. Did you get any other details at that time?

A. Nothing further at that time.

Q. Please tell what you finally learned about this occurrence?

A. About how it did take place?

Q. Yes, how it took place.

A. District Inspector Burke of the Royal Irish Constabulary came down to see his brother, a sergeant in the R. I. C. in Balbriggan.

Q. Where did Burke live?

A. In the barracks at Balbriggan.

Q. That is, the sergeant?

A. Yes, the sergeant did. The brother came from Dublin.

Q. What had he been before?

A. An inspector.

Q. He had been promoted?

A. Yes, on that day or the day previous. He came down to celebrate it with a few friends. There were two motor cars or taxis came down from Dublin.

Q. Who were in the taxis?

A. Black-and-Tans. They stopped at Smith's and were taking some drink there. The bar maid refused to give them more, and they went behind the bar to take it. She then sent for the R. I. C. They came up, looked in at the door, and left when they saw who was inside.

Q. Who was inside?

A. The Black-and-Tans.

Q. At that time, according to your information received there the next morning, was there anyone in there except the Black-and-Tans?

A. Not that I heard.

Q. There had been civilians in there, but they had left?

A. They left when this excitement began about taking the drink. The police looked in and left. It was not a hundred yards from there where the shooting took place.

Q. The Black-and-Tans came out?

A. Yes, through the Smith door of the street.

Q. What became of the taxicabs?

A. One taxicab immediately left for Dublin.

Q. Did you hear of any other details?

A. That was practically all.

Q. Was there ever any military investigation?

A. No, no other than the military inquest made further about it.

Q. I wish you would begin now, Mr. Derham, with your own experiences, what you heard and saw.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you know who shot these Black-and-Tans?

A. No, there was just a bit of a row there. They had been drinking and were a bit excited.

Q. Was there a row between themselves, or with citizens of Balbriggan? Or did citizens waylay them and shoot them outside?

A. No, the shooting took place from the inside at some of the Black-and-Tans already gone out.

Q. Who shot them?

A. Nobody knows.

Q. The bar maid was inside?

A. She was inside.

Q. Has not somebody made an inquiry of her?

A. She says she knows nothing about it. She was very excited about these people coming behind the bar.

Q. Did any civilians get inside and threaten them with revolvers?

A. Not that is known.

Q. It could have happened by a skirmish among themselves?

A. It could.

Q. Or it could have happened by some citizens of the town shooting these Black-and-Tans?

A. It could.

Q. Or it could have happened from inside as these men were going out?

A. It could.

Q. Who were killed?

A. These two brothers.

Q. Was there any inquiry?

A. There was.

Q. Who conducted it?

A. The military.

Q. What was the verdict?

A. Shot by persons unknown.

Q. Was there any investigation by civil authorities?

A. Oh, no. That has been done away with.

Q. How long has that been done away with?

A. Four or five months.

Q. In what condition were these Black-and-Tans?

A. They were supposed to have had too much liquor.

Q. Does the bar maid claim they were drunk?

A. She claims they had too much.

Q. How many of them were in there?

A. Eight or nine of them.

Q. That is the whole story about that episode?

A. That is all as far as that is concerned.

Q. The bar maid did not know them?

A. No. She was not long there in the employ of that place.

Q. Do any of those Black-and-Tans claim that civilians shot them?

A. They do.

Q. They all claim that, I suppose?

A. They do.

Q. Do they say where these civilians came from?

A. There is a back door.

Q. Who runs this place?

A. Mrs. Smith.

Q. Has she any sons?

A. No, only daughters. The men folks are dead.

Q. Then there are no men working or living on the premises?

A. No. Only women.

Q. Has she any assistants?

A. A couple of bar maids.

Q. After the police officers looked into the front door, did they go away?

A. Yes, they went away. There was no disturbance.

Q. Does the bar maid claim that these men took liquor from behind the counter?

A. Yes, they did take it.

Q. What were they drinking?

A. Bass, I suppose—the usual drink over there.

Q. But about the Black-and-Tans' claim that some civilians shot at them from behind the door?

A. Yes, that is the excuse.

Q. You do not care to state from your inquiries as to what extent these Black-and-Tans were under the influence of liquor?

A. They had too much taken. I could not find out just how much.

Q. There was a celebration going on there on account of the elevation of this inspector?

A. Yes, certainly.

Q. Were any of these Black-and-Tans from Dublin?

A. Yes, they were all from Dublin except the brother.

Q. They got the brother who was a sergeant?

A. They got the brother of the inspector, who was a sergeant, from the barracks, and went up to the house for refreshments.

Q. How long were they in there?

A. About an hour.

Q. Had they taken drink before they came in there?

A. I do not think so.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: What was the circumstance of the other taxicab?

A. Immediately after the shooting one of them disappeared.

Q. Did any Black-and-Tans get into the taxicab?

A. I could not find out about that. It is supposed they did.

Q. What became of the wounded men?

A. He that died was taken out, and the wounded man was brought to the police barracks.

Q. You may proceed and recount the instances that occurred after that.

A. My own?

Q. Yes, your own.

A. I need not tell about what my son said.

Q. Mr. Walsh: No, you told about that. Did anything else take place in your own bar?

A. No, I immediately ordered the porter to put up the shutters. I asked the men on the premises to leave, that I was going to shut

the shop. So they drank up and left. I had the shop shut at quarter to ten or twenty minutes of. I then went inside to the sitting room with my family. We remained there until half after ten. Then my son, Mike, came in.

Q. How old is Mike?

A. Just twenty. At half past ten he came in and went to bed.

Q. I think it might be well to describe the location of the rooms in your house. How many rooms and where is the bar there located with reference to the living part of the house?

A. The bar, of course, is on the ground floor. The bar is on Clanard Street on the Square.

Q. How large a room is the bar room?

A. About thirty-six feet in length and about fifteen across.

Q. Describe your house there.

A. At the back of the bar is the two sitting rooms, and the kitchen at the back.

Q. Senator Walsh: Are those for private use?

A. One of them is for the family, for private use, and the other is for the bar.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: That is all that is on the first floor?

A. Yes.

Q. Now describe the upstairs.

A. There are seven rooms upstairs, six bedrooms and another one.

Q. Of what material is your house built?

A. Of stone.

Q. Two stories?

A. Yes, two stories.

THE COMING OF THE BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. You were saying that Mike came in and went to bed?

A. Yes. And the rest of the family and my wife went to bed at eleven. I retired about quarter past eleven. When I got into my bedroom I saw and heard the motor lorries, four of them, come in full of Black-and-Tans. I remained then to see what they were going to do.

Q. You could look out on the street from your bedroom window?

A. Yes, the barracks is about fifty yards from my place, and I knew that they were going to stop there. After they stopped I saw from ten to twelve Black-and-Tans proceed down Drogheda Street. I waited then to see what was going to happen with these Black-and-

Tans for some ten minutes or so. It might have been half past eleven. The first I heard was glass breaking up the street. I told my wife, "There is going to be a raid on," because I heard the glass. Then I heard some shouting and more glass. I went inside and called the daughters and told them to go into the back room, not to light any lights, and bring their clothes with them. I then went back into the boys' room and called my three sons and told them to get up and dress and use no light. My wife did the same. They remained in the back room in the dark, for I thought there would be shooting. You could hear them screeching and roaring, and their voices got worse, and I heard some shots.

Q. Senator Walsh: The voices of the people in the village?

A. No, the Black-and-Tans.

Q. What were they saying?

TORN FROM FAMILY AT POINT OF GUN

A. We could not tell you that. They were yelling down the street. What, I could not tell. I remained in the room for three minutes or so. We heard the yells coming closer to our place. They started in breaking in the shutters and windows.

Q. What, your house?

A. Yes. The yelling was something fearful. It took them three or four minutes to break into the front. Then they started breaking up the shop and the two rooms below stairs. Then the excitement was so bad in the room that I got a candle.

Q. The excitement among your own family?

A. Yes, my wife and one of the daughters. I heard them coming upstairs then and break open the parlor door. Immediately I heard, "Hands up or I will shoot." So I put my head out through the door and said, "Come this way, for I have nothing."

Q. Senator Walsh: As a matter of fact, were there any fire-arms or weapons in your house?

A. Not a thing. Not a thing. He then said, "Come out or I will shoot," so I looked out, and he put the rifle up to his shoulder. I ducked back and told him to come this way, for I have nothing.

Q. In what position did he put the rifle?

A. Like this (indicating raised position ready to fire).

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: To your body?

A. Like this (again indicating position ready to fire). I said, "Come this way for I have nothing." Then ten or twelve of them advanced up to the front room. I said, "Spare the children." And

he said, "This is the man. Take him." And my wife said, "Where he goes, I go," and she caught me. Then I was taken around to look at the family, and I got a blow in the jaw from a man's fist—I did not see the man—and pushed down the passageway. They stopped there for about a minute, perhaps, until more Black-and-Tans came up the stairs. I was then taken downstairs. There was none of our family fully dressed. The wife had no stockings on; the children had no hats or boots—shoes; I had no hat myself or shoes. I was taken downstairs and was going through the hall door when the policeman turned to me and said: "No, you are going out the way we came in," and he brought me out through the shop. When going that way I saw that the two rooms were packed with Black-and-Tans breaking in there.

SHOP RAIDED AND WRECKED

Q. About how many would you say there were down there?

A. There were at least seventy on the premises before I got through. Seventy at least.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Were they drinking any of your liquor?

A. I do not think so. But they took a bird I had there, a finch, took it out of the cage and on.

Q. Senator Walsh: What was the condition of your bar room when you got downstairs?

A. Everything was completely smashed. The glass was about a foot high back of the bar.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Did they destroy any of your liquors?

A. They did.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did they destroy all of your stock?

A. There was much left.

Q. Did they destroy the shop?

A. Yes, counter and shades and so forth were smashed.

Q. Did they take anything?

A. They did not take what they could have. Some dozen or so of Three Star brandy they left, and some other liquors.

"SIT DOWN ON THE CURB, YOU DOG"

Q. Senator Walsh: I suppose you did not have time to investigate?

A. No, sir. I was taken to the shop door. Immediately I got

to the shop door I was caught by the neck and pulled into the path. I then got the blow of a rifle in the side of the head. I was taken across the street and struck four times and asked, "Where is your bloody son?" A voice said, "Take him to the Green."

Q. What is the Green?

A. The Fair Green. I thought he meant to take me there for shooting purposes. That is what I thought at that time. Going across the street I was stopped then and searched by a Black-and-Tan. He did not take anything from me. He made me put my hands over my head, high up, for about a minute. He then said, "Sit down." I was going over to a door step to sit down. He said, "Come back here and sit down on the curb, you dog." I sat down on the curb stone and there were seven rifles pointed at me. I remained there for about five minutes more. A man then asked me my name, and I told him. I then shifted my position a minute, and he said, "Sit down there, you dog."

Q. Senator Walsh: All of this time there were seven rifles pointed at you?

A. Yes, all that time there was seven rifles pointed at me.

I was being led to the barracks when a big man pointed a revolver at my ear and said, "I will blow your bloody brains out."

Q. Did he put it to your ear?

A. Yes, right at the side of my ear.

Q. All this time did you make any protest?

A. No; I never spoke.

Q. Never spoke?

A. Never spoke. He told me to get in on the path. I was on the road. And immediately I was struck on the shoulder and tumbled down with the butt of a rifle. I got to the barracks then. It was about thirty yards away where all this was happening. He said, "Put this man in the day room." The man guarding the door said, "He cannot go in there. There is a man dying in there." I was told to stop on the porch of the barracks and remained there for about five minutes or eight or something like that. The man then said, "Take this man to the hotel." So I was brought to the hotel. Lawless—the second son of Mr. Lawless—was there with a child three years old with bronchitis; and another little child about four.

UNCLAD CHILDREN DRIVEN FROM HOME

Q. Were these Lawless children driven out of their home?

A. Yes, they were driven out with their father. He was in his bare feet, and the children were in their night clothes.

Q. What sort of weather was it?

A. The weather was very cold. It was frosty, too. The grass was wet. There was no rain, though.

I got into the hotel. When I got there, I got the remainder of my family with me, with the exception of Mike. I stopped there until half past six in the morning.

A NIGHT OF YELLING, BURNING, AND SHOOTING

Q. Senator Walsh: During the night what could you see from the hotel as to what was going on?

A. I could see the glare of the fires. I could see that two houses were gone altogether.

Q. Could you see your own house from there?

A. I could. Then there was yelling and burning and shooting all the night.

Q. At any time during the night did you ascertain that anyone had been killed?

A. Not until half past six in the morning. The Black-and-Tans were stopping and yelling outside the hotel all the time. There was nearly a collapse in my family whenever they stopped.

LAWLESS AND GIBBONS BAYONETED TO DEATH

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: You might detail at this time what you saw and heard about Mr. Lawless and Mr. Gibbons.

A. About half past six I came out of the hotel.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was the hotel turned into police barracks?

A. I thought so all night, but I came out at half past six.

Q. How did you happen to come out at half past six?

A. There was no police with me. I saw civilians walking around outside. I got down to the barracks and was told that Lawless and Gibbons were shot, and were down in the lane about six yards off the road. I saw the black objects of their bodies, but did not feel able to go down and look at it myself.

Q. Were there people around the bodies?

A. Yes, they were around there looking at them.

Q. What was your information about where they were killed and how the bodies got there?

A. They were killed around the corner in Quay Street.

Q. Where were the bodies lying?

A. On the roadside, by two pools of blood.

Q. What was your information about how the bodies got there?

A. The neighbors carried them down to the gate in the lane, about five or six yards down. The neighbors found their bodies on the roadway and removed them from the sight of the public.

Q. Who was Mr. Lawless?

A. He was the local barber.

Q. What was his name?

A. James.

Q. Who was Mr. Gibbons?

A. He was a dairy proprietor, living with his mother. His name was John.

Q. How old was Mr. Gibbons?

A. About thirty-five.

Q. Was he a married man?

A. No, he lived with his mother and three sisters.

Q. Was he a law-abiding man?

A. Yes, indeed.

Q. How old was Mr. Lawless?

A. About forty.

Q. Had he any family?

A. Yes, seven children.

Q. Had he a wife living?

A. Yes, she is living.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Now, I wish you would detail the circumstances as they were given to you the next morning about the death of these men.

A. Lawless was first taken. His was the first house attacked. He was brought into the barracks at the time I was brought down.

Q. Did you see him there?

A. I did not. But his sons said they heard their father's voice inside. The local doctor was then in the day room. He was badly bruised and beaten about the head.

Q. Where was Mr. Lawless's son?

A. He was on the porch of the barracks, where I was.

Q. Did he have anyone with him?

A. He had his little sister about four years old.

Q. The sick child?

A. Yes.

Q. Had he been brought there with his father?

A. No, he came there after his father was taken.

Q. He was in the hotel with you?

A. Yes, he brought the child to the hotel.

Q. You were telling about the death of Mr. Lawless.

A. About half past one two Black-and-Tans came into the barracks and asked Lawless to tell them who shot Inspector Burke. He said he did not know, and the Black-and-Tans said, "Tell the truth or you will be shot at half two," looking at their wrist watches.

Q. He looked at his wrist watch?

A. Yes, and said right out, "You will be shot at half two." He was then taken outside the barracks, and there was some shots fired. It was presumed to be at Lawless, but not to hit him—to frighten him. And he was brought in again. Gibbons, John Gibbons, was brought into the barracks just as Lawless went back to the barracks, and after half an hour or so there, they came in, the same two Black-and-Tans, and asked Gibbons to tell who shot Burke. He said he did not know. They said, "You will have to tell the truth." He said, "I am telling the truth." They asked him to tell what he had to do with the Sinn Fein Volunteers. He said he was secretary for the local Volunteers. The two of them were then brought out, one after the other, again, and were asked the same questions, and the same procedure went on. That is, there were shots fired, and they were brought in again to the barracks. They remained there until about quarter to five in the morning, when they were taken out and brought around to Quay Street, about ten yards from the barracks, and were bayoneted to death.

Q. Senator Walsh: They were stabbed to death with bayonets?

A. Yes, with bayonets.

Q. No shots were fired into them at any time?

A. No, not according to the doctor's report.

Q. How many times were the bodies pierced?

A. There were three in Gibbons's neck and several across the body. The other man had bayonet wounds nine inches long in each of his thighs.

SON, BEATEN UNTIL UNCONSCIOUS, LEFT IN BURNING HOME

Q. Did you find all of your family in the hotel, Mr. Derham?

A. No. After passing where Lawless and Gibbons was, I went further. I saw nothing was standing there.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Your own home?

A. Yes, sir. The walls were all tumbled down. Not the makings of a match was left.

Q. Senator Walsh: Burned all your property?

A. The whole lot.

Q. Clothing?

A. Yes; we were not dressed.

Q. Everything you had in the house was burned?

A. Yes, everything we had. I was told then by the people that Mike was all right, that he was up in a neighbor's cottage, Murphy's, about a mile out of town; that he was badly beat about the head. I was afraid, because so many were telling me he was up there, that the police would hear about it and beat me up there, and so I went up immediately.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: What was his condition?

A. He was badly cut about the forehead; his lip was stitched here (indicating front of lip), and his jaw was bruised badly, and several bad wounds about his head. His arms were so stiff he could hardly shake hands with me.

Q. He was lying on the bed?

A. Yes.

Q. Dressed?

A. Partially dressed—trousers and coat and stockings. I asked him to tell me how he got out of the house. He told me he didn't know; he remembered calling for his mother two or three times, and didn't know anything more. Finally he was found lying in the field and brought to this house.

Q. What is your information about what happened to him?

The Witness: After he left the house and went into the next garden?

Senator Walsh: No, before he left the house?

The Witness: What he told me himself?

Senator Walsh: Yes.

The Witness: When we left the room one of the Black-and-Tans said: "There is the young lad; take him." And they went to choke his brother, John.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: How old is John?

A. Just fifteen. And Mike said, "It is not him, it is me who is wanted." And they immediately left John go and went for him.

Q. How old is Mike?

A. Just twenty. So they immediately went for him and were beating him about the face and body. They had him on the bed. He asked them to shoot him and end it, and they said shooting was too good for him. He then turned his face on the bed to save his face, and he was then struck on the back of the head, and they left him unconscious. They left him there on account of the fire.

Q. Where was he—in the burning house?

A. That was where he was.

Q. Did he know how he got out of the house?

A. No, he said. He got out and called for his mother three times. He got to the top of the garden and got "Halt," but instead of halting he ran and jumped into the neighbor's—Burke's garden. There is a river at the back of our place that supplies the denim mill with water—about knee deep or so. Mike made it over there. They went up the river and Mike went down the river.

Q. Who went up the river?

A. Burke. Burke and his two sisters went up the river, and Mike went down the river.

Q. Where was Mike after that?

A. He was seen down on Quay Street and Mill Street.

Q. What was his apparent condition?

A. They did not know. He gave a knock at a door as he was passing through the town.

Q. Apparently seeking shelter?

A. Knocking at the street door at any rate.

Q. Where was he found?

A. Lying in a field of oats by a man named Costello.

Q. Where was he then taken?

A. He was taken to Murphy's cottage with no clothes on him. I then came back from there and got a motor car and sent him to Drogheda, both to be attended to and to be out of the way; and I have not seen him since.

Q. Senator Walsh: Is he all right now? Have you got word from him since?

A. No, but he is all right. He cannot communicate.

TWENTY-FIVE HOMES BURNED

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: I wish you would describe the condition of your own house.

A. It was burned to the ground, and not a vestige left. Not a vestige left. Everything burned down. My neighbor's house, Conolly's, on the opposite corner, was the same way. Nothing but bricks and stones. Clanard Street, seventeen houses burned in that street, nine in one row.

Q. Were those dwelling houses?

A. Dwelling houses. Three of them were two-story houses—shops—and another was a Mrs. Cochran's dairy. When the Black-

and-Tans came in there Mrs. Cochran ran out into the yard and left two of her little boys behind. One of them was about twelve and the other ten. They made them get up and dress themselves and brought them through the house upstairs where they were breaking up the furniture. Whenever they would see a religious picture, they would make the children look at it, and put their bayonet through it.

Q. Senator Walsh: They would have the children put the bayonet through it?

A. Oh, no; they would do it; but they would make the children look at it to see what they were doing.

Q. Mr. Wood¹: That means the Black-and-Tans?

A. Yes, the Black-and-Tans. They brought them down the street toward our place to see Derham's fire.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did they say that to them?

A. Yes, they took the children by the hand, and told them they were bringing them down to see Derham's fire.

Q. That is to say, your house afire?

A. Yes, to see my house afire. They brought them back, then, into their own yard, and told them to sit down at a hay rick to warm themselves. They threw a tin of petrol over the rick and set it afire.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Where did they get the petrol?

A. When they came into the town, they went that night at quarter past eleven to a man named Martin Connolly, asking him for the keys of his garage; got them; went down and took out thirty tins of petrol; locked up the garage; and returned the keys to him, and told him his house would be all right.

Q. How many residences were there burned?

A. Twenty-five of them altogether.

Q. Senator Walsh: Just a moment. He did not finish about the hay rick.

A. They then set fire to the hay rick, and then set fire to the Cochran house.

Q. Was that house completely destroyed?

A. Completely, except the back of the kitchen.

Q. Were there other houses completely destroyed?

A. Totally destroyed. Twenty-five houses in the town were totally destroyed.

Q. They were all dwelling houses and all occupied?

¹ Mr. L. Hollingsworth Wood was present at the First Hearings by invitation of the Commission, and was elected to and accepted membership on the Commission prior to the Second Hearings.

A. Yes, all occupied. In Clanard Street there were nine single houses and all destroyed—not a vestige left.

Q. Were these houses largely owned by people who worked in the mills?

A. Yes, they were occupied by the mill people and fishing people and laborers.

Q. Were there any business places destroyed other than the factory you have mentioned?

A. Yes. Costello and myself and two others; four publicans and two groceries; six business houses altogether.

DESTRUCTION OF FACTORY BRINGS DESTITUTION

Q. Senator Walsh: About the mill. Where was the mill located with reference to these houses?

The Witness: The factory?

Senator Walsh: Yes, the factory.

A. The factory would be about five hundred yards from the nearest burned dwelling.

Q. Was it detached from the rest of the town?

A. Yes, detached. There is a railroad embankment passing through our town about ten to fifteen feet high, and it is on the sea side of the embankment that this factory is situated. You cannot see it from the town.

Q. That factory was burned this night?

A. It was burned the next morning.

Q. Was it totally destroyed?

A. Totally destroyed; one hundred thousand pounds loss. It is owned in London. The manager is an Englishman. There is nothing in a political line there. Only to leave destitution in the place.

Q. It threw them out of work?

A. Yes, one hundred twenty people in the factory and three hundred more working in their homes.

Q. Senator Walsh: You say these people worked in their homes?

A. In taking the stockings in their homes and doing embroidery on them.

Q. So on your estimate it threw four hundred twenty people out of employment?

A. Yes, out of employment.

Q. That was their sole means of livelihood?

A. Yes, their sole means.

Q. Were there any other houses in Balbriggan for these people whose homes were burned?

A. No, there were no other places for them. I myself have two of my girls in lodgings.

Q. Hired a lodging for them?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Describe how your own family is distributed?

A. Two of them are in lodgings with a friend in Balbriggan, and one of the boys is with a friend because he is going to school there. Mike is in Drogheda, and the rest of them are in Rush, nine miles away.

Q. Where did you stop?

A. I stopped in Rush with my wife. We could not get a place in the town for them.

Q. How are these laborers maintained?

A. There was a public subscription for them in the town.

Q. As a rule, none of them had savings?

A. Oh, there were no savings, no.

SIX DAYS OF TERRORISM

Q. What became of the people of the town?

A. That was a night of terror. Over two-thirds of the people were in the country all that night.

Q. Where did they sleep?

A. In the fields. They slept anywhere, some of them in ditches filled with barbed wire all night.

Q. They left things behind them?

A. Yes, everything. Some of them went out only with their night dresses and bare feet.

Q. Men, women, and children?

A. Yes, everybody. They had to.

Q. Many children in the town, I suppose?

A. Many of them.

Q. Was there any other damage done?

A. In that Clanard Street I spoke of, they broke the windows of fifty houses in that street, along with burning seventeen houses.

Q. Did that state of terror continue for some time after that?

A. I think it was Sunday before they settled down.

Q. And this occurred on Monday night?

A. On Monday night.

Q. For the balance of the week, where did the people go?

A. They spent the night in the country. They did not wait until night to go. When four o'clock or evening came, you would see them going away to the country, stopping in the farmers' stables or barns or hay lofts or anything they could get, or in the ditches. Two-thirds of the people left the town during the week.

Q. Afraid to stay over night?

A. Yes, because they had it all day. They had these Crossley engines running through the town full of Black-and-Tans sitting with their rifles at the ready all the time. If they saw a crowd at the corner, they would bring up their rifles and fire shots.

Q. Were they firing shots all the time?

A. They were. On the Wednesday after that they fired in through the grocer's window and took half his collar away, just like that (indicating coat lapel). At the same time they threw a Mills bomb in the butcher shop on the side street, and a piece went through an apple in a young lad's pocket. The next grocery shop they fired and destroyed the scales. And another place they fired into a crowd of young ladies.

Q. Going along the road, what is the situation?

A. They go along the road with these big lorries of three to five tons at a dangerous speed.

Q. Do they fire along the road?

A. Oh, constantly, at the animals. Take Mr. McCullough; the old gentleman was there with his sons, and they fired on them. Another place they cut the tails off of four pullets, and one of them after died.

LOOTING OF STORES

Q. Did they do any other damage?

A. Yes, they raped and looted.

Q. What did they do?

A. In the house next to me there was a public house, and they took the bottles away.

Q. Did they do any drinking?

A. No, not at this place. The place opposite me, at Connolly's, was where they drank.

Q. What was the situation at Connolly's?

A. Connolly had two large glass windows, and they broke these with the butts of their rifles. The place was well lighted up by the

fire from my house opposite, and they drank to their fill before the place was destroyed. Two grocery stores they looted and raped; threw the tea and sugar and soap and candles and everything on the floor about three feet high; tramped over it; and pulled things out in the passage to destroy what they did not set fire to.

Q. Did you see the stuff there the next day?

A. I did.

Q. Took it out and tramped it in the dirt?

A. They did. I saw it myself.

Q. Were there any other business houses destroyed?

A. Of course, there were four public houses completely destroyed. All the things in them were completely destroyed.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Was there any way to get reparation from the British Government?

A. They are working for that. They are trying to do it.

Q. Chairman Howe: Is it a civil process?

A. They are going to the civil courts first, and they do not know what they will do afterward.

Q. These business men are trying to do this?

A. Yes, they are trying to do that.

Q. Does the British Government acknowledge that as a claim?

A. No, they do not acknowledge that. We are trying to test them first.

Q. Has there been any inquiry held in Balbriggan by the authorities?

A. No, not that I know of. I never had an invitation to any inquiry.

Q. Did the British Labor Party send a mission to Balbriggan as it did to Thurles?

A. No, but the International Women's League did.¹ That came from Manchester.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Can you tell us about that?

A. Yes. I met them when they came. I was on the same train. As a matter of fact, the leader handed me a letter with my name on it, asking me where Mr. Derham was.

Q. Did they seem to be making a fair-minded investigation?

A. They did. They seemed to be all right.

Q. Mr. Wood: Did they question the people any?

¹ The witness refers to the British Branch of the Women's International League, which sent an investigating mission to Ireland, two members of which, Mrs. Annot Erskine Robinson and Miss Ellen C. Wilkinson, testified before the Commission. See index and list of witnesses.

A. They did. They questioned the people who had gone through the fire and slept out in the fields.

Q. Did they question the police?

A. I do not know.

Q. How long a time did they spend there?

A. From half twelve to five. They went on the same train back to Dublin that I was going back.

Q. Half twelve means half-past eleven or half-past twelve?

A. Half-past twelve.

Q. Chairman Howe: Were there any dairies in the neighborhood destroyed?

A. No; we do not have any dairies. The only thing we had was factories. That was all they could destroy.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: These textile workers, do they belong to a union?

A. They do. They are all union.

Q. Do you have any other unions in the city?

A. The only other union we have is the Irish Transport Workers.

Q. These fishermen, do they dispose of their own catch or work for some fishing concern?

A. They dispose of their own catch. That is a thing that the Republican government is trying to bring in—cooperation—so that we can all do our own business.

Q. These unions, as unions, are they in any way harassed by the Black-and-Tans and the military?

A. No, not as unions. That would be too large a job.

SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

Q. Chairman Howe: Is the press in Balbriggan free to say what it pleases?

A. There is no local press. There is the *Freeman*, but the editor is to be up before the Government this week or next week for condemning the actions of the Black-and-Tans in the country.

Q. He is under arrest?

A. Yes, he is to be called up for trial.

Q. Where?

A. Dublin.

Q. Before the regular criminal courts?

A. I could not say as to that.

Q. There is an indictment against him?

A. Yes, for condemning the Black-and-Tans.

- Q. Do they permit public meetings in Balbriggan?
 A. No public meetings are allowed.
 Q. No gatherings in the streets?
 A. None in the streets.
 Q. Or in the halls?
 A. You can go to the hall if they know what the meeting is about, but you cannot hold any political meeting.
 Q. Where do the Republicans hold their political meetings?
 A. Oh, different places.
 Q. But they do hold them?
 A. Yes, they do hold them.
 Q. Commissioner Maurer: They are not generally advertised?
 A. Oh, no. Oh, no.

EFFECTS OF TERRORISM ON ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

- Q. Chairman Howe: What has been the effect of this on the business of Balbriggan, especially from the country districts?
 A. The country districts are bad. It is hard on them. You do not have any country people in the afternoon. They will come in only when they have to. They cannot travel on the roads to Dublin or Drogheda, for they are afraid of the shooting.
 Q. Where do the people get their food from?
 A. It has to come in on the trains or from around the town.
 Q. The people do not come into the town like they did?
 A. No. We are in a sense isolated. It is not safe to be coming in. You do not know what you are going to meet.
 Q. Does the local town council meet regularly in Balbriggan?
 A. It did not for awhile. It took five to form a quorum. When my son was away, we could not get a quorum, because the Unionists did not attend.
 Q. You had no local government, then?
 A. Not until he came out. Since then we have had two or three meetings. He would go to Balbriggan to attend them and then leave.
 Q. So your local government is not functioning now?
 A. Oh, well, its duties are not much. You see the state of terrorism there, and people are so frightened. My son was not out until the fifteenth of October. That was more than a month afterwards. He went down to Balbriggan on Saturday, to attend a council meeting. On Saturday evening, when he was seen about, they got a report that there would be a raid on to get Derham by

night. Half the town slept in the fields that night in fear of what might happen.

Q. Chairman Howe: Is your son on the run?

A. The two of them are on the run. He goes in the daytime. They are not afraid in the daytime. It is the night time they are afraid of. It is terrorism. You do not want to be with friends, for you are liable to get the whole place broken up for them. And if you stay in your own home, it is sure to be broken up.

FIVE DIE FROM FRIGHT AND EXPOSURE

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Have there been any deaths since?

A. Five of them, soon after that: three elderly persons and two children. The fright and exposure was largely to blame for it.

And it isn't over yet. There were handbills saying, "Send information to D. W. Ross, London." That is the way they get all their information. They came around three weeks after the burning and pasted one on every door in town, and at some doors they knocked. There was an old woman sixty-five or sixty-eight years of age, and she died from the fright.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: What were these bills?

A. Handbills telling us to send any information we knew about Sinn Fein to D. W. Ross, London, and you would get the money afterwards.

Q. Who is D. W. Ross? Does anybody know?

A. That is unknown. It is somebody in London. You send in the information, and you would get a reward afterwards.

Q. Commissioner Addams: In these raids, did they just take particular parties, or did they take the whole street, or select those who are Republicans and Sinn Fein?

A. They did not take everybody. They picked them out like they did me.

Q. Any big business property molested besides the big mill?

A. No, that was all, the big mill.

RESTRICTIONS ON FUNERALS

Now, you might want to know about burials. When the funerals of Lawless and Gibbons were about to be held, we were going to have the tricolor on the coffins.

Q. Chairman Howe: What is the tricolor?

A. The colors of the Irish Republic. When the funerals were to be held, we wanted to have the Volunteers there and march. But about twelve o'clock that day, or eleven, the word came

through some of the clergy that if this thing was to go on, if there was any tricolor out or any military formation, the Black-and-Tans would come on that night and wipe the town out. There was a long discussion. Some of them wanted to do it anyway. But it was finally decided that for the sake of the town we would have to cut it out.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Is there any limitation of the number of persons who are allowed to attend people's funerals?

A. At the present time there is a limitation, as in the case of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, Terrence MacSwiney. It was limited to a quarter of a mile long. There would have been four or five miles of it. And then you are accompanied by these motor lorries.

MURDER OF SHERLOCK AT SKERRIES

Q. I believe you had some information about the murder of a man at Sherries?

A. At Skerries.

Q. What is the situation of this town?

A. Four miles from us.

Q. What are the circumstances of the death of Mr. Sherlock?

A. Penstraw is that man's name. He was supposed to be around with the Black-and-Tans at the night of the sacking of Balbriggan, showing them where the Sinns were. So he left the town the day after, and he was in Skerries. The report was that the Skerries Volunteers put him out of Skerries. That was the report. That was about three or four days afterwards. About a month after that, there was a body got about eight miles away in a ditch. It turned out to be Penstraw. He was not buried right. There was heavy rains on. There was some young lads in the ditch getting blackberries, and they found the body.

Q. Was there a man named Sherlock in that place?

A. Well, then, he was identified. The police were very active, and he was identified as Penstraw.

Q. Was there a man named Sherlock killed there?

A. Yes. Well, that night they went up to Skerries in motor lorries.

Q. How many?

A. I do not know how many lorries went up, but there was a hundred or so Black-and-Tans. They stopped out on the Balbriggan side of the town and walked so that they would make no noise. They went to a namesake of mine, Derham, and knocked on his

door, and he let them in, and stood in another door as they passed by and went upstairs in the house. And then they went out again. Derham immediately went out, when they broke in the door to look for him. So he escaped. They then went to a young man named Terrol and kept him on his knees for two hours, and then went for Sherlock. The father answered the door. They asked for his son John—John Sherlock. The father said, "He is not in." He said, "It is all right, father. They will not do me any harm." They brought him away about three hundred yards in a field, and when his father and sister found him that morning, about seven o'clock, there were three bullet wounds in his breast and four in his head. But Terrol was all right. They did not shoot him. The next night they came again and set fire to Derham's house and burned it all up.

Q. Commissioner Addams: This first man, he was an informer?

A. Yes, he was said to be an informer, going around with the Black-and-Tans.

Q. Was there any reason for the Black-and-Tans believing that these men were implicated in this crime?

A. The only reason was that the body was found about eight miles away from Skerries.

Q. There was no other reason?

A. No.

Q. It was only an excuse?

A. Yes, all they wanted was an excuse. That was all they wanted.

Q. Mr. Wood: But was this body identified as that of the man?

A. Yes, I believe an uncle and an aunt identified it.

Q. But the body had been dead a long time?

A. Yes, it was. He was missing for about a month. I don't know how long the body was there. But they could identify it by some of the things on the body.

Q. Chairman Howe: Have you any further statement you want to make?

Senator Walsh: I think that covers it, Mr. Derham.

Q. Mr. Wood: The Smith public house was also destroyed?

A. Oh, no; nothing done there. Not a pane of glass broken.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Was that Smith place a place to which the Black-and-Tans resorted a great deal?

A. They did.

Q. None of them ever came to your place?

A. They did not. None of them came there. Perhaps two or three times altogether.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: How do you explain that? They left the Smith house and destroyed the others.

A. That is the mystery. If that had happened in my house, I would not be here. There was not a pane of glass broken in the Smith house.

Chairman Howe: That is all. Thank you very much.
The witness was thereupon excused.

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF MRS. AGNES B. KING

Chairman Howe: Is Mrs. King here?

(The witness takes the stand.)

Mrs. King, of Ironton.

Q. Please state, Mrs. King, your full name and residence.

A. Agnes B. King, of Ironton, Ohio.

Q. How long have you lived in Ironton?

A. Six years.

Q. And in the United States?

A. All my life.

Q. You were born here?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you married?

A. I am a widow with three children.

Q. Are you a professional woman?

A. I cannot be said to be that, no. I have taught school formerly in the Cleveland public schools. That is all.

Q. You have been recently in Ireland?

A. Yes, for about eight weeks, and one week in London.

Q. When did you enter Ireland?

A. I entered Ireland on the twenty-second of July.

Q. When did you leave?

A. The twenty-third of September, 1920.

Q. What led you to Ireland?

A. I went over at first for my health. I did not intend to visit Ireland except for two or three weeks. My real intention was to take my grown-up niece, who was a French student, to France. But I changed my mind after being in Ireland two or three weeks, because the situation was so engrossing. And so, although I had a passport to France, I did not go.

Q. Why did you go to Ireland?

A. I went to Ireland because my mother and father were born in Ireland. My father was all through his life a very strict Protestant, and would not on any account enter a Catholic church. He

was opposed to the Catholic faith save as he saw it exemplified in my mother's life, and this he admired.

Q. Your mother was a Catholic?

A. Yes, she was a Catholic.

Q. Were they born in Ireland?

A. Yes, they were both born in Cork city. He was baptized in the famous Shandon church. I got his baptismal record while I was over there.

Q. What was your father's business?

A. He was a manufacturer of barrels all his life.

Q. You went back to visit their old home?

A. Yes. My mother died last January, and I became very ill after her death, and my people suggested that a sea voyage would do me much good, and I said that perhaps the sight of my mother's and my father's birthplace would reawaken interest in me. And I also wanted to take this niece, who had been raised by mother from a baby. I thought that if she had a stay in France, it would be the best thing for her. I also took my daughter with me. My daughter is twelve years of age.

Q. Where did you land in Ireland?

A. Kingstown, I think. We went straight across from Liverpool. We took a taxi up to the hotel in Dublin.

Q. How long did you remain in Dublin?

A. About a week, I think.

Q. What did you do there?

Q. We went sight-seeing, and I called on my people there. We visited all the famous churches there, and the cemeteries. I think that is about all that I did in Dublin.

Q. You know in a general way the purposes of this inquiry. Now, go on in your own way.

THE PREVAILING TERRORISM

A. The first time that I was terrified in Ireland was at Templemore. I remember going with my daughter and my niece to visit a church on Saturday evening, and the lorries were coming into town at full speed. This was my first close view of lorries. They were bent on terrorizing the people. They came down the road at a very high rate of speed. The drivers were completely white with dust. It seemed to me almost like flour dust, they were going so fast. The lorries were all filled with soldiers. The guns were all at attention. I clung to my daughter and my niece, and I think we said a few prayers, for it had been said in Templemore that day that they

were bent on mischief. The driver wanted to have a little fun, for he swung the first lorry near to the curb, and the muffler blew off just as they passed us. I called out, "We are Americans," but of course it was only my woman's fright and terror.

During that night we drew the dresser up in front of the window, and during that night there were shots fired in the Square.

Q. Where is Templemore?

A. It is in the central part of Tipperary, not far from Thurles. When I arrived in Templemore I heard of the outrages in Thurles, and the air seemed rife with coming danger. So I was anxious to be out of the place as soon as possible. I might say that in every place and in every town where we stopped in Ireland, the dressers were put up before the windows to ward off the shots if there were firing during the night. In Cork, really the only place that I was interested in seeing in Ireland, because it was the city of my parents' nativity, I was thinking of anything but of the military program in that city, and was bent on thoughts of my recently deceased mother when we entered the city. There we were in the midst of scenes of great military activity, and I was almost regretful that I had come. There was a raid on, and there were Lewis guns and tanks and many of the military surrounding the place where they were raiding. The citizenry of Cork was standing about in a very quiet way, and I believe that I was the most turbulent person there and the most agitated. I rushed to the hotel and said, "Please give me a back room, so that we will be as far as possible away from this shooting." The lady said to me, "You are not brave like the women of Ireland. You do not have to suffer like this in America." My daughter and myself were given a rear room on the top floor of the hotel, but there was a window in this room that let out on the side street. The porter placed the dresser and the large wardrobe before that window as a protection from stray shots that might come down that side street. My little daughter seemed to be less fearful than myself. Once or twice after the curfew had been on that night—the curfew lowers at ten o'clock in Cork; it had been put on about a week before we entered the town—my little daughter went to the window to look out, and I called her back. She said, "Mama, there is no danger if you peek out of the corner of the window." We then peeked out and it seemed to me that about a dozen soldiers—I cannot give the exact number—were halting men in the side street. I think some of those men escaped halting, because of the intermittent peeks that we gave. We watched those men: in some way they ran into the side street and escaped the military that night. I saw the military all through the night down that side street as if

watching for someone. Needless to say, there was very little sleep that night, and I almost forgot that it was my mother's birthplace. I may say that the next day I started to take a picture from the upper window of the hotel, where many people were watching the soldiers in the square below, and a man said to me—a man with a decided English accent—

Q. Chairman Howe: What were the soldiers doing?

A. Preparing for a raid.

Q. Would you please describe this raid?

A. There were many lorries and hundreds of soldiers with their guns at attention. Each squad of soldiers were pointing their guns in different directions, so that no angle was left uncovered by guns and bayonets. The Lewis guns were ready for firing, and what were called tanks—I would not have known it, but they told me it was a tank that was waiting there. The officers were busy commanding the soldiers. And then suddenly they rushed into this house to raid it. What they did inside this house I do not know.

Q. A private house or a business house?

A. A business house, a publishing business, and also a store-house for groceries.

Q. What did they do on that raid?

A. I was not inside. I do not know.

Q. You saw the soldiers go into that house?

A. Yes, dozens of soldiers going in with bayonets at attention.

Q. Did they bring anything out?

A. They brought nothing out.

Q. Was the house destroyed or burned?

A. No, not that day. It was what one would call, after seeing others, a peaceful raid. They were searching, I believe, for a man they did not get, and for documents, according to what was said in the papers.

I went to take the picture of this immense gathering of military because of the fact that it was my nearest approach to war in my lifetime. And this man said, "My God, girl, if they see you they will shoot!" I said, "Why would they shoot?" He said, "They would take that camera to be something that a Sinn Feiner was throwing, and they would shoot." He said, "I am an Englishman, and I would not take a picture of this gathering myself."

Q. Chairman Howe: Did you see any other raids?

A. I did. Shall I give you some of the other things I saw at Cork?

Senator Walsh: Yes, chronologically.

“WAR ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN”

The Witness: The nights, then, while I stayed in the hotel—my stays were very brief in Cork because of my extreme timidity, but I still wanted to get in touch with some of my mother’s and father’s relatives because they had long been in America; so I went back, I think, four times to Cork—the people would gather in the lower parlor, that is, the parlor on the second floor of the hotel, in order to watch the movements of the military as soon as the curfew hour approached. One could gather by that whether the military were bent on any dread business that night. At any rate, lights went out and at five minutes to ten there was on each night a scurrying of bullets on the road from Patrick Street down (Patrick Street is on the road straight up from the hotel)—a scurrying of bullets to clear the street, as near as one could tell. In the morning one would read from the papers that these bullets would fly because men would not halt, or something of that sort. After the first scurry of bullets there would be motor lorries. Sometimes they would come at a rapid pace through the town, making a great noise. Sometimes they would come in funeral style: first fifty soldiers advancing, with a slow-moving lorry after, and then fifty more soldiers and a slow-moving lorry, and then at the head of this procession a great searchlight, which they would throw onto the top of the buildings. They seemed to single out churches more than any other buildings, from what I could see. One woman at the windows—she was not on the run, but her husband was, and so she was stopping wherever she could get a night’s rest, and this night she was stopping at the hotel—she was well-nigh sick or hysterical with fear because she could not know where her husband was. And she turned to an English gentleman who was in the parlor and said, “Is not this terrible? We can never return to our own homes.” And he said, “When I return to England I shall tell my people that they are waging war on women and children rather than on men, for from what I have seen, it is doing more harm to the women and children than to the men.” I turned to him and said, “You are an Englishman?” “I am,” he said. “Why did you come to Ireland?” I said. “Just to see the conditions.” And that is all the conversation that occurred then. Later I said, “It is frightening me.” He said, “It is frightening everyone.”

Then we went into the back room and barricaded the door. On each night of our stay in Cork, there were shots near or far away from our immediate room.

HUNCH-BACK MURDERED IN ACT OF PRAYER

Then I went to Bantry, because my daughter was named after someone in Bantry, and I wished her to see her namesake. I had never known or met this woman before. On the night I entered Bantry the scenes were very terrifying, and I readily concluded that one night was all I could stand in Bantry. While in Bantry I talked with the mother of a little boy who had been shot a few nights previously. That was about the first week in August that the boy had been shot. The mother was quite repressive on account of the disaster that had occurred in her home. I cannot say her age, but she seemed to me a woman well up in the sixties. She said that she had one Volunteer son who was on the run, and a little hunch-back boy who was at home with her and his father on the night that the raid occurred. There were no lights at night on the streets of Bantry, and the Black-and-Tans or the R. I. C.—they are disguised so that one could not tell to which body they belonged—they knocked on the door. She answered the knock with a candle in her hand. The soldiers knocked the candle from her, using an electric light to light them up the stairs. The Volunteer boy was not at home. The little hunch-back boy ran from his own room into his brother's room. The mother rushed up the stairs after them, and was in sight of the tragedy when it occurred. "My boy's hands were raised in prayer," she said. "He was only a little hunch-back and had never done any harm to anybody. He had never done any greater harm than trapping a rabbit now and then to make a few pennies to make him feel that he was in the world of the living. They shot through his uplifted hands; and his mother said that as they shot he was saying, "My Jesus, have mercy on me." He fell back as a shot pierced his hands, and the men stepped close to the bedside and pierced the chest with three bullets. They then left the house, and they completed then the raiding in that town.

Q. Senator Walsh: How old was that hunch-back boy?

A. I did not ask his age, but I should say about fifteen or twenty.

Q. This was all related to you by the mother? You did not see any of it yourself?

REPRISAL AGAINST A PROTESTANT

A. I did not see any of it myself. I saw the ravages in the town; and, strange to say, one of the worst ravages in that town occurred on the home of a Unionist and a man of the Protestant faith. Most of the people in the town are of the Catholic faith.

This man had written a letter about the little hunch-back's death and the misconduct of the military to the newspaper, and said he also wished to state in public that there had never been any religious ill-feeling in their community, and that he had always lived in peace and harmony with his neighbors of different faith. The next night his place was completely burned, and I saw the ruins of it. There was scarcely a stone left upon a stone. I believe at that time he had entered a report of damages to the British Government to the extent of thirty thousand pounds. It was after making the second statement about the misconduct of the military in that town that his home was burned. I saw the place that was set on fire. If I remember rightly, his name was Hennissey, a man with seven or eight children in the family. The house was burned while all the occupants were inside the house. I asked if any were burned, and they said that fortunately all escaped over the rear walls or through the windows, and were only bruised and cut a bit by glass.

The entire appearance of Bantry is of a devastated town where business is at a standstill. The young men of the town are many of them on the run. They are sent out from their own homes to other places, so that the military cannot find them when they are in search of them. This cripples the industry of the town; and then the leading places of the town being burned and bombed has crippled business.

Q. Chairman Howe: How large a place is Bantry—three or four thousand?

A. Yes, more than that, I think. It has one long main street. While I was there, the day I was there, the workhouse was commandeered by the soldiers; and the sisters in charge, the Sisters of Mercy, were given twenty-four hours to have all their things taken out. The poor and the old people of the town were there. I think there were twelve sisters in charge of the institution ordinarily. And then all the inmates were forced to leave.

Q. Senator Walsh: The workhouse in Ireland corresponds with the home for the aged here?

A. Yes; the old and infirm and those who have no one to help them. I visited the town of Youghal, a seaside resort, expecting to have rest and quiet there. But military lorries patrolled the town through the day and through the night, and there was very little rest possible. There was a great deal of destruction, and there I witnessed a raid on several houses. They were looking for boys who were on the run and supposed to be in hiding there. I took a ride on the Blackwater up to Cappoquin, accompanied by my niece and my daughter and three of my mother's second cousins.

We were engaged on a studious talk on that occasion. The girls were speaking Irish and French to me. It was an interesting gathering. The tide did not allow us to return easily. We had to oar it all the way. We had two oarsmen in the boat, and they worked hard until we reached Youghal, about one-thirty in the morning. When we reached the landing, military activities on both sides of the river commenced. The little boat going down the river made them think, perhaps, that it was a Volunteer party, so that lights were played on the boat constantly. I was afraid they would fire on us, and I began to sing "The Star-Spangled Banner" as well as I could sing it. I told the girls, who had, perhaps, a strong Southern accent, though they speak a number of languages with equal fluency, not to speak, and I would speak in my Yankee tone. So I carried on a long conversation about George Washington. Then we three Americans all sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," and the two oarsmen pulled hard to reach the landing before any more signals were given or lights played on the boat. Perhaps the signals might be accounted for by the fact that they might have thought we were these boys on the run, as they raided many homes in Youghal the following morning.

BURNING OF TEMPLEMORE TOWN HALL

I returned to Templemore mainly in the interests of my religious convictions a few weeks later, because there had been reported something like a miracle transpiring in Templemore. On that second visit I saw the ruins of the town hall, and talked to an ex-soldier who explained that—

Q. Senator Walsh: Ex-British soldier, or an Irishman?

A. Yes, he was an Irish soldier who had served with the British forces in the World War, and was still badly crippled. He still wore his uniform. He explained how the petrol had been gathered from the garages on the little street facing the Square, and how it had been poured over this building and set fire to the night before, the Black-and-Tans and the military going through the streets knocking at the doors and calling, "Come out, you Irish swine."

Q. Commissioner Addams: Had anything happened before this in Templemore? What led them to this attack?

A. No, not that I could hear of, Miss Addams.

The town hall was where the people gathered for their pleasure gatherings. They poured petrol over it and set fire to it; but one soldier, in attempting to burn it, was imprisoned inside, and the officer who was with him, in trying to jump through the window, had his leg broken and died two days later.

VOLUNTEERS MAINTAIN ORDER

Then this religious miracle that the people could only explain in one way over there. It created a spirit of friendliness between the people inside the barracks and the rest of the people. They refused to go on with their work of shooting and terrorizing. I was all through that barracks at Templemore. That was the only barracks I had a chance of getting into. The windows were all barred, and there were large sacks around the windows, and barbed wire around the building.

Q. But what I wanted to get at was what started the military to attack Templemore?

A. I do not know. I could not find anything. I only know that this second burning with petrol was caused by the death of the officer who had jumped through the window of the burning building. They warned the people that if the officer died the town would be razed to the ground. It was at this time that the miracle occurred. The people of every kind were immensely impressed with the orderly nature of the thousands who poured into the city to see it, as were the police themselves. The police were not in any way able to keep the thousands or tens of thousands of people who came into the city in order, and so the Volunteers did the work. The Volunteer who led me into the Square, he led me in ahead of the rest because I was an American, and I offered him a pound note and he said, "I am a member of the Volunteer Army, and we are not allowed to take anything for acts of courtesy," so he refused this from me. At this time they were riding out to a town named Carriheen, about seven miles from Templemore. Everybody was bent on going out to this village, and some of the car drivers were exacting up to seventy shillings for the trip. The Volunteers fixed the price at something like thirty shillings less, so as to prevent a very great graft in carrying people this short distance. They also asked each vehicle that passed over the road to contribute a very small sum toward the upkeep of the roads around the town, which was gladly paid.

Q. Did they know the Volunteers were doing this?

A. Yes, they knew, and the police were helpless. They could not do anything with this crowd of people; there were too many of them. The police would come out and talk with the Volunteers and say, "Boys, keep the people back from the police barracks."

RELATIONS BETWEEN POLICE AND BLACK-AND-TANS

I asked one of the policemen inside of the barracks on this occasion if he was an Irishman, and he said, "I am." I said, "Are you then in sympathy with the Republican movement, or are you in sympathy with the Union as heretofore practiced in Ireland?" He said, "You must not ask me such a question. There may be somebody listening." I said, "If you would resign your position, what would happen to you?" And he said to me, "Miss, do you read the papers? Do you know that when a policeman resigns he either has to get out of the country at this stage of the game or else the Black-and-Tans will probably tell him that he has done wrong in a very effective way?" I got very little from that. I give it to you just as he told it to me. He said the Black-and-Tans would soon let a man know that he had done wrong in quitting the force.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: What kind of police?

A. The R. I. C. They have to give a thirty-day notice to quit the force. There was one in Cork who gave this notice, and immediately there was a police murder in Cork, and the paper said, "Killed by parties unknown."

Q. Commissioner Addams: This same policeman was killed?

A. Yes, the same man. The policeman in the barracks called my attention to the fact that the same man was killed by parties unknown.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you get the impression that the Black-and-Tan organization was independent of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and was sort of a spy organization upon the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. The authorities got the impression that they could not trust the Royal Irish Constabulary to do their work, and so checked up on them by the Black-and-Tans?

A. Yes, they did. The two parties do not get along very well in most cases. Inside the police barracks there are usually several Black-and-Tans.

Q. You mean to say that the Black-and-Tans became friendly with the crowd?

A. It means all who were in the barracks; because in this barracks there were only, I think, two Black-and-Tans. I remember passing them when I walked into the barracks. There was a great deal of respect shown by the military in the adjoining military

barracks, which is quite distinct from the Royal Irish Constabulary barracks, in the way the Volunteers handled the crowd.

Q. Up to this time there had been no destruction in the town?

A. Yes, the town hall was destroyed the night before, and they were coming back in case this officer died to destroy the town. But this little boy had manifested some miraculous evidences, and they did not destroy the rest of the town. The crowds were largely praying through the day and the night, and the officers looked around at the crowds without attempting anything. I had a front room in the hotel, the first time I was brave enough to have one, and looked out at the crowds.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: These crowds came out in anticipation of the town being destroyed?

A. No, on account of the miracle. The crowds came from all parts of Ireland and England. I met many people from England who had been waiting to get into the town from six o'clock in the morning.

Q. Senator Walsh: The story had gone out that the miracle had occurred there and the people came from all directions to see about it?

A. Yes, that was it.

KILLINGS AND REPRISALS IN GALWAY

The main terror of my experience in Ireland was in Galway. I had come home late from the Isles of Aran, accompanied there by a friend. I went up to get a paper from the platform at the railroad station. It was the custom when the goods train came in—there were no passenger trains coming into Galway—to have the people of the town go up and get the papers from the train. They were anxious to get the news of the condition of Mayor MacSwiney. There was a man on the platform to whom I paid little attention, and could not give a description of him in a satisfactory way. He wore what I think was a loose cap. He did not appear to me to be a regular soldier, nor did he seem to me to be the customary Black-and-Tan. There was a woman on the platform at the station with three or four children. There was an English officer on the platform, and there were many civilians. I turned my head in this direction (indicating aside), and the man in this peculiar uniform whipped out a revolver. He was standing with another man in ordinary attire. And he slashed the revolver around and began shooting. One shot hit a boy in the leg, and I heard him call, "I got it in the leg." I ran then for shelter to the door of the hotel, and looked at the woman running to the British officer with her

children. He seemed to be wholly engaged in keeping this woman and children safe. I thought at the time they were his family, but I do not know that. One of the boys stepped up quickly to the man who had been shot, and then I heard another shot ring out. That boy was not killed instantly, but fell at once. He later died, and the next day I saw him in death. Then another boy jumped from the back and caught the soldier in this way (indicating across the body), so that he had only one hand free. And then a harsh shot rang out and this soldier fell to the ground.

Q. Senator Walsh: Who fired the first shot?

A. This man in a strange attire. He was not dressed as a Black-and-Tan that night. There was perfect peace, and we were all waiting for the papers, and he whipped out the revolver and began to fire.

Q. Chairman Howe: What was the purpose of the shooting?

A. That I could not tell. The reason I went to Galway was that everything was quiet there. There was no curfew there and everything was quiet.

Q. Senator Walsh: Could you give any information why a man on the station platform, without any reason—a Black-and-Tan or anybody else—would draw a revolver and begin to fire shots?

A. I cannot say. Unless there is some actual damage done in the town by civilians or others, there is no curfew law. And there was no curfew law in Galway.

Q. So you think that this man was stationed there to shoot so that the curfew law would be applied to Galway?

A. That is what has been suggested.

Q. Commissioner Addams: The man was not insane?

A. Not that I know.

Q. Could you gather whether the man who did the shooting was an Englishman or an Irishman?

A. He was an Englishman as well as I could gather from the gathering of men in the hotel immediately after the shooting. It was what is known over there as a shoneen hotel, where many British officers stay. I chose this hotel for my own safety. The officers who were there during the day were downstairs with their bathrobes about them. One man in full civilian dress, with the same sort of a cap on him as the man on the outside had, stepped up to a man right at my side and asked who had been shot. He said, "I don't know who he was." And then the other man said, "Tell me how he was dressed." The man by my side described him as best he could, and then the man with the cap on said, "My God, it is my brother," and dashed up the hotel stairs. And then in

about three minutes he jumped down the stairway of the hotel and hurried out, stopping to talk to no one and pushing them in front of him very rapidly.

Immediately the crowd said there would be a raid this night. I had a front room up to this time, for I was unafraid.

Q. Senator Walsh: You understood that this man said that the Englishman who was speaking was a brother to the man who fired the shot and was later killed?

A. Yes, sir. I went to my room and did not undress. I threw a loose coat about me and lay on the bed, awaiting danger. I was not asleep. Presently I heard the tramp of soldiers approaching. I had with me, I may explain, a few letters from the Countess Markievicz introducing me to a British general, General Barton, who is now in Pentonville prison, I believe.

Q. Senator Walsh: Is General Barton the distinguished general who did such splendid service during the war, and returned to Ireland, and was converted to Sinn Fein?

A. Yes, he is now in Pentonville prison.

Q. You had a letter to him?

A. Yes, I had a letter from his sister, and also two or three letters from a man in Cork whose business was ruined and who got out this letter, and I bought several of them for souvenirs. I also had this copy of Dail Eireann, which was given to me by the Minister of Labor, Countess Markievicz. I also had the card of Lord Mayor MacSwiney for a souvenir. I had nothing else, with the exception of one or two things as souvenirs. I had a letter to Mrs. Bryce, the sister-in-law of our former ambassador. All of these things seemed to me to be contraband of war, and I became absolutely terrorized, thinking that any minute they might connect me with this murder case and hurry me off to prison. I could not light a light because, as I looked outside the window, the soldiers were immediately outside the hotel door. There seemed to be about two hundred fifty of them, with helmets on them and fully accoutered in war clothing. I drew back in the room and held these papers as if they were absolutely deadly instruments instead of mere writings. I began to chew up the Lord Mayor's card. I was afraid they would enter the room, and the papers fell out of my hand to the floor and I could not see all of them. I then opened the door and called to the only man whom I saw walking in the corridor. I called to him and said: "I am ill and am alone, and want you to come in and help me gather some papers." He said, "What papers are they?" I said, "They are merely personal correspondence. I want to get them out of the way." He said, "Then destroy

them." I said, "Yes, destroy them, but one cannot light a light in here." He said, "Follow me." I followed him into the lavatory, and he said, "Throw them into the lavatory." I said, "If they don't go down, and they find them, what will happen to me? Then I will be shot." He said, "Give them to me," and tore them up in bits and got rid of them, and then he asked me, "What right have you to have them?" I said, "They are only letters." He said, "Do not carry any letters or even what is printed. The law makes what was printed or written legally only a few weeks ago a seditious document now."

Then I went out into the hall and saw two British officers, and said, "Will some of you men come down? I am alone back here. This seems to be war on women more than on men." The man said, "You may go into your room. There will be nothing happen to you. You are an American. They are only taking reprisals out in the street." I said, "What do you mean by reprisals?" He said, "They are shooting some of the townspeople that deserve shooting." The shootings continued, volley after volley.

Q. Senator Walsh: During all this time was there shooting going on?

A. Right outside the door. You could hear the shooting and the commands given to the soldiers. I went the next morning to a home that had been almost completely destroyed, petrol having been poured upon it. One of the ladies there had just returned to Ireland on a trip from America, after fifty years' absence. Her trunk was burned in the fire. The house had been attacked and they had broken the windows before trying to burn it. The women got out to safety.

Q. Why was this house attacked?

A. There was a young boy there named Broderick who was taken out to be shot because he was a Volunteer. He is not dead; he is in charge of the military now, or has escaped. The Black-and-Tans kept the firing up, and then they went to the lodgings of a young boy named Quirk. His corpse was found early the next morning. There were nine bullet holes in his body below the waist. He was taken to the spot where the Black-and-Tan was shot, and then he was shot nine times below the waist-line, and did not die until three hours later. He was virtually disemboweled. There were pools of blood from the station just across the way clear across the street. He died at five o'clock in the morning. His name was Quirk, and he was on the run from Cork. There were no inquests allowed in these cases. At five o'clock in the morning there was a very great sound of breaking, although the military were returning, and I was

up and dressed and out in the hall to be near the British officers when the bullets were flying. It was not the return of the military. They were engaged in battering down the only newspaper in the town. It is called *The Galway Express*.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Who was battering down this paper?

A. The Black-and-Tans. They battered down everything in the office. I saw the office at eight o'clock the next morning, and there was not a vestige of the machinery left. Everything was on the floor in heaps. I saw the manager of the place stooping down and gathering up single bits of type which he saw on the floor. They gathered up enough type to get out a special edition of the paper on a little sheet like this (holding up copy). I would like to read you what it says (reads):

"*The Galway Express*, Thursday, September Ninth. Special Issue. Price, one penny. The Murder of Innocent Men. People's Admirable Restraint Under Extreme Provocation. *Galway Express* Premises Demolished. An Unparalleled Outbreak of Crime Took Place in Galway This Morning."

The Witness: Perhaps I had better not read it. It is all like that. Only this line (reads):

"While definitely charging the Royal Irish Constabulary with full responsibility for the murders, we feel it incumbent upon us to counsel the people of Galway to remain calm under this terrible provocation. We regret that under the circumstances we cannot make any announcement of the exact date on which we will resume publication. Remember, Galway men and Galway women, the watchword is, KEEP COOL."

I saw also the body, the corpse of the young Volunteer who was shot on the station platform. There was one bullet hole clear through his head.

Q. Commissioner Addams: May I not ask you about this? Is it not the same case that Dr. Cotter told us about yesterday?

A. It is the same case. I do not think Dr. Cotter was on the platform. I happened to be there at the time. I think he was in the hotel.

Q. Do you not think that the man was running amuck, as we say? Was he not crazy to do that when women and children were about?

A. That has happened in several different towns. So there must be several insane men about.

Q. That could happen under the abnormal pressure of that situation. But you think that there was no provocation?

A. No. Galway was a very quiet town, and there was no provocation or there would have been a curfew.

Q. But it might have been done more suddenly.

A. The idea, I believe, was to provoke the people into open rebellion. I imagine that from what I have said.

In Limerick I had a rear room in the hotel, and I was awakened from my sleep by the cries, "Halt" and "Fire." I jumped from my bed and dressed quickly. The same cry rang out: "Halt," "Hands Up," "Fire." It terrified me. I looked into the court yard and there was nobody there. Presently I opened my door and called for some help. The lady clerk came and said, "Never mind. That is a man who was on the run, and he was caught and escaped. His mind is a little shattered now, and he is resting in the next room. He does that now all through the night.

BRAWLS AND DRINKING IN BARRACKS

I think you asked me, Mr. Walsh, about the amicable relations between the Black-and-Tans and R. I. C.?

Senator Walsh: Yes.

The Witness: I had the privilege of going into a prison, and while there, one in the prison, not incarcerated, told me that they had spent the previous day in watching the conduct between the Black-and-Tans and the R. I. C., and that there was great disorder within the barracks where they were staying the day before, and that there was a great deal of whiskey being drunk, and that caused open rebellion between the R. I. C. and the Black-and-Tans, and there was as much fighting going on inside as there was outside the barrack.

Q. Senator Walsh: Are you at liberty to name that place?

A. I would not be privileged to name it, because the man whom I mention is now on the run, and he was in the prison as well as in the barrack. I could give you intimate details of what was going on in the barrack.

I might say that when I reported to the police on the day when Balbriggan was devastated, both the policeman who took my report and the policeman who checked it up, and the two policemen who came to look at the American who came in with the passport, all were strongly under the influence of drink. That is, their eyes were very bloodshot, their faces very red, the pronunciation of their words very guttural, and their entire attitude indicated it. The one who took my report was a man from England. He was not dressed as the other men. He did not even have on a collar, and had his

shirt front tucked down in careless fashion, and did not know anything of the places I had visited in Ireland, and knew only places in England where I was going.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did they smell of liquor?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. How many of them?

A. There were five.

Q. Where was this?

A. In Dublin.

Q. What building?

A. The Strong Street Station.

Q. Police station?

A. Yes.

Q. When you went to the police station to arrange for your itinerary in Ireland, you met these officers of the government, and it was while you were talking with them that you observed their situation?

A. Yes.

Q. It was about what hour of the day?

A. About three o'clock in the afternoon. One had come out of a side room, as if awakened from sleep, and he looked as if he was not in any condition to talk to anyone.

Q. He was drunk?

A. He was not so much drunk as in the condition of emerging from drinking.

DESTRUCTION IN LIMERICK

I may say that in Limerick I went down one whole street and went down both sides of the street counting one house after another, and found not one undevastated house in the whole street. It was the street where the poor people lived, called Kerry Row. I asked them about the conditions on the day on which their homes were destroyed, and they all had a pitiable tale to tell. In Limerick the Black-and-Tans are still patrolling the streets in groups of eight to ten, and lorries were passing down the principal thoroughfares. Many homes were burned, and during the night there was a home bombed and burned while I was there.

Q. Did you find any peaceful conditions anywhere in Ireland?

A. Let me see. I think the most peaceful place I found was at Lisdoonvarna.

Q. How many places did you visit?

A. I visited, I think, forty or fifty towns in Ireland.

Q. And this was the only place where you found normal conditions?

A. The conditions were not normal there, but the conditions were less terrorizing than in any other town I visited. It is a watering place, and there are many English officers there.

Q. What is your nationality?

A. My father is of English descent, and my mother, Irish.

I have here letters from the Minister of Labor in Ireland, showing the nature of the laws as operated by the Republican forces. This was given to me by the Countess Markievicz, the Minister of Labor; it was issued a few days before I visited her. It shows how the—

Q. Senator Walsh: Is it printed in Gaelic or in English?

A. It is printed in both.

Q. Can you leave it with us for a few hours?

A. I can leave it.

IN BURNED BALBRIGGAN

I was going to say that I have more to tell you from Balbriggan. I was in the room while the testimony was given. But I went out to Balbriggan the following day, the day before Patrick Lynch was killed in a Dublin hotel. I went out, but I was so terrified by the appearances—it seemed to me that hundreds of Black-and-Tans were on the roads going out—wonderful military activity. As you approached the town, you met the people fleeing, with sometimes pathetic amounts of baggage in their hands. Sometimes they were taking all they had with them. I met many women with children huddled about their skirts, fleeing from the town. I witnessed all the burned buildings that have been spoken about this morning. The terror of the roads is quite indescribable!

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

Senator Walsh (presiding): Mr. Hackett, will you be here until half-past two?

Mr. Hackett: Yes.

Senator Walsh: We shall adjourn, then, until half-past two.

(1:15 P. M.)

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF FRANCIS HACKETT

(2:35 P. M.)

Chairman Howe: The session will please come to order. The first witness this afternoon is Mr. Francis Hackett of the *New Republic*, New York. (The witness takes the stand.)

Q. Mr. Hackett, will you please state your professional relations and anything else about yourself that you desire, as a preliminary statement of fact?

A. First of all, I think I had better state that I am an Irishman born. I have been in this country since 1900. I think I was about eighteen when I came here. And I have lived here continuously since, with the exception of one year. I was a year in Ireland in 1912 to 1913. I went home for personal reasons. My father was ill, and I stayed with him as long as he lived. Then I came back to this country and became an editor of the *New Republic*, and stayed in this country until last May. My wife, Miss Toksvig, and myself went then to England and then to Denmark for five weeks, and reached Ireland in July,—towards the end of July, and stayed there until the end of September. We were then eight weeks in Ireland. I went to Ireland for two reasons: one was to see my own people, and the other was to write a few articles for the *New York World* and to make an investigation as much all over the country as possible under the circumstances. As I said, we stayed there for eight weeks, going over the ground in the south and north and west of Ireland, and, of course, in Dublin a great deal.

Q. How much country did you cover?

A. I should say we covered roughly about two-thirds of the country. We went to my home town, which is a small place, Kilkenny. We went from Kilkenny to Waterford, and from Waterford to Drogheda, and from Drogheda to Cork, and to Kerry for a few days, and then to Limerick, and then to Dublin, and then to Belfast, and then to Galway, and back to Dublin and Kilkenny; and then we spent several days in Londonderry before we sailed.

Q. All this time you were gathering material for the work you were doing for the *New York World*?

A. Exactly.

Q. And you are also the author of a book on Ireland?

A. Yes.

INDEPENDENCE THE SOLE SOLUTION OF IRISH ISSUE

When I went home in 1913 I was particularly interested in the economic conditions in Ireland. I thought that the Irish question was largely a democratic economic question,—the question of the

struggle of lower classes to come up. In other words, the very much same sort of struggle that was going on in England, but complicated by the fact that the ruling class, the shell, was not only different economically but also different racially. I made up my mind while I was there to collect all the material I could that bore on that subject, and then to write a book on Ireland after my return to America. At first I thought of calling the book "What America Could Teach Ireland." I thought there was a great deal to be learned from this country in practical ways as far as education was concerned, as far as self-help is concerned, the organization of laborers, the organization of educational bodies, and that sort of thing. I did not get the book completed until the war came on, and a lot of preconceptions that I had about the possibilities of self-help and the unimportance of politics went. I became convinced that it did matter what political relations you had and what the sovereignty of a country was. After we went into the war, I determined that since Ireland was a small nation in the same sort of plight with a great many other small nations, I made a great effort to get out my book. And I got out this book, which is about four hundred pages, in 1914. I got it out because I came to believe that the thing that the Irish had to do was to get a working relationship in Ireland, and in order to do so they must have a measure of self-government in Ireland. At the time I believed that the best measure they could get was a measure of dominion home rule. I wrote the book with that as a conclusion; the helpful thing for Ireland was not to get an economically workable solution like the Home Rule Bill of 1914, but an economically workable solution like the Dominion Acts of Canada and Australia and South Africa. In 1919, after observing the situation, I came to the conclusion that the British were not in a position to give the Irish that solution. There was no prospect for a solution along this line; that the real vitality in Ireland was a vitality that demanded a different solution—a solution along the lines laid down by President Wilson for the squaring of the troubles on the continent of Europe. Sir Horace Plunkett, who came to this country in 1919, asked me if I would be the representative for a new paper he was about to start called *The New Statesman*. I made up my mind that it would be against the will of the majority of the Irish people to advocate the solution he represented, and I determined to publish a new edition of my book stating that the Irish problem solution was to give the Irish the same sort of autonomy that the American Republic achieved in 1776. In 1914 I wrote in

the *New Republic* that the English were taking a course of action that any Englishman would see was leading to an armed crisis. Certainly it was apparent to any man who had studied the Irish situation that something like that was bound to occur.

When I went to Ireland, I went not only to investigate the facts, but also to interpret them. I saw the situation very like the situation in Finland that we have long been familiar with; like the situation in Bohemia, the Jugo-Slav situation, the Schleswig situation, the Armenian situation, the Alsace-Lorraine situation,—the situation of a people that had long been imperialized struggling to get for themselves conditions of self-development that they could not get without a new constitution,—a new constitution that they only could hope to get by securing independence. I was very instructed in that field by the attitude that we ourselves took in this country toward similar struggles. On my paper, the *New Republic*, we had two members of our staff who went to work for the United States Government after we went into the war in 1917, and their particular job was this: they went into Military Intelligence, and they were dispatched by our government to England. And there they worked out in conjunction with certain Englishmen a policy by which they would get information over to the Czecho-Slovaks, who were fighting for Austria, by which they would persuade the Czecho-Slovaks not to fight for Austria but to desert the cause of Austria, and to assert their own legitimate claims to freedom by deserting Austria. I bring this point in for this purpose: everything depends in these situations of nationalism on what you mean by law and order and what you mean by lawlessness. When a man like Sir Roger Casement, for example, went to the Irish soldiers who were in the British army and said the same thing to them that the editors of the *New Republic* said to the Czecho-Slovaks by sending them similar messages tied to balloons that were timed to come down at the right time and in the right places, Sir Roger Casement was tried and executed for treason for that sort of propaganda. But we of the United States saw that justice for Czecho-Slovakia and other small nations on the continent of Europe meant that they could not be free unless they broke away from an empire that was sacrificing them.

PURPOSE IN GOING TO IRELAND

I conceived that there was some such sort of situation in Ireland, and in order to interpret the facts, one had to find out what one meant by law and order. And I went to Ireland to answer two

questions for myself: I was told in London that the Irish were killing police, and that the Irish were being lawless, and that the lawlessness was in the hands of a band of young men who were not responsible, and that that lawless situation in Ireland must be met with force,—by the use of military force. I was told by certain Englishmen in conversation that that was the real interpretation of the Irish situation. The manager of Cook's bank in London told me that that was the true solution of the Irish situation. I met an old man on the street whose bag I carried (although at first he was a bit sceptical and thought I might be a pickpocket, yet he finally did take a chance, for the bag was heavy), and he told me that that was the solution of the Irish question. I found that that was the general idea in England; on the one hand, a band of extremists who were excitable and did not know what they wanted and who were killing the police who were striving to maintain law and order; and on the other hand a band of noble, heroic police seeking to suppress this lawlessness. And I went to Ireland to find out if that was the case.

I have been here for two days and heard the testimony of various kinds covering what happened in Dublin and Thurles and Balbriggan, and perhaps I could help out if I stated other facts.

Q. Chairman Howe: I would like to have you state whether you found those facts general in Ireland, and also tell what you think should be done.

Senator Walsh: May I interrupt you to inquire about your religion?

A. May I tell you exactly what my religion is? I was born in the Roman Catholic Church. I have a brother in the clergy who is now stationed in Limerick, who is a hot Sinn Feiner, but who, during trouble in Limerick, saved the lives of three English officers.

Q. I do not want to be personal at all, but I want to weigh your evidence by way of your religious convictions.

A. I formed a new religion when I came to this country. I am a man of religious feeling, but I am a member of no church. I have not been inside a church, except for curiosity, for twenty years.

Q. Did you have Sinn Fein sympathies when you went to Ireland?

A. I have always sympathized with Sinn Fein as an aspiration. I have never believed it was practicable until 1919. In 1919, when Sir Horace Plunkett asked me to be the representative of his paper, I had to make a choice, and I decided that Sinn Fein was practical,

and was the only healthy moral thing for the Irish to act upon. They really wanted independence, in my belief, and they had to be honest with themselves. There was no use saying they wanted a half-measure when they wanted independence..

Senator Walsh: Excuse the interruption. I merely wanted to get the background.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY ORIGINATED FOR POLITICAL PURPOSE

The Witness: First, when I went into Ireland I found the Royal Irish Constabulary. They were invented by Peel in 1820. There was trouble in Ireland a hundred years ago just as there is today,—trouble in Cork and Belfast and Dublin and elsewhere. The government was authorized by Peel to put the military into Ireland. If you made a chart of the police stations in Ireland, you would find that if you had a gridiron with spaces ten miles square and covering Ireland, you would find a police station in the center of each space of the gridiron. Sometimes the police stations are in hamlets of a few homes, and sometimes in a town like Kilkenny you will find forty or fifty policemen. The number of policemen in Scotland is about three to four thousand. In Ireland there are from thirty to forty thousand police. In population the two countries are about the same size: Scotland has 4,700,000 and Ireland 4,300,000. Ireland, then, has ten times as many police to the population as has Scotland. And this in time of peace when crimes like manslaughter and murder have always been less in Ireland than in Scotland. The police were put in Ireland for a political purpose. They were really the advance-guard of imperialism. They were there not because there was work for them to do, but because there might be work for them to do, largely in regard to public opinion. Three-fourths of the police are Catholics, but the men were picked for other reasons. Oxford and Cambridge men were preferred for the police. The police were always semi-armed,—bayonets on their belts and batons. And they always had in the barracks carbines, and were drilled by the military in the barracks yards. They were recruited from the Irish peasantry. If the farm could not support two or three men in Kerry or Tipperary or Cork, the boy would go into the police. It was never looked upon as a very desirable occupation, but if there was no work to do on the farm, the boys would go into the police.

POLICE ACT AS SPIES FOR MILITARY

After 1916 and the uprising in Dublin a new situation occurred with regard to the police that is very important to grasp. When the rising took place, it only took place in Dublin and in Galway. But it was firmly believed that there were plans for a rising all over Ireland. The week after the rising, troops were brought into Ireland. They poured into the country in great numbers. There were a thousand in Kilkenny. The military immediately got into touch with the police and said: "Who are the people here who are suspected of being Sinn Feiners, or people of independent opinion, or dangerous people?" The head constable in my own town of Kilkenny gave a list to the military of people who had ever given him any trouble of any kind. In that little town, over fifty young men were deported, young men who belonged to Sinn Fein and others who believed in the Republican movement philosophically. It was a philosophical belief rather than an armed program. About two thousand people were deported from Ireland to detention camps in England. Those men went with a certain feeling toward the police, and then when they came back they were down on the police books as radicals and dangerous men. And then the fight for conscription began in Ireland, and it became necessary to make a case out for conscription and also for the attitude of Ireland in regard to Germany. And so the discovery was made that there was in Ireland a German plot. In 1917 the Irish convention was called by Lloyd George, and there was an amnesty. And in 1918 there were a large number of men arrested and kept in England without trial for about ten months and then released. In 1917 and 1918 the police became very anxious in Ireland about the people in case they should resist conscription.

THE ULSTER REBELLION TREASON AGAINST THE CROWN

It was particularly important because there was a contrast in the treatment between the people in the south of Ireland and the people in the north of Ireland. If I may dwell on this question for about three minutes I think it will illuminate the attitude of the Irish people toward law and order. In 1913 when I was home there was a rebellion going on in Ireland of a very respectable character. It was headed by Lord Londonderry, Lord Willoughby de Broke, the Duke of Abercorn, Sir Edward Carson, Lord Birkenhead, General

Hackett Payne, who is now the military commander in Ulster, and a large number of other gentlemen from the House of Lords in England, and other persons who might be called by an unsympathetic person members of the Junker class. These men had organized rebellion against the British Government because there was in process of being passed by Parliament a Home Rule Bill for Ireland; the point of this rebellion by these gentlemen Junkers was that Ulster was to be brought under the Home Rule bill, and they did not want that to be brought about. They wanted Ulster independent. A projected independence for Ulster was arranged by Sir Edward Carson, and a virtual revolution declared in 1914. Machine guns and rifles were imported from Germany, and——

Q. Senator Walsh: Before autumn of 1914?

A. Late in 1913 and early in 1914. This effort to bring arms to Ireland was going on all the time, and was very successful because the military authorities did not try to stop it.

Q. You began to utter the sentence that the British officers absented themselves from the docks, and by their absence allowed the revolutionists in the north of Ireland to receive arms and munitions from Germany, did you not?

A. Exactly.

Q. Who were the leaders in this movement in the north of Ireland?

A. The leaders were Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Bonar Law, F. E. Smith, who is now Lord Birkenhead, Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Londonderry, who is now dead, and various members of the House of Lords. The chief recruiting officer of that lot in London was Lord Roberts. They raised large sums of money. They raised five thousand dollars for Red Cross work—at least they raised it on paper. They had a huge parade in Belfast that was attended by newspaper reporters from all over the world; also by reporters from Germany, who wanted to see how big the revolution was going to be.

Q. What was the organization called?

A. The Ulster Volunteers. By the way, I must point out that at this time there was a Liberal government in England. The Liberal government almost got to the point of arresting Sir Edward Carson; but it was recently disclosed by Colonel Reppington in his biography of the war that when the arrest of Sir Edward Carson was brought up by the Liberal government, the King absolutely prohibited the arrest.

Q. What was the charge against him?

A. Treason against the Crown. Sir Edward Carson said: "There is no need to inform me that what I am doing is anarchy. I know it." And he was very well informed about it, for he knew that the British army would not move against Ulster. Orders were given to troops to move from Kildare to Ulster, and they refused to move. Certain resignations were taken from the army on that occasion. One of the resigners was Lord French, who is now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; also General Hackett Payne, who was then recruiting for the army, and is now in command of the government troops in Munster. You might not remember that some months later Sir Edward Carson was put into the British Cabinet.

THE SOUTH OF IRELAND ARMS IN DEFENSE

The young men in the south of Ireland said: "Now the north of Ireland is armed. We have never been allowed to have arms in the south of Ireland, except for field sports,—shotguns and so forth." Permits were given by the local authorities, the resident magistrates, for sporting guns and rifles,—I imagine to shoot rooks with, and things like that. The lists of people who had such guns were known to the police, and usually hung up in the post-office. They were usually rich people. The people of the south of Ireland made up their minds that if the north of Ireland were to be armed, that they were to be armed too. Perhaps it was a reprehensible thing, from my humanitarian point of view, a very bad thing; but perhaps it was human. The moment the south of Ireland began to import arms, the government moved. The last day of August, 1914, a yacht brought arms to a place called Howth outside of Dublin, and landed arms to a body called the National Volunteers. The troops—

Q. Senator Walsh: The British troops?

BACHELOR'S WALK MASSACRE ALIENATES IRISH FROM WAR

A. The British troops and the police were sent to intercept those arms, and they failed to get there in time to intercept them. They came back to the city of Dublin from Howth, a seven miles' walk. The people came out from the terrible slums of Dublin, and I think they must have jeered at the soldiers. Some said they also threw

stones. There was a good deal of feeling against the soldiers. The soldiers fired into the crowd and killed four and wounded about sixty. This was in the week before the declaration of war against Germany. The young Sinn Fein men who were running the three or four papers that were allowed to be published said: "This is the beginning of the end in Ireland. Blood has been shed by the British soldiers." There was an inquest after this killing that was a whitewash. The regiment was moved away. The young Sinn Feiners said: "We have no sympathy with the war to be fought by men who have just been killing civilians on the streets of Dublin with only very slight provocation."

HEROES OR CRIMINALS?

Then you have got the situation developing in 1916 and the use of the police for political purposes. They were used to root out all the young men of advanced ideas, and in many cases the women, and to put all those who had any idea of freedom for Ireland in the place of criminals. You got a contrast all the time there between the heroes of Poland and the people of Czecho-Slovakia and the people in Schleswig and Finland and Alsace-Lorraine who had no part in this war,—who were going to be given their freedom; the contrast between them and the people of Ireland, who had similar claims and who were regarded as criminals.

HOME RULE, TOO LONG DEFERRED, DESPAISED OF

Q. Senator Walsh: For the sake of the record, will you state how far and to what extent the Home Rule Bill had reached at the outbreak of the war?

A. There was no dominion home rule bill. There was pending a bill to give Ireland a sort of qualified home rule.

Q. That bill was accepted by Redmond and that party, but not acceptable to the Ulsterites?

A. Yes, not acceptable to the Ulsterites. It had passed the House of Lords, and the King was to sign it on September 14, 1914. He signed it, and it was to become law for Ireland. But a compromise was reached by which it was to be held up and not become law until an amendment was passed making some provision for Ulster.

Q. How can a bill that had been passed and signed be held up?

A. Senator Walsh, the British constitution is an unwritten document, depending upon the interpretation of lawyers. The idea was

that they had suspended this law for one year, and that this amendment was to be made.

Q. The bill was enacted, but the administrative forces refused, or by agreement did not provide machinery to carry it out?

A. Exactly. That is the legal situation. The bill has since been repealed. As part of the Home Rule Bill now before the House of Commons, this Home Rule Bill is to be repealed.

Q. Was it apparent that during all that time in 1914 that this bill was to be passed by the House of Lords?

A. The bill was never passed by the House of Lords. But in 1910—

Q. Yes, I know. It was passed twice by the House of Commons, which made the action of the House of Lords unnecessary.

A. Yes, in 1910 a Veto Bill was passed that if the House of Lords rejected a bill passed by the House of Commons twice, it could be passed over their heads.

The people say in Ireland: Do you want Dominion Home Rule in Ireland? They say: Suppose we do agree to accept Dominion Home Rule, and that bill is introduced in the House of Commons, and it is then passed after many amendments to it. It then goes to the House of Lords, and is rejected. It is then passed by the House of Commons and given back to the House of Lords, and is then rejected. Then many amendments are made, and it then goes back to the House of Lords. And then it is, after four years, again really enacted by the Commons and goes to the King for his signature, and afterwards put on the statute books. And then there will be other details and delays until, they say, perhaps by that time our great grandchildren will be interested in it. And they say: We have no interest in a Home Rule Bill along those lines.

When I went to Ireland I went to get an answer to these questions: Is it true, as they say in London, that the Irish are killing policemen, and that the Irish who are killing policemen are a small band of extremists? I went all over the ground that we heard covered this morning. It seems to me that what was said is perfectly in accord with the facts.

EXTENT OF MILITARY RULE IN IRELAND

Now, I went to a number of places in Ireland, first of all with the preoccupation of finding out the facts about military rule: how far does military rule exist in Ireland? I tried first of all to find out how many troops were there in Ireland. It is generally be-

lieved that the number of troops in this country would be three to four hundred thousand.

Senator Walsh: Before the war about one hundred fifty thousand. Our new bill provides for much more than that.

The Witness: In Ireland, which is a country of four million three hundred thousand people, the British government said there were about fifty thousand troops. Mr. Arthur Griffith, the acting president of the Irish Republic, said he could prove there were one hundred thirty thousand troops stationed in Ireland. In addition to those, there were around thirty thousand of the Irish police, less about one thousand that had resigned, plus about a thousand recruited Black-and-Tans who had the status of sergeants and a large body of Black-and-Tans who came in with the ordinary status of constable,—perhaps six or seven thousand. So you got in all a body hovering around one hundred fifty thousand, as large as the ordinary peace establishment in the United States, which has a population of one hundred million; that is to say, twenty-five times as many per person as would normally be here before the war.

Q. Chairman Howe: That was true when you left?

A. Before I left I saw Arthur Griffith, late in September. I need not tell you that it is impossible to find out from the British Government how many troops there are in Ireland. They convert homes and public buildings of all sorts into barracks, so that it is impossible to tell how many there are. Before the war Ireland was a great training ground for British troops,—perhaps twenty-five thousand always in training there.

I am just trying to give the first crude aspects of British rule. Perhaps it would be more interesting to the Commission if I answered questions which would be given rather than relate my own account.

WHY POLICEMEN ARE KILLED

Q. Commissioner Addams: I think it would be interesting to know how many policemen were killed.

A. I wanted to find out why the policemen were killed and how many were killed. The numbers given in the British House of Commons are about one hundred twenty killed during the last few years in Ireland. The situation may be illuminated if I hand in a pamphlet called "The Two Years of British Atrocities in Ireland." That is the pamphlet compiled by the Sinn Feiners giving the numbers of civilians killed in Ireland before a single policeman was killed

in Ireland. In 1916 no policeman was killed in Ireland. As I understand it, in 1917-1918 there were about a dozen murders charged to the police and about twenty thousand raids, a number of which are detailed here, the suppression of newspapers, and so forth, all of which you have heard described.

Q. Senator Walsh: All of this, as I understand it, was before the killing of any police officer?

A. Yes, sir, previous to the killing of any police. Then the killing of police began. Sometimes they have been ambushed and killed. On one occasion a policeman was killed going into chapel to mass. On another occasion a policeman has been killed on patrol formation. On one occasion a patrol came into contact with a small group of armed Sinn Feiners. They fired, and fell back into a ditch, and the young Sinn Feiners returned the fire. These policemen were killed fighting. Some policemen have resigned from the force and then been killed. One was killed at Oranmore in September after he had resigned.

Q. Is it the intimation that the police officer who resigns and is killed is killed by the British authorities, or by the Sinn Feiners?

A. That is rather interesting. I have never heard that imputation until today. But I can give the case specifically where Black-and-Tans have called at the home of a man who has resigned and have brought him out of his home and flogged him mercilessly. So that that explanation seems to me to be plausible. On the other hand, I heard of this case, where the policeman was killed by mistake.

So I went to the Sinn Feiners and said: "Why are these police killed? Why was Allan Bell killed in Dublin, that old magistrate?" Certain Sinn Feiners said: "Oh, it is all done by impetuous young people." But as I got down into contact with responsible men, they said,—many of them said: "This killing of policemen is a necessary act of justice. As far as we know, no policeman has been killed who has not been tried. If a policeman commits murder or something similar to murder, he is given a trial without himself being present, and he is punished." I asked for instances, and I was given the instance of Lord Mayor MacCurtain. I was told by several Sinn Feiners—it may be folklore but I give it for what it is worth—I was told by responsible men that the policemen who killed or carried out the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain were numbered; that one was killed on his way into a chapel in Cork, and three more had been killed around Cork; and that another remained to be killed, and that his name was Swanzy, and that he had left

Cork to go to Lisburn; and a few weeks later policeman Swanzy was killed as he was going out of church in Lisburn. And in retaliation the Orangemen of Lisburn set fire to the Catholic section and did damage to the extent of two or three hundred thousand dollars. That I give you as an instance of a police murder.

Q. The Sinn Feiners declare that they had a trial and heard testimony and were satisfied that these police had committed the murder of Mayor MacCurtain, and that they had pronounced the death sentence against them?

A. Exactly. I went to see a very splendid young man whom I would not wish to identify because it would be dangerous for him, but a man in a very responsible public position, and I asked him about the killing of police. I asked him, "Why did they kill Wilson in Wexford?" And he said, "That man was a proper ruffian," and he gave me a number of instances of things that this man had done which seemed criminal and brutal in his life. And I said, "Do you know any other instances of men like that who have been killed?" And he said, "Most of the men who have been killed have been guilty of murder." And I said, "Do you know of any other instances in your district?" And he said, "A young man works for me, and he said the other day when he came in, 'I have seen the policeman in town who killed my brother, and I am going to kill him.'" And his employer said: "You are a member of the Irish Volunteers, and you mean to say that you are going to take the law into your own hands? You know the proper course to pursue. If you have any charge to make against that policeman, you know where to send it and you know what action will be taken." He prevailed upon the young man to get out of the way of the police; and the police got wind of the fact that this particular policeman was identified, and he left town. By these instances you get a practical illustration of the fact that the men who have tried to break down the will of Sinn Fein, to break down the will of the Irish as expressed in two elections, have not succeeded. And you inevitably get a clash between these men and the Sinn Feiners—the Irish Volunteers.

BRITISH "LAW AND ORDER" IN IRELAND

The English policy in this question is very important. The English maintain that they are holding up law and order in Ireland. They maintain that all these instances that you have heard about in the last two days are instances to be explained by rational processes, and that they stand for law and order. The results of my

investigation are this: the English maintain that they are standing for law and order, and that the Sinn Feiners are a band of extremists; but at the same time they are pursuing a policy of provocation and assassinations and murders, and make no effort whatever to bring to book those members of their organization who commit murders and assassinations, and are making every effort to throw the onus of disorder and lawlessness on Sinn Fein; that Sinn Fein, on the other hand, wishes to have peace in Ireland, to have their own government perfected, but are constantly running into the lawlessness and oppression of the old police, the Black-and-Tans, and the military in Ireland.

And I would like, if I may, in relation to this to show the sequel to the Balbriggan affair as brought out today. I made no investigation in Balbriggan myself. I made an investigation in Galway and Dublin. But the sequel in Balbriggan is this: I wish to quote Sir Hamar Greenwood, the British Chief Secretary for Ireland, on the subject of Balbriggan and the inquiry into Balbriggan. There was an effort made to get the House of Commons at the end of October, two weeks ago—no, I guess about three weeks ago,—to appoint a commission to investigate and find out what actually happened at Balbriggan. And the House of Commons voted to refuse this move. They declined to appoint a commission to investigate. But the phrases that illumine the state of mind of Sir Hamar Greenwood are important. He said: "I admit that nineteen houses were destroyed and others damaged; that four public houses were destroyed, and one hosiery factory that employs two hundred hands was also destroyed. I admit it is difficult to defend the destruction of that factory." And he was asked if two men were not also killed. He said: "Two men were also killed." And Sir Arthur Balfour said: "Murder!" And he said: "If the right honorable gentleman gets any satisfaction out of it, I would say, murder." He admitted that the murder was not the act of irresponsible men, that it was organized; that it was the work of men who went from a barrack seven miles away; and he said: "I have myself made an inquiry into this case, and I will tell the House what I have found: that some hundred to one hundred fifty men went to Balbriggan to avenge the murder of a comrade murdered in cold blood; and I find that it is impossible out of those one hundred fifty men to find out who did the deed, who did the burning; and I have had the most careful possible investigation made." In other words, the British Government is confronted with a situation not dissimilar to that which con-

fronted President Roosevelt at Brownsville. But where President Roosevelt took the regiment who were there and investigated and carried out the results of this investigation, the British Government says: We know the regiment that went there, and we know that they burned down nineteen houses and killed two men, and all this; but we are not able to push it further. Therefore, nothing will be done about what was done at Balbriggan.

Q. Senator Walsh: Who is Sir Hamar Greenwood?

A. He is that member of the British Cabinet responsible for Ireland. He is the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Q. And this was the speech he made in the House of Commons when a motion was made to have an investigation made of Balbriggan?

GOVERNMENT SUPPRESSES TRUTH ABOUT BURNINGS OF CREAMERIES

A. Exactly. And my object in bringing that up is this: that while nominally England stands for law and order in Ireland, they are really out to crush what they think is revolution; and when they run into something that they think does not fit into the categories of democratic government and decency, they simply say that they are powerless, and decline to carry out an investigation,—such an investigation as would be carried out in any other civilized country where there was an established government. Thirty creameries have been burned down, and Sir Hamar Greenwood was confronted with the evidence of the burning down of these creameries; that uniformed men have gone out in lorries; that they have been seen; and they have burned down the creameries. And he is unable to act because he has seen no evidence: “I have never seen a tittle of evidence to prove that the armed forces of the Crown have destroyed creameries.” Well, Sir Horace Plunkett and Mr. George Russell have tried to put evidence in his hands that the armed forces of the Crown have destroyed creameries. I think it would make it clear if I might read a letter written by Sir Horace Plunkett on the twenty-sixth of October: “Both Houses of Parliament and the public have been completely misled as to the destruction of creameries and other property of cooperative societies in Ireland, and in all seriousness I am compelled to charge the Government with suppression of the truth. During the past six months a correspondence upon this subject has been carried on between the Irish Agricultural Organization Society and myself, as its President, on the one hand, and the civil government and the military authority in Ireland on the

other. On Wednesday last, in the reprisals debate in the Commons, Sir Hamar Greenwood selected out of this mass of letters a single extract from a letter of his own to me. In this extract he deplored and condemned 'these outrages,' promised to try and prevent them, and to punish those responsible. He adverted to 'the outstanding difficulty . . . that the sufferers have been unable or unwilling to come forward with evidence,' and invited me to provide it. He then told the House that he had 'never seen a tittle of evidence to prove that the servants of the Crown had destroyed these creameries.' This morning I was told by a distinguished member of the House of Lords that Lord Curzon had on the same day made an identical statement—of course, from the material supplied to him. He quoted the same extract from the official correspondence, and then gave it as 'a curious corroboration' of the innocence of the servants of the Crown that I had failed to supply 'evidence of any sort.'

"Space forbids the production in your columns of the evidence in the possession of the Government, partly from the records of their own courts, partly furnished by us. It will suffice here to say that the unfortunate victims of these outrages have only one means of proving their loss. They have to bring suit under the Malicious Injuries Acts before the County Court Judge at Quarter Sessions. If the judge is satisfied that the injury is malicious, even if it is proved beyond all possibility of doubt, as it was in a trial which I personally attended, that servants of the Crown destroyed the property, he has to charge the amount of compensation awarded (in this case £12,349) on the rates. In other words, the victims of the outrages, and other innocent persons, have to pay for damage inflicted upon the community by the guardians of the law.

"Everybody in Ireland knows, and the Government knows, that these acts are deliberate reprisals by servants of the Crown. Unless discipline has hopelessly broken down, the Government could easily identify the criminals. It is scandalous that for lack of this identification such a crying injustice should go unredressed. We have asked for an open and impartial inquiry in Dublin, where witnesses can be protected. To say that this would be a mere conflict of perjury is untrue as regards the evidence we are ready to produce, and is not complimentary to the peace officers of the Government. Redress in this case is urgently demanded far more on account of the position and influence of the agricultural cooperative movement in Ireland than for the direct and indirect restriction in food production, which is no light matter. As I write, a telegram reaches me reporting the burning of yet another creamery."

The Witness: I would like to leave this letter to show the situation they are in in Ireland.

Q. Chairman Howe: Just give us that citation, please.

A. Sir Horace Plunkett, writing to the London *Times*, printed on the twenty-sixth of October of this year. There is an editorial on the same subject in this issue of *The Irish Homestead*, which reprints the letter, by George W. Russell.

PERVERSION OF BRITISH JUSTICE

There is evidence that there is justice going on in Ireland from the Irish side. Sir Hamar Greenwood himself said that courts are going on in Ireland conducted by the Irish people. Not so much can be said for the Government courts in Ireland, even where they have not been superseded by courts martial. In the north of Ireland, a man found with a revolver is fined two-and-six-pence or three shillings. But in the south of Ireland I have found no case where a man found with arms is given less than two years' imprisonment.¹

ELECTIONS PROVE LARGE MAJORITY SUPPORTS SINN FEIN GOVERNMENT

Worse than the assertion that the courts-martial have the full confidence of the Irish people are the constant assertions that the British Government is working in Ireland in the interests of the whole people. I would like to give you the analysis of the vote in 1918 and in 1920 to bring out the point whether the *de facto* government of Sinn Fein has the confidence of the people or has not. I think this material is absolutely trustworthy and very closely analyzed. It shows that the Sinn Fein party secured nearly 75 per cent. of the seats on the county councils at the last election.

Q. Senator Walsh: What election is this?

A. June, 1920. The total number of county council seats in Ireland is given as 699. Of those county council seats, Sinn Fein secured 71.9 per cent.; Sinn Fein and Labor, who work together, secured between them 80 per cent. Putting in with them the Ulster Nationalists, who can be put in as believing in self-government for Ireland, the number of seats won is 84 per cent.² Of course that

¹ The death penalty may now be imposed for possession of arms or ammunition.

² Of the 699 seats, 612 were won by candidates opposed to union with England, and 87 seats were won by Unionists.

is not unanimity. I personally found no unanimity in Ireland on the subject of Sinn Fein. But what I did find was this: that all the class of Unionists in the south of Ireland that were descended from the landlord class, and who, until the question of landlordism had been settled in favor of peasant proprietorship, had been all dead against independence, I found that these men were now all in favor of home rule. In the *Irish Times* for September, a conservative paper, I found at least two hundred letters from very conservative gentlemen saying that independence was the only way out. If you desire, I can get a collection of those letters, because it seems to me that they are real evidence of opinion in the south of Ireland. Those gentry constitute the magistrates and the upper class, so to speak. The great majority of these people have resigned from their offices, men like Sir Henry Grattan Bellew, Sir Algernon Coote, Sir Thomas Stafford, and other men, a list of whom I can give you. These men are all deputy lieutenants. These men all resigned while I was in Ireland. And when I was in Dublin, there was a conference of six hundred men and women of this particular class of Unionist persuasion who came together to plead for dominion home rule. Lord Shaftesbury, a prominent Ulsterman, also pleads for dominion home rule.

Q. And until recently these men were all against it?

A. While these men were all landlords, their interests were all against home rule. But now, since they have settled down in Ireland, their interests are with the people. Many of them have said to me they had just as soon have Sinn Fein government as not. Many of them go to the Sinn Fein courts. A big merchant in Cork, called J. C. Dowdall, who had just come back from a delegation that had gone to Lloyd George—

Q. What nationality?

A. A Cork Protestant Irishman. He told me that a relative of his had for months tried to get a land settlement from the British Government and had failed; and in a few weeks he got the whole question settled by the Sinn Fein courts. Many of them have gone to the Sinn Fein courts to get them justice, and in many cases the courts have leaned backwards to give them justice.

Here is a list of county councils and urban councils and other bodies that have declared their allegiance not to Britain, but to Dail Eireann. And I will put in here the analysis of the vote in 1918, the object of which is to show that Sinn Fein is not a small body of extremists, but is 80 per cent. of the people of Ireland, who have so declared themselves in the election of 1918, and have reiterated that decision in the elections of 1920.

Q. What per cent. of the county councils have renounced allegiance to the British Government and are now doing business with the Sinn Fein government?

A. I think all the county councils outside Ulster.

Q. How many is that?

A. There are thirty-two altogether,¹ and outside of Ulster I think that twenty-six have submitted themselves totally to the Sinn Fein government.

Q. Of the total number of town councils and urban councils and county councils, and all the bodies chosen by the people to manage their affairs, how many now recognize British authority?

A. I think that outside the six or four counties in the northwest of Ulster there are practically no public bodies in the south of Ireland that recognize the British Government. But there are minority representatives who believe in the British Government on a great many of these bodies—men of property who still believe that the Sinn Fein policy is not desirable.

I do not seem to have succeeded anywhere in giving evidence on military rule, and I would like very much to go ahead on whatever lines you would suggest.

ALLEGED RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES PRIMARILY ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL

Q. Commissioner Maurer: You have been in the north of Ireland?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know anything about the industries there? In other words, in the north of Ireland there are great textile industries. Have you investigated anything among the workers there—what the standard of living is, under what conditions the women work, and are there any labor unions there, and what influence is brought to bear by the large employers upon these workers to keep them divided on religious prejudices and to keep them from organizing into industrial organizations? Do you know anything about any of these questions?

A. I think I know something. Yes, I went in Belfast to one of the factories, and had a long talk with the employer, and I have

¹ While there are 32 counties in Ireland, there are 33 county councils, Tipperary being divided into North and South constituencies. Of the nine counties in Ulster, only four (Antrim, Armagh, Derry, and Down) elected a majority of Unionist councillors. None of the 24 county councils outside of Ulster went Unionist. In fact, of the 510 seats on these councils, only three were won by Unionists.

studied to a certain extent government reports on the condition of industries in Belfast. I think it is generally admitted that the standard of wages in Belfast is especially low, because in households the men usually work in the shipyards and in higher branches of the textile industry, and the women work in very low occupations; and the Belfast employer looks upon the joint wage in apportioning wages. Up to a very few years ago, the women employed in Belfast seldom wore boots. There are very many bad factories. There are also some good factories. But the trade-union situation is very complicated, because the lower wages are usually paid to the Catholic workers, and when the Catholic worker becomes a foreman, any non-Catholic worker who wishes to raise the religious issue can raise it and make it impossible for the Catholic workman to be regarded as a union man. And that has been constantly done with British unions. A very serious situation was created in July when the Protestant workers drove out a number of Catholic workers up to five thousand, and not only drove them out, but burned their homes; and in a very short time fifty-six people were killed on the streets of Belfast.

Q. How long ago was that?

A. That was in July and August of this year. I think my wife will tell you more on the labor aspect. There is no doubt that the religious issue has been kept alive by the employers to keep trade unionism from growing in Belfast. It has been a red herring across the trail of the labor situation, and constantly labor organizers like James Connolly, who worked in Belfast, have been up against this situation. It is kept alive continually by the newspapers and the sermons. I think there are more political sermons in Belfast than anywhere else in the world. Practically all the sermons in Belfast are political sermons. And that is a very bad situation for the workers.

Q. Belfast is not very well organized?

A. Belfast is not very well organized. The Transport Workers are the strongest union in Ireland.

Q. Are they in Belfast?

A. I do not think they are in Belfast. I am not well informed on that point. But wages in Belfast are very low in comparison to similar wages in England.

Q. And what are housing conditions among the workers?

A. The housing conditions are good because ground rents are very, very low, and they have built a vast number of one-story houses. There is no congestion. It is a new city which has been built up in small houses, so that there is no slum problem as there

is in Dublin, where twenty thousand families live in single rooms— one-third of the population of Dublin live in twenty thousand rooms! Sometimes families of ten or twelve people live in one room.

Q. And what is the standard of living in Belfast?

A. The standard of living is fairly low, considering the good housing. I think it is a squalid city. It is like some of the Canadian towns, I would say; it is in a state of early capitalism.

Q. What is the general morale of the place?

A. The Belfast Chamber of Commerce is one of the most reactionary bodies whose pronouncements I have ever read. The Dublin Chamber of Commerce is very much better. Although in regard to labor, I must say that the Dublin Chamber of Commerce showed up very badly when I was home. In relation to that may I say this: although there is a very bad situation in regard to the social struggle in Ireland, still Irish labor outside of Belfast is all for Sinn Fein.

Q. In Belfast what is the situation?

A. In Belfast labor is opposed. Of course you have to take Catholic labor and Protestant labor separately. In the British House of Commons there is a member, Mr. Joseph Devlin, elected by labor as a Labor representative. He, of course, has stood for Irish independence. There is a gradual tendency on the part of Labor to get together. The whole fight of Sir Edward Carson and his group is to keep the religious question elevated.

When the question came up in regard to what part of Ulster is to be excluded from the Home Rule Bill, they did not put in the three counties of Ulster that had a majority of Catholics, or the four manufacturing counties where labor might get together, but rather the two agricultural counties where there might be enough farmers who had an interest against labor, to go into the Ulster Parliament.

Q. After all, the religious differences in Ireland are primarily political and economic?

A. I think the religious differences in Ireland are clearly political and economic, and that the theological basis is practically nil.

Commissioner Maurer: That is what I think.

The Witness: I do not think that those who conduct the religious agitation in Belfast do know very much about the theology of Rome, or care very much. But they must have a difference, and if they did not have this difference, they would have a difference on whether people were brachycephalic or dolichocephalic.

Q. What is the religious situation between the Protestants and Sinn Feiners?

A. There is practically no difference. The two have merged

when the question was taken out of the control of special interests. Some of the most prominent men in the Sinn Fein movement are Protestants. There is Lieutenant-Commander Erskine Childers. Robert Barton, who is also a Protestant, is a member of the Sinn Fein cabinet. I stayed in Dublin with a prominent Protestant who is also a Sinn Feiner. I met Dr. Kathleen Lynn, who is also a Protestant, who had been sentenced to death in connection with the 1916 uprising; and I think several women who were with her were also Protestants. I met many Protestants who were prominent in Sinn Fein. There is no active religious feeling in the south of Ireland. In my section of the county the Catholics are 95 per cent., and they elected a man as chairman of the county council who was a Protestant. Among the Catholic bishops, among the hierarchy, there is a great difference of opinion upon politics, just the same difference of opinion you would find among any group of men anywhere. That is to say, I think Catholic traders would show as many people against any change in government and against Sinn Fein as would Protestants. That is to say, I think the attitude follows economic lines rather than religious.

THE ATTITUDE OF IRISH LABOR

One piece of evidence in regard to labor. There was a convention of the Irish Labor Party in Cork about the first of August, and the conclusion of that convention was as follows:

"We are fully aware of the gravity of the issues involved in this conflict. We are challenging not only the right of an imperial power to subjugate a small nation by armed force, but we are also challenging the generally accepted conception of the relations between employer and employed. Railway companies, backed by the Government, contend that the workman's duty is simply to obey orders, to carry any materials that may be handed to him, irrespective of the use to which these materials may be put—in other words, that the workman is part of a system, of a piece of machinery; he is not a responsible agent. The worker's contention, on the other hand, is that when he knows that he is being used for a purpose against which his soul revolts, he would be violating his conscience if he were to agree to be so used. This contention involves a claim that the workman is a responsible human being—not a cog in a machine; that he is a conscious cooperator in the work in which he is engaged, and has a right to decide whether or not he will participate in the work according to whether its purpose is worthy or degrading. Such a conception of industrial relations is doubtless

revolutionary, but it is the conception which shall prevail in the Irish Commonwealth of the future."

This had to do with the refusal of the Transport Workers to handle munitions, and with the refusal of the railway firemen and engineers to run trains that were carrying soldiers on military expeditions in Ireland. The Government, which now has control of the railroads, is now determining to close down railroad traffic in Ireland and to prohibit motor traffic more than twenty miles from the home of the owner of the motor. This, of course, applies only to civilians. The situation that is being brought about in Ireland is that of a blockade. That situation labor has tried to keep off. Labor also called a two days' general strike on account of the hunger strikers in Mountjoy prison. They were successful in that strike in showing where labor's sympathies were. The Government would like decidedly to close down the railroads on account of the munitions situation. It is probable that Ireland will be deprived of railroads within the next two weeks. It has already been deprived of freedom of the press.

IRISH ENDURANCE PITTED AGAINST ENGLISH TERRORISM

The situation is rapidly coming to a climax between this great nation and this small people: the efforts of England to keep up the illusion that it is standing for law and order in Ireland while it is working to break down the morale of the people of Ireland by the destruction of homes, the burning of factories and creameries, the cutting off of railroads, and the killing of prisoners, before the world gets to learn the truth about these conditions and thus be delivered from the illusion that law and order is being maintained. So you have a race between the patience and endurance of the people of Ireland and the government of Lloyd George and Sir Hamar Greenwood—a government which denies responsibility for the acts of its agents, so that you have men executed in the way that Lynch was executed, and men who are brought out of their homes and shot without trial or warrant. Of course, one of the strong cards that England has is the killing of police. Sinn Fein says, on the other hand: While we have killed police, we have been compelled to do so in order to keep the struggle of Sinn Fein going. And even though many of our young volunteers are arrested and taken to barracks and killed, and then announced as killed while trying to escape; even though our people are terrorized and our homes destroyed; and even though sixty-five out of the seventy-three mem-

bers of the Sinn Fein parliament have served prison sentences, yet there is no chance of the morale of the Irish people being broken down.

Q. Where were these members of Parliament imprisoned?

A. I will give you the list, showing the prison and the time served by these men.¹

REPRISALS OFTEN WITHOUT JUSTIFICATION

I wish to make two things clear from my own investigations. In many cases there are no reasons whatever for reprisals. In other cases, there are mistakes made, like the burning of that English factory in Balbriggan. I was in Galway a week after that young Black-and-Tan brought his revolver out and began shooting wildly at the people on the station platform, and I want to suggest to Mr. MacDonald that if Father Griffin of Galway be asked to testify here, he has all the facts in that case as has no other man. Father Griffin was kidnapped by Black-and-Tans last week, and nothing

¹ The witness submitted in evidence the official *Irish Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 72 (13 August, 1920): "In the general election of December, 1918, 68 of the Parliamentary candidates of the Republican Party in Ireland were elected, several of them for two constituencies. Some of the recent experiences of these publicly elected representatives are given in the following pages. They are probably without a parallel in Europe.

Twelve of these representatives have been sentenced to death.

Twenty-one of these representatives have been sentenced to penal servitude for life, or for terms of twenty, ten, five or three years.

Thirty-seven of these representatives have been arrested without charge and imprisoned or deported without trial, the majority of them being kept in prison for ten months and then released without explanation or apology.

Sixty-five of these representatives have been imprisoned in English or Irish prisons, either without charge or trial or for political offenses. Many have been imprisoned more than twice, some have been imprisoned five times. Efforts were made to arrest one of the three who were not imprisoned.

Only two of the sixty-eight representatives were not at some time either arrested or "wanted by the police."

Eighteen are now hiding from arrest in Ireland, America, France, and Italy.

This persecution of Irish Members of Parliament has continued without cessation since May, 1916. A constant passing in and out of English prisons has been the common experience of representative Irishmen for the past four years. It continues to the present moment to be their experience. On August 12th—the day prior to the issue of this *Bulletin*—Mr. T. Mac-Swiney, Member for Mid. Cork, was arrested by British troops while presiding over a Republican Court.

Since this document was published, additional punishments have been inflicted upon Irish Members of Parliament.

has been heard from him since.¹ That young Black-and-Tan who was killed on the station platform was drunk, it is said. He was a chauffeur, and he had been two weeks in Ireland, and had been fed up with the notion that the Irish were particularly violent. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal of quietness in Ireland, except where the police and military are patrolling. He was on the platform when the papers were brought in. There was a great rush for the papers for two reasons: they wanted to see about the condition of Lord Mayor MacSwiney; and, in addition, there was a race, and the people wanted to see the results of the race. For some reason, whether this young man was drunk or not, he got excited and began firing. And then the old Irish Constabulary took it into their heads that they would show the people their hand, and began their reprisals. The old man Quirk whom they killed was organizer for the Boy Scouts, and known to have the respect of the citizens. There the provocation was exceedingly indirect. It must be understood that the Black-and-Tan who was killed at the railroad station had already killed a man. Nobody knew who he was. He was carried to a house by Volunteers of Sinn Fein. Then it was found out that this man, who had a British revolver, was one of the armed forces of the Crown. It was the sort of thing that might happen anywhere, and would not be the occasion for an outbreak were it not for the political background. There are everywhere in Ireland desperate evidences of the efforts of Ireland to realize its own will without violence.

Q. Senator Walsh: What do you know about Father Griffin being kidnapped?

A. I only know what the *New York Times* said last week.

Q. Was he invited, Mr. MacDonald, to come here?

Mr. MacDonald: No, he was not.

The Witness: Father Griffin told me the facts about what happened at Galway. I went to see Dr. Thomas Dillon, professor of mining at the University. I had to go to eight places to find him. He was on the run because he was afraid of assassination by a policeman who knew he was a Sinn Feiner. He had been arrested and spent ten months in an English prison for a German plot. I asked him about the German plot, and he said he knew nothing about it. He had never seen a German plot in his life, but it was a sufficiently good pretext to send him to prison. He sent me to Father Griffin, and he told me that the official report of what had

¹ Father Griffin was murdered before the Commission could secure his attendance.

happened at the station passed through his hands. I think Father Griffin must have been prominent in the organization of Sinn Fein. What the Government has tried to do by hook or crook is to get rid of the higher in command in Sinn Fein. The Government has a list of the prominent Sinn Feiners, and has the instrument in the Black-and-Tans to carry its plan out.

BLACK-AND-TANS RECRUITED FROM EX-SOLDIERS, ADVENTURERS AND CRIMINALS

Who are the Black-and-Tans? I went to one gentleman in Ireland, whose name I will give to the Commission, but I will not give it publicly.

Q. This is an English officer?

A. An English officer. He told me that they are recruited in England in many cases from ex-army men. They are often adventurers. "An English detective," he said, "came over here to see me this morning. 'I am over here to find a convict, and I went to the depot of the Black-and-Tans to find him,' the detective told me. 'I did not find him there, much to my surprise, but I found a number of other convicts whom I knew very well.'" I think a large number of the Black-and-Tans are desperate men who will do anything. Major Erskine Childers, who won the D. S. O. for bravery during the war, has published a pamphlet, which was given to you yesterday, showing the number of thefts that have come from Black-and-Tans. They are that class of men. The situation is working up to a crisis. All the time we are being told that Ireland cannot stand on her own feet economically, and is run by terror of a small band of extremists.

IRELAND ECONOMICALLY SELF-SUPPORTING

I think that when Ireland gets her freedom, she will work towards a workers' commonwealth. In any case it is perfectly clear that Ireland can stand on her own feet economically if she is given half a chance. She is a small nation, like Denmark in many respects. Its principal industry is agriculture. Between 1915 and 1919 Ireland contributed over and above its own revenue for its own expenditures sixty-two million pounds to the British Empire. That is to pay for these tanks and aeroplanes and the one hundred thirty thousand soldiers who are running Ireland.

Q. Chairman Howe: How is that collected?

A. Through excises, customs, and inheritance and income taxes.

Q. The army of occupation is paid for by the Irish?

A. Not directly. The Irish contribute sixty-two million pounds to the Government, and that money is spent in part to maintain the army of occupation.

Senator Walsh: That is the policy of all imperialistic governments, to make the people pay the cost of keeping them down.

The Witness: Miss Addams made the point this morning that if any locality has a disturbance, the inhabitants have to pay for all the damage done. And if there is a strike, the people have to pay for all the damage done during the strike. If the ordinary bourgeois gentleman sees a strike coming along, he does not want a strike because he will have to pay for part of the results. The Irish people, besides contributing to maintain this army of occupation, have to pay for all the damage this army inflicts upon them.

Q. Commissioner Addams: How does the Sinn Fein government get its money?

A. Partly by the issue of bonds. Of course, it was illegal to advertise those bonds. Many of them were sold in America. Even when they got the money it was not always safe, for many of the banks where these Sinn Fein funds are deposited have been raided. The Sinn Feiners try to get the Irish to pay an income tax to the Irish rather than to the British authorities. The British cannot collect the tax by selling the property on which the tax is levied because nobody will go to the auction to bid on it. And the property cannot be picked up and taken away. The English government cannot get more than ten per cent. of the amount of its taxes. The Sinn Fein government asks the property owner to pay to it fifty per cent. of the English tax, and promises to protect him in case the English seize his property and distrain it for non-payment of taxes to them. From the fifty per cent. which it does get, it is able to compensate for property which is distrained. I do not know how well this plan will work in the long run.

MILITARY RULE EXISTS TO SUPPRESS IRISH SELF-GOVERNMENT

Now, as to reprisals. You can see that the established military order exists to suppress by any means the efforts of these people to assert themselves and establish their own government. I have to give you an interview given out by Sir Nevil Macready, the military head in Ireland, who defends the killing at Balbriggan of two young men. He says that it is only ordinary human nature that the police should act on their own initiative when somebody has

been killed unfairly. As a result of these killings, he says, it is necessary to augment the forces of law and order from England. This is an interview given to the Associated Press, which is a complete defense of the military policy of reprisals in Ireland.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Do you suppose that if the Irish people had been able to build up their own government without the killings of police, that reprisals would have occurred?

A. It is very difficult to say, because the British started out so roughly in handling the Irish situation. They arrested people merely on the suspicion that they wanted independence, and were quite brutal. They started on a policy of intimidation, and it hardly seemed possible for the Irish Volunteers to function unless the police were driven out of the country districts into the towns. In order to do this they had to use force. However, there were very few police killed in getting the evacuation of six hundred barracks,—perhaps twenty. The police did not put up a fight there. But when they got into the towns, with sixty or seventy in one house and all the instruments of modern war to support them, then they could defy the population.

DRUNKEN POLICE

Lots of liquor had been shipped in for the police. I myself have seen drunken police. I have seen unshaven police on Sunday afternoon. Those police do get into an excited frame of mind very easily. They apparently have the power to commit any outrage with impunity. How the Irish have been able to keep up passive resistance for so long as they have, I do not know. Then there had to be some policy taken in regard to assassinations, because those assassinations began, as I have said, with the police. I think that explains why some police have been killed.

Q. Senator Walsh: To what extent have you seen drunken police?

A. I have only seen one instance. I have seen many sodden men, dirty in uniform, in Limerick.

SINN FEIN AGREES TO PROTECT UNARMED DUBLIN POLICE

But I have to contribute one fact about the police to meet Miss Addams' point. In Dublin there were five or six members of the Dublin Metropolitan Police killed. The Metropolitan Police are under Dublin Castle, but are not part of the R. I. C. There was

some sort of agreement between the Sinn Feiners and the Dublin Metropolitan Police that if they would go around unarmed, no policeman would be killed. Before that five or six had been killed. Since then they have gone around unarmed and none have been killed. Of course, the English do not tell you that this arrangement was made.

Q. You think the Sinn Feiners would agree to do that with all the police?

A. Yes, I think the Sinn Feiners would agree to that tomorrow.

Q. But that would prevent the British from stamping out the aspirations of the Irish for a republic.

A. Exactly. The crime that George Washington committed and got away with, the crime of the Czecho-Slovaks and the other people who were seeking independence, is the crime of the Irish today.

BRITISH AUTHORITY IN IRELAND MAINTAINED BY FORCE

Q. Mr. Wood: Can you give us some idea of the relation between the Black-and-Tans and the R. I. C.?

A. The Auxiliary Police start as sergeants. They are taken in at a pound a day, and twenty-five shillings a day in disturbed areas. I do not know this of my own knowledge, but that is my information. They are brought over from England as sergeants and put over the R. I. C. That has made for bad blood in many cases. The old local senior military police resent this, because these English who are brought over are getting more pay and are put over them. As sergeants they are getting much better pay than the regular Irish Constabulary.

I have seen these Auxiliary Police very often in Ireland coming back from a raid very early in the morning covered with dust. I myself have seen a military motor lorry approaching at a high rate of speed along the roads, and you know that you will be killed if you do not get out of the way. And there have been several people killed by these motor lorries along the roads.

Q. Senator Walsh: As a matter of fact, if the English authorities had not imported the Black-and-Tans and the British soldiers into Ireland, there would practically be in Ireland today no English government except the officials in Dublin Castle? That is, all the English magistrates and all the Irish Constabulary were rapidly coming over to the Sinn Fein movement and the Republican form of government, so that there would be no Irishmen in Ireland under

English pay who would be out of sympathy with the movement for a Republic?

A. No, I think there would be a small number who would like some English connection, but they would not be a very large number, perhaps five per cent.

Q. But you said the magistrates and the police were resigning in large numbers, so that a situation was rapidly approaching where there would be no authority except the English left in Dublin Castle.

A. Yes, I think that is true. But the police are in this situation: there are many of them who expect to be pensioned off after twenty years of service,—men along about forty, forty-five, or fifty years of age. When they approach the pension age they are not very apt to quit the job. But it is undoubtedly true that if the English troops were withdrawn tomorrow, British authority in Ireland would be largely limited to Dublin Castle and the forty-six or forty-eight or fifty departments—whatever it is—that are paid there. They would stay there as long as their pay lasted; but elsewhere the new government, which has come up under the old government like a shell, would function openly. Like in County Connaught, there are a number of instances where the police have sent men to the Republican courts to get justice.

CONSTRUCTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

Q. Chairman Howe: Tell us something more about the *de facto* government, Mr. Hackett.

A. The *de facto* government has a land bank run by Lionel Smith-Gordon in Dublin. They are trying to provide land for landless men, and at the same time increase the country's economic wealth by keeping the young men in Ireland. The population of Ireland has sunk from eight million to four million in the last eighty years. No population in Europe has sunk in this same way. The Sinn Feiners are trying to find means to carry out the program which they formulated in 1098. They have worked out justice as well as they can. In most cases it is not criminal justice,—just civil justice. They have established these civil courts. They have inaugurated a commission of inquiry into the conditions and sources of industry in Ireland. Of course it is an illegal body. It is pursued by the military authorities. They produced a document on milk production. It is an excellent document. They are endeavoring to get the farmers of Ireland to introduce a very revolutionary thing—milk testing, so that the farmers will not have to rely upon

folk lore, but rather by scientific testing they will be able to say that that cow is a good cow or a bad cow. This report, which I will leave with you, shows what the Sinn Fein government is trying to do. They have also established a steamboat line from New York to Ireland.

Q. This lands directly in Ireland?

A. Yes, at Dublin, I believe.

Q. But direct trading connections are possible now with the outside world? *

A. Yes. But like the coroners' inquests, it may be cut off. They cannot land in Queenstown any more. If Dublin gets to be a prosperous port, I have no doubt but that it will be cut off.

Q. Now, about the *de facto* government. Mr. Morgan said yesterday that the people of Ireland had a certain amount of self-determination by act of Parliament; that they proceeded to use this, and that the Republicans generally succeeded in capturing the local governing agencies, like he described in Thurles. How generally has the old imperialistic government been succeeded by a stable local government?

A. I think you would find it is not proceeding in any logical way. Take, for instance, this machinery of local government. The Irish Local Government Act was enacted in 1900. That machinery is still employed by Sinn Fein, although it is British machinery. Where those local bodies which Sinn Fein controls refuse to do things which the English want them to do, then the British immediately, if they can, cut off their resources. A situation has been created at Dublin, for example, where part of the money for supporting the tuberculosis hospitals was contributed by the Government to the Dublin municipality. When Dublin declared itself for Dail Eireann, the British Government cut off this money.

Q. Then the local government cannot function?

A. That is it. Sir Hamar Greenwood, in a speech he made last August, said: "If they will not run the railways, we may not be able to compel them to do so. But the stoppage of the railroads in Ireland, owing to the refusal of certain railwaymen to carry soldiers and munitions; would mean the cessation of the old age pensions paid to the males and the stoppage of unemployment pensions."

Q. Do you think that is an effective policy?

A. I do indeed. The Government is hoping by this method to make satisfactory local government impossible, and to create a public opinion that will demand the operation of the railroads, even though the railroads carry troops and munitions.

Q. Senator Walsh: When you speak of the *de facto* government, you mean that there is a national government that has representatives all over Ireland, and that eighty per cent. of the population of Ireland have by vote given recognition to that government, and that from eighty to ninety per cent. of the town and city and county councils recognize President De Valera and Dail Eireann as their president and their national government?

A. Exactly.

Q. So that there is every single bit of legislative and executive that the people could establish to create a national government?

A. Exactly.

Q. But it is being constantly broken up and blocked and interfered with by the British authorities to break down the purpose and will of the people?

A. Yes, indeed. You have heard, I suppose, of that thing called the Continental Congress. Well, if the British forces had got to Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress was, they would have been compelled to meet underground. I think that the Dail Eireann government presents much the same aspect of government in some places as one sees in some of the countries of Europe, like Hungary, especially on the military side, where death is the penalty if you are found connected with the new organization. But it has got the sympathy of the Irish people. They are absolutely with it. They want it. And the actual strength of the people will support it to the end.

Q. Suppose the Black-and-Tans and the military were removed from Ireland; what would happen?

A. The new government would come up from the cellar. It would come up. It would be to England's best interests to let it come up. For Ireland is the second best customer England has. Next to the United States, Ireland consumes more English goods than any other country. And it would be even a better customer if it had an opportunity to develop its own resources. Although Ireland's chief source of wealth is agricultural, there are only one hundred agricultural students in all of Ireland, as against thousands in a country like Denmark.

Q. Only a hundred in all the universities and schools of Ireland?

A. Yes, only a hundred students who are pursuing courses in scientific agriculture; real students in agriculture.

AIMS OF SINN FEIN

I will leave with you a very precious document entitled "The Constitution of Sinn Fein, Established in 1908," with a program which is now being put into effect. Its first aims were a just economic system, the establishment of a land bank, the early establishment of the Irish mercantile marine, and the development of Ireland's natural resources. There is, for instance, a coal mine only nine miles from where I was born that has never had a railroad. Coal is still hauled by a cart.

Q. Good coal?

A. Anthracite coal, very hard, with a good deal of sulphur, but excellent for mercantile uses.

ENGLISH ATTITUDE "A CURRENT OF CONFLICTING WINDS"

Q. Commissioner Addams: Do you have a sense that this tension in Ireland is due to the fact that the military are themselves being forced; that they are in a very forced position?

A. They are mixed, I think. I went with a brother of mine who is a doctor in a prison to the United Service Club, and some of the members of that club feel very bitter about the Irish. They have been educated with the idea that the Irish are inferior. They are a little like the common soldier I heard about in 1916. He was asked if the fighting was over in Dublin, and he said, "Yes, all but the natives in the hills, who have not yet come in." They have this feeling about the natives. But, of course, I found a good many soldiers who hate their jobs. They say that it is not their job—it is a police job. In some cases the military have prevented the police from killing, and in other places the police have prevented the military from killing. And, by the way, the only picture I saw that was destroyed in the Kerry Row that we heard about was the picture of King George. It was in the home of a man who had fought for the British Crown in Flanders. The police probably destroyed it because it was the most vivid picture in the Row, with bright colorings that could not fail to attract some attention. The man was furious because, he said, "It cost me a pound, and now see what they have done to it." But when the police came down that street destroying everything, smashing in doors and throwing things out of the windows, and stabbing bedding with their bayonets, the military came and stood by; and some of the inhabitants came out and said, "Can you not stop them?" And they said, "No, we cannot prevent

them from destroying property, but we are here to prevent them from destroying life." So there is this current of conflicting winds. I need not tell you that if a hundred and thirty-five thousand soldiers on a war footing got loose to destroy things in Ireland, they would finish the job in a week. But there is this tug between conflicting winds. All of England is not out to massacre Ireland. If they were, they would have massacred them long ago. On the other hand, massacres do occur.

Q. I mean between the people and those who are in the military and police service.

A. It all depends upon the individual military officer. Sometimes he is orderly and civil and will not allow any theft. In Galway, for instance, I was told by the Sinn Feiners that the head of the military was a very fine man, Hildegard his name was. But this good officer was ordered away and a man called Cruise came there, and he had a very different attitude. In Galway, for instance, there was one regiment stationed that had just come there and got it into their heads that they would like to shoot up the town. The other regiment had been there much longer, and had formed certain human associations in the town, and they by force kept the Devonshire regiment in the barracks and prevented them from destroying the town. And, of course, the Sinn Feiners are equally human.

In Belfast there was a Catholic house occupied by a Catholic family in a street where a number of Protestant families lived. A number of men came in and said, "We are Ulster Volunteers. You had better get out of the house, for we are going to burn it." One of these Catholic women stayed to see what would happen, and the other rushed into the next house, where the people were also members of the Ulster Volunteers, and said, "Oh, for God's sake come over. We don't know what is going to happen. There are some men who say they are Ulster Volunteers, and they are going to burn down our house." A half dozen people rushed into the house and said to the men, "Who are you?" They said they were Ulster Volunteers, and the others said, "What credentials have you?" And they produced a paper. The man from the street said, "This will not do at all." And he asked them what happened, and these Volunteers said, "We gave them a wee beating." And my friend said, "And where are they now?" And they said, "They are in the hospital."

And so you have this human situation. I talked to an English correspondent who was in a hospital in Limerick, and he said he waded to a motor lorry of soldiers when they went by, and he said, "I bet those men have not got a smile since they got into Ireland.

I have seen them in Flanders, and they are all right." This newspaper man was Mr. Hugh Martin. He was in Dublin the next week and saw a row in a bar. An officer who had been drinking too much was flourishing his revolver. The porter tried to shut the door, and the officer pushed his revolver in his face and prevented him. Martin sent a report of it to his paper. Two or three days later a batch of English journalists went to Tralee, and the police came up to them and said, "Which of you is Mr. Martin?" And Martin concealed his identity, and they said, "When we catch Mr. Martin, we are going to kill him." And Mr. Martin forgot the smile he gave the Tommy and left Ireland the next day.

And this situation is going on unless some other country, perhaps the United States, can get it into Mr. Lloyd George's conscience that people should not be crucified just because they want the right to govern themselves.

SINN FEIN NOT LED BY HOT-HEADED EXTREMISTS

Q. Senator Walsh: To what extent are the Sinn Feiners educated?

A. Many of the leaders are highly educated men. There are men like the Protestant writer, Mr. Darrell Figgis; and Mr. George Russell, editor of the *Irish Homestead*, is very sympathetic with Sinn Fein—more sympathetic than any other man I have met outside the Sinn Fein cabinet. Then there are any number of school teachers and professors.

Q. So it is not an organization led by a few hot-headed enthusiasts?

A. On the contrary, I talked with the largest dealer in sheeting in Belfast, and he is a Sinn Feiner. The big merchants, a great many of them, in spite of their interests in business, are for Sinn Fein. Mr. O'Mara, head of the American Association for Recognition of the Irish Republic, whose father is a big merchant, is a Sinn Feiner.

MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER BY REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

Q. I would like to have you briefly tell us what the program of the Sinn Fein organization is in so far as they endeavor to prevent assaults and murders and violation of law and order?

A. That is the question which Miss Addams asked yesterday.

Q. Do they have a fixed policy? Do they send down orders to those under them to stop murders and assaults?

A. I think that there isn't any doubt but that in many cases they have intervened to prevent violent acts by subordinates. I heard of a man who had been guilty of theft, who had been intimidated in a horrible way into making a confession. They knew the man was guilty, and they fired a revolver off beside his head and frightened the life out of him until he confessed and the goods were restored. I told this to a Sinn Feiner in Dublin, and he was furious, and he said, "If you will tell me who they are, I shall see that they are punished, for they are guilty of a breach of trust." But, of course, when they have no jails there is no way of punishing many people. When they had General Lucas in prison, they finally let him go because it took too many officers to stay with him all the time. A Sinn Feiner told me, "We did not have the machinery to keep that man a prisoner. It was breaking up our organization. We had to give too much brains to him. He had to have the *Times* from London every day, and we got it for him somehow. But he was too much trouble." So they let him go.

There is another instance of some men found guilty by the Sinn Fein organization and put on an island in the Shannon. The R. I. C. heard that they were there and went to rescue them; and when they came near the island, the prisoners took stones and fired at the R. I. C., because they were afraid of being arrested! I could give you cases of Sinn Fein police being given two years in prison because of their police work in preserving order. What Mrs. King told you this morning about Templemore and the police work of the Sinn Fein Volunteers there was absolutely accurate. All the roads were broken by motor vehicles. All the vehicles were assessed several shillings for the repair of the roads.

MORAL FORCE CHIEF SUPPORT OF REPUBLICAN COURTS

I myself have gone to a Sinn Fein court, and I have been struck by the intelligence and good sense of these young tradesmen who were running the court. It was the most democratic court I have ever been in. And although there is no physical force behind the decrees, they are usually obeyed.

Q. Senator Walsh: Moral force?

A. Moral force. Of course, there is also some physical force.
(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

Chairman Howe: This is the last of the hearings of the Commission at this time. The next sessions will probably be heard the first week in December. One of the witnesses at that time will be Mrs. MacSwiney, who sails in a very short time from Ireland. There are a number of other witnesses who are either on the sea or planning to sail in a very short time. There may be one or two or three more sessions.

TESTIMONY OF MISS SIGNE TOKSVIG

The last witness is Miss Toksvig, of New York. I can say for her that she is a Dane, and has been in this country for at least eight years. Miss Toksvig.

Q. Your name and address, please.

A. Signe Toksvig, of 229 East 48th Street, New York City.

Q. How long have you been in America?

A. I have been in America for fifteen years.

Q. Are you an Irishman?

A. I am a Dane, claiming some relationship and interest in Ireland through my husband.

Q. Born in Denmark?

A. Yes. I left there when fifteen. I went to Denmark this fall, and then went to Ireland. We spent most of the time in the south and east of Ireland. I finally insisted that we should go to Ulster, for although I am not an orthodox Protestant, I come from a family of that persuasion, and thought in fairness that we ought to visit Ulster and find out at first hand what conditions there were like. We went there on the seventh of September.

EXPULSION OF CATHOLIC WORKERS

You probably know that trouble started in Ulster on the twelfth of July, which is Orange Day. Trouble usually starts on that day in Belfast. On the excuse, as I could see it, that an Ulster man, District Police Inspector Smyth, had been killed in Cork,¹ and another R. I. C. man, who was also an Ulster man, had been shot, the Ulster shipworkers refused to work with their Catholic fellow laborers, and I think that about five thousand Catholic shipworkers in Ulster were compelled to leave because of the demands of the Protestant workers, who struck to compel their discharge. Many,

¹ See note, page 67.

if not most, of these had to leave Ulster because they had no other means of livelihood. There was a great deal of street fighting, as you know. In the poorer sections of the town, the Catholics and Protestants fought each other with stones and the like.

A DELIBERATELY INSINCERE APOLOGIST

The first man that we went to see was a Mr. Lind, the editor of the *Whig*, an extremely Protestant paper. Mr. Lind thought we were typical American journalists, and he gave us what we considered to be the regular dope for American journalists. Much of it we knew at the time was not true. He filled us up with the usual stock stories, such as that Belfast had contributed more soldiers to the Irish army during the war than all the rest of Ireland put together (that can be easily verified, or rather not verified, from the records), and that the rest of Ireland gave only two to Ulster's three. He also said that all the people in Belfast were orderly, law-abiding citizens; and when I remarked to him that fifty-six people had been killed in the month of August in Belfast, he said that when these Belfast people heard of their fellow townsmen killed in Cork, they could not be restrained. He said that the Sinn Feiners were all leagued with Germany and received guns from Germany. I asked him if it was not true that there had been a gun-running at Larne at the time of the Carson rebellion. He said there was not one gun got from Germany at that time, and if there was, it was for the defense of the Empire. Mr. Lind was very pleasant, but he was not truthful. He was the only man I met in Belfast, however, who was deliberately insincere. There were some others who were sincerely misinformed and misinforming. But he knew that what he said was not true.

BELFAST IMPRESSIONS

Then I met a Mr. Good, who wrote the best history of Ulster that has been written, but it was not reviewed in the Ulster papers. He called attention to the fact that it was not so very long ago that Ulster Catholics and Protestants were fighting side by side against England. Mr. Good was the son of the head constable of the Irish Constabulary. He is not a Sinn Feiner, but he is a very fair man, and I think we could believe what he told us. He said that in Belfast a very peculiar situation existed. Most of the constables were Catholics, owing to the fact that no Ulster constables are placed in their home county, but are sent down to the south of Ireland, and

vice versa. So that when the Ulster shipworkers attacked their Catholic fellow workers, the constables protected them. He himself had often heard the shipworkers say that "When we get those constables alone we shall do for them." He also told us that very often the Catholics and Protestants helped each other in cases where they knew each other. He said that whenever attacks were made, they were not made by neighbors against neighbors, but by people coming from another part of the town—a Protestant gang would come over and fight someone in the Catholic quarter, or vice versa, but where they were mixed and knew each other, they were not so likely to do that.

I talked with a man who was a trolley-car starter. We met him several times. He was as kind a man and as polite a man without being servile as I have met. He had very liberal views. He had been with the English army that had fought in Russia at Archangel. He said that those people ought to have the right to decide what kind of a government they wanted. He thought that Englishmen surely ought to realize that the Irish nation should have a right to say what it wanted to do. And so I said to him, "Don't you think it was rather rough to turn five or six thousand people out of their employment just on account of their religion?" And he looked at me and said, "Well, they were getting very cockey, and we had to put them in their place."

Q. Senator Walsh: Were these five or six thousand who were discharged Catholics?

A. Yes. Discharged is hardly the word.

Q. The Protestant workers struck, and went back to work on a compromise that the Catholic workers would be kept out of employment?

A. Yes.

Then he told us, as an example of the extreme cheek of the Catholics—he pointed to a street near where he stood and said: "A band of them came here one morning. They saw a laundry wagon full of clothes-baskets. They stormed the wagon and took the baskets and made a barricade across the street and got down behind that and began to fire. But, fortunately, we had a very brave inspector of police, and he came along and shot several of them, and they all fled."

And then in Londonderry—

Q. What is the Protestant population in Belfast?

A. The Catholic is about 20 per cent. of the total population. Most of the others are Protestant.

Q. And in Londonderry it is half and half?

A. It is about half and half, I think.

We talked with the man who showed us around the walls in Londonderry. The most that we got out of him was that it was very bad for Catholics and Protestants to marry, because it would never work. And home rule would never work. He had no reasons to give us. He just had that idea rooted in his head. He was out of work, and was a bit dissatisfied.

Q. Had the strike extended to Londonderry?

A. No. I do not know why he was out of work.

I talked to another man from the south of Ireland, and he began to talk to me very freely when he found that I was sympathetic. I do not know whether he was a Sinn Feiner, but he was Republican. In the south of Ireland, he said, you cannot even carry a camera without being arrested; but in Belfast you can have a Lewis gun in your house if you are of the right persuasion and you will not be touched. I said, "Whose houses have been destroyed in Belfast?" He told me that in certain districts only certain houses were destroyed. I went to that district and found that most of the houses destroyed had Irish names on them—Murphy, O'Callaghan, and so forth—Irish Catholic names. They were mostly public houses. And I was told by a man who was there that the soldiers were there at the time of the raid, and that they held back the mob, and let a few of the mob through, and said, "Easy, easy, only a few at a time. There is enough for everybody."

COBBLESTONES MENACE PEACE OF BELFAST

The whole prospect for immediate peace there seemed very discouraging, especially in view of the large piles of stones in the poorer sections of Belfast, which they call Irish confetti or Irish butterflies.

Q. Senator Walsh: What are those stones?

A. We were told by Mr. Good, who knows Belfast very well, that these cobblestones were a great menace to the peace of the city. At one time the city council voted to have the streets of the city repaved, so that this menace might be done away with. But they voted to begin repaving in the Nationalist quarter; and the Nationalist members of the council, as few as they were in number, made such a row that the paving was never done; and of course in the Orange section of the city they refused to have the paving begin there, because it would leave them without weapons.

RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES FOSTERED BY BELFAST MANUFACTURERS

Also we met an Ulster man who was an Unionist, and also a reasonable human being. He was a large manufacturer, but of course I could not give his name except very privately to the Commission. He only talked to us because we came very highly recommended by Mr. Good, who is well known in Belfast. At first he was very reticent and confidential, but after awhile he said, "I know, and all the manufacturers in this city know, that the trouble is not a religious trouble except as it has been fostered by them to serve their political and their economic interests."

Q. By "them" meaning whom?

A. By the manufacturers in Belfast. He said, "I warned them a long time ago that they were raising up a monster which they could not control and which some day might turn upon them, but they paid no attention. Both the press and the clergy—not all of them, but some of them—and the large manufacturers have worked together to keep up strife between the workmen in Belfast, using the religious issue simply as a means."

Q. As a means to prevent what?

A. To prevent agitation among laborers to improve their condition and wages, and home rule agitation secondly. It seems to me that that was a large admission for him to make. He might be willing to come over here and testify. He is a very courageous man.

POINT OF VIEW OF SOME ULSTER PROTESTANTS

Q. Did your other evidence confirm that?

A. Yes, absolutely. The brother of this man, who is a junior partner in the firm, talked with us afterwards, and he gave us the same impression. He was terribly shocked by what he called the murders of policemen in the south of Ireland. Of course, his whole point of view was that England furnished all their law and order, and he repudiated the Sinn Fein government. He said, "You can hardly blame us. We went to school in England. All our connections and acquaintances are there. Nevertheless, we are not against dominion home rule." They were against the Sinn Fein Republic. I do not know whether it would be possible to change them or not. My own personal feeling was, in talking with other people in Ulster, people in the stores and on the streets, that they were enough different from the people in the rest of Ireland to have the right to vote as to what would become of them. The man with whom I

talked said, "I know perfectly well that this country our forefathers got by robbing the Irish inhabitants several hundred years ago. But we have developed this country by our own labors, and is it right to drive us out of here without giving us a voice as to what is going to become of us?" He was a descendant of one of the families that was planted in Ulster.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do they use the word "planted" in Ulster to denote those who were planted there by England many years ago?

A. Yes, he knew that. He knew more history than the majority of the people in Ulster.

Q. Chairman Howe: Just when was that?

A. The planting was about two hundred years ago. Then we talked with the bookkeeper in that firm, who took us around and showed us the factory. I have seen excellent factories in the United States, and this factory was as good as any of them. It was an exceptional case. I saw many young girls working who looked to me to be under fourteen, but he said that they were all over fourteen, and they probably would have said so themselves. They had a nine-hour day. There are some factories in Belfast, we heard from the bookkeeper, which were not up to that standard. Yet they had municipal inspection all the time, and had to measure up to a certain norm. The bookkeeper also said that there were factories in the south of Ireland, usually laundries and places like that, which were far from sanitary and ought to be inspected. I said to him, "Is that in your opinion an argument against Ulster coming into an independent Ireland or an Irish dominion? Are you afraid that the south of Ireland will hinder you in Belfast from doing what you are doing?" He said, "No, that is all the more reason why we should go into an Irish parliament and settle it between ourselves and decide together what we are going to do." All the people in that factory are Presbyterians—Protestants. Both the bookkeeper and the two brothers at the head of this factory I found to be as liberal and as good to their employees as any employers I have ever met.

MURDER GLOSSED OVER

I think this is all I have to say, except that we attended an inquest in Belfast over two murders that occurred in August. The thing that impressed me most was a conversation I had with a police sergeant. He was an Ulsterman from County Cavan, I think. He was a reasonable man, and I said to him: "Don't you think it would be much better if you were a civil force, and did not have to carry these arms?" pointing to his arms. He said, "Yes, I think it would

be far better if we were only a civil force, and had no military duties to perform." I was also impressed by the evidence given by the district inspector of police at that inquest, and at the way his evidence was disregarded by the coroner and the coroner's jury. His evidence had to do with the case of a man shot from an armored car. There were two streets, connected by another street forming a letter H, where there was a riot. That cross-bar street, however, was perfectly quiet. It appeared to me from the evidence that it was perfectly clear that the man standing at his door in that cross street was a quiet, peaceful man. His widow was there. That man was a Protestant. He was also a Sinn Feiner as far as I know. It was evident that he had been shot. But the coroner and the jury were so anxious to gloss it over that the three young officers, who appeared to be very excited, were acquitted by the jury.

Q. Commissioner Addams: In the north they still have coroners' juries?

A. Yes, because in the north the people on the jury will invariably give the verdict that the Crown wants, while in the south of Ireland it will always bring in the verdict that the Crown does not want.

Q. Then there is a different rule for different sections of the country in regard to coroners' juries?

A. Yes, exactly.

THE UNCONTROLLABLE "MONSTER OF RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE"

There is one more thing I want to tell you as an example of how the Ulster manufacturers have called into being a monster of religious prejudice that they can no longer control. The owner of a very large machine works, called the Sirocco works, I believe, had been affected by the very same conditions that the shipyards had to face. The Protestant workmen laid down their tools and refused to go back to work with Catholic employees. The owner wanted to start up again, but he could not because there were certain draftsmen employed by him, very crucial men, men on whom the industry depended, who were Catholics. No one else could take their places, so he slipped them in and thought the other workmen would not notice it. But the workmen did notice it, and demanded that he dismiss these men. And so he had to shut down his factory. He could not run without them. And of course it threw the Protestant workmen out of employment too. The bookkeeper to whom I have

referred told me about this case. "And so," he said, "that is the result of stirring up religious prejudices."

Q. Senator Walsh: Is not the whole religious question in Ireland one of the privileged classes, the financial interest classes, who control some of the press and clergy and keep these religious differences stirred up for intrenching their own privileges?

A. That is true. But you must remember that they have succeeded in doing that. They have dangled the religious bogey before the people for so long that now a very real feeling exists. It started out like that. But the present generation is not going to forget about it soon, even though it was started artificially.

Chairman Howe: We are very much obliged to you.

Adjournment 5:45 P. M.

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SECOND HEARINGS ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Before the

AMERICAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON CONDI- TIONS IN IRELAND

Session One

JANE ADDAMS	}	COMMISSIONERS
JAMES H. MAURER		
OLIVER P. NEWMAN		
GEORGE W. NORRIS		
NORMAN THOMAS		
DAVID I. WALSH		
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD		
FREDERIC C. HOWE <i>Acting Chairman</i>		

Before the Commission sitting in Odd Fellows' Hall, Washington, D. C., Wednesday, December 8, 1920.

Session called to order by Chairman Howe at 10:23 a. m.

Chairman Howe: The session will please come to order. Since the last meeting of the Commission the following persons have become members of the Commission, and will sit with us this morning:

Senator George W. Norris, of Nebraska.

Congressman-Elect C. L. Knight has been elected but is not here, although he has accepted membership. He is the Congressman-elect from Akron, Ohio.

Major Oliver P. Newman, former District Commissioner of the District of Columbia. Major Newman is sick in bed today and cannot be with us.

Mr. Norman Thomas, of New York, who is here this morning.

The Commission has also asked Senator Thomas Walsh, of Montana, and Ex-Senator James Martine, of New Jersey, to sit with the Commission today. They are present with us.

The first witness this morning is Miss Mary MacSwiney. Miss MacSwiney is on the witness stand.

Miss MacSwiney, you realize that this is not a regular legal hear-

ing—not a legal procedure—and you are not subject to cross examination, except that the members of the Commission want to examine you to get at the facts and find out about conditions in Ireland. We want you to tell your story in a way that is easy and natural to you, and we would like to have you tell it loud enough so that as many of the people here as possible can hear it.

TESTIMONY OF MISS MARY MACSWINEY

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh (of counsel): Your name is Miss Mary MacSwiney?

A. Yes.

Q. Where do you reside, Miss MacSwiney?

A. In Cork, Cork city.

Q. I believe you stated that there was something you wanted to say to the Commission.

AN EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION

A. I felt that I wanted, before I started my evidence this morning, to thank the Commission and the American people first, for the kindly reception we got, and to thank the Commission for its endeavor to help Ireland by getting at the truth.

I think the best evidence that this Commission is impartial is the fact that when I left Ireland I got the impression from some Americans that were there in the summer that this Commission was one especially arranged by friends of England to try to whitewash her in the papers, and to do it not only in England's interests but in the interests of an Anglo-American alliance. I find also that our enemies took it that you are a Sinn Fein sympathizing Commission. And since we thought you were pro-British, and they thought you were pro-Irish, you must therefore be impartial.

I should also like to express my appreciation of the fact that the Commission has been trying to carry out one of the purposes for which America entered the war, and which I think we all agree was not quite effected by the war, and that is to make the world safe for democracy. As far as my evidence is concerned, I should like to give whatever evidence I have to the Commission.

MACSWINEY FAMILY IN COUNTY CORK SINCE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Now, Miss MacSwiney, I wish you would begin at the point that you suggested to me that you thought would

be significant, and as far as you can, go ahead with your own story. I will ask you a few questions to begin with. You are the sister of the late Lord Mayor of Cork?

A. Yes.

Q. And the names of your parents?

A. John Terence MacSwiney was my father's name. He was a native of County Cork, where my family have resided since the fourteenth century. And my mother was named Mary Wilkinson. She was born and brought up in England, but of her four grandparents, three were Irish.

Q. How many brothers and sisters have you?

A. Originally a family of nine, five boys and four girls.

Q. And how many are living now?

A. Six since my brother Terence died.

Q. Have the family always lived in Cork?

A. My father went to England after the Fenian times, when things were very hard in Ireland, and took up a position there, and married my mother there, and I was born there.

Q. In London?

A. In London. We came back to Ireland when I was five. The family have lived there ever since. Some have gone away for short periods. I was in college in England and was teaching in England for a while.

Q. What place was the late Lord Mayor in the family?

A. He was the fourth.

Q. He was the fourth in the family?

A. Yes.

Q. And how many brothers and sisters have you living?

A. I have now two brothers and three sisters living.

Q. And the brothers are whom?

A. My eldest brother is Peter. He is an American citizen. He came to this country in 1908 and was naturalized here, and lived in New York. My youngest brother, John, was in Canada when the war broke out, and he got a very bad time there because he would not join the British army to fight the small nations. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and might even have been sentenced to death; and he was about to be transported forcibly to fight in the British army, but some of his friends got a writ of habeas corpus, to prove that under Canadian law they were not entitled to send him across seas; and while that matter was under the jurisdiction of the courts, the armistice was signed.

Q. Where do your sisters reside?

A. Two of my sisters are nuns. One is in Asheville, North

Carolina. She has been in America since 1910. Another sister is in Japan. My third and youngest sister is at home.

Q. What has your life been?

A. A teacher.

Q. How long have you been a teacher?

A. I have been a teacher since 1901.

IRELAND'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM CONTINUOUS SINCE ENGLISH CONQUEST

Q. You suggested, Miss MacSwiney, that in order to give a proper background for other features, and what has transpired recently, you might briefly sketch the Republican movement, especially as it has touched your family and your case, and as you had observation of it.

A. Just the present Republican movement?

Q. Well, the background you gave me.

A. I suppose the background of most of the Irish families such as ours is the background of Ireland. I would like to emphasize that the present Republican movement is not a new thing. It is a continuous fight that has been going on for Irish freedom ever since the English conquered our country. In Henry VIII's time they held a very small portion of the country. He was the first to take the title of King of Ireland, but he was really king of only a couple of counties. By degrees the English spread over Ireland, and finally dominated the whole of it. But from the time that they dominated the country, there never has been one generation when a fight for independence, an open fight, has not taken place. There has always been an open current of hostility to English government in Ireland, and the Irish people have never once in all the course of their history accepted the British government in Ireland.

Q. Coming down through the Home Rule movement, with which I believe you are familiar, is there a connection between this Home Rule movement and the struggles that have gone on all the time against English domination over your country?

A. Distinctly, I should say. Suppose I begin with 1798. I will not take very long. In 1798 there was an outbreak. They call it the Irish Rebellion. I should like to emphasize for the American people that the definition of a rebellion is an uprising against lawfully constituted authority. Consequently there never has been a rebellion in Ireland. There was an insurrection. But you cannot have a rebellion unless you are rising against lawfully constituted

authority. And England's authority in Ireland was never lawfully constituted—it was an usurpation maintained by the sword.

IRISH PROTESTANTS LEAD STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM

Consequently, in 1798 there was an Irish insurrection, in which Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and many other famous men, with whose names we are not familiar, tried to secure Ireland's freedom. It was distinctly a Republican movement. Wolfe Tone declared for Irish independence, and it was an insurrection all the leaders of which were without exception Protestants. I should like to emphasize that, because some of your people have the idea that the Irish difficulty is a religious difficulty. There is no religious difficulty in Ireland of serious importance. It is entirely a movement for political freedom. I might say that many of the leaders in the Republican movement have been Protestants, not only Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, but men like the Emmets, MacCracken, Thomas Davis, John Mitchel, and Parnell—for we do reverence Parnell, because he put up a good fight in his day. And many of the leaders of the present movement are Protestants.

Well, that revolt was crushed, and then there was a period from 1817 to 1847 when there were many petty wars in Ireland.

Q. Senator Norris: Miss MacSwiney, may I interrupt you there? Were all the names of all those persons you named Protestants?

A. Every one of them, Senator, and many more of them. During that period, the first half of the nineteenth century, the Tithe Wars and the wars against an oppressive landlord system were constantly going on. They were what you might call little sectional wars. The Tithe War was national. It meant that the Irish Catholic population were protesting against having to support non-Catholic clergymen. As an instance, I can tell you of clergymen who got a salary of one thousand pounds a year. That would be, I suppose, about five thousand dollars; and they never entered Ireland from one year's end to another. They lived in England and spent their money in England.

Q. Senator Walsh: That was paid out of the public taxation?

A. Out of the public taxes, yes.

Q. That was the struggle against what was called the Irish Church?

A. Yes. And it finally ended in the disestablishment of the Church in 1869. But it was only by the Fenian uprising that they

later disestablished the Church. Meantime we had a Repeal Movement, which was a constitutional movement.

ENFORCED STARVATION POLICY PRODUCES FAMINE

Then we had the Republican movement of 1848, following the famine. That is what was technically known as a famine, but it was not a famine at all. It was a starvation policy enforced by England.

Q. Mr. Mr. F. P. Walsh: During that time was there plenty of food in Ireland?

A. Plenty. There was food—corn and meat—to the value of fifteen million pounds a week sent out of Ireland. And if Ireland really had a government of its own and there was a scarcity of food, the first thing that government would do would be to close the ports and prevent the shipping of food. But England put her armed soldiers at the ports to keep them open, and food to the value of fifteen million pounds a week went out of Ireland—that would be nearly \$60,000,000 a week went out of Ireland—while over a million people died of famine.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: That was not a famine. That was a starvation.

A. Exactly, as starvation is going on in Ireland today.

Q. Now to bring it down to date.

A. The movement of 1848 was all a Republican movement. That was entirely a Republican movement. And surely one sees the extraordinary vitality of Ireland when a famine that destroyed one and one-quarter million people did not subjugate them. In a year after that they were in arms again.

THE FENIAN MOVEMENT

Again in 1867 the Fenian movement sprang up, and that movement was suppressed after a time. Many of the Fenians fled to America and lived here for many years; and about the last of them lives now in New York. I'm sure that many of those listening to me have heard of John Devoy as the last man connecting the present generation with the other.

Q. Chairman Howe: How did the Fenian movement differ from the others?

A. Not at all, or it differed only in that it was a secret movement. They had a secret oath.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did it have religious aspects?

A. Yes. On the ground that it was a secret society with a secret oath, many of the bishops condemned it, and that frightened many of the people away.

Q. How about having Protestants in the ranks?

A. Oh, there were many Protestants in the ranks.

Q. There never was any difference or division along religious lines?

A. Never. Never. Inasmuch as it was more a movement of the proletariat it was more Catholic than the '98 movement was, because the proletariat were always more Catholic. And for that reason it was more largely Catholic, even among the leaders, than the '98 movement, because there was hardly a single Catholic leader in the '98 movement.

Q. What various Irish national movements developed afterwards, if any, that could not be said to be strictly along constitutional lines, beginning with Sir Isaac Butt's constitutional movement?

PARNELL'S GOAL ABSOLUTE INDEPENDENCE

A. Sir Isaac Butt was a Protestant, but we would call him a very strong imperialist. He did believe in home rule for Ireland, and started a home rule movement, which was a very milk-and-water affair indeed. Then Parnell came along. Parnell was a Protestant, as Butt was, but Parnell took up the movement for freedom and liberty from the Irish point of view, while Butt took it up from the standpoint of convenience for the British Empire. I think Americans understand that point of view. Butt did not want the Empire weakened. Parnell was different. He thought the Irish question was really and truly dominant, and that Ireland had a right to have a voice in its settlement. Parnell met the Fenian leaders, many of them, and asked their permission practically to try a constitutional movement in Westminster. In 1829 Daniel O'Connell had obtained the right to have Catholics represented in Parliament. And Parnell said it would be better to use this right and see what could be done in Westminster.

Q. Was it generally known that Parnell, as far as his effort for complete liberty was concerned, did work in harmony with the Irish Republican brotherhood?

A. Yes. He made a definite agreement with them to stand aside for a time and see how his scheme would work. And he gave them a definite promise that if after a certain period they felt that they

were obtaining no good by staying at Westminster, he would go back to Ireland and work there. That was a definite promise by Parnell to the Fenians. Before he started his movement at Westminster he made that promise.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Did the Irish people ever notice anything in the statements of Parnell publicly, or in the statements he made in the House of Commons, that would indicate that he was willing to place any positive inhibition on or suppress efforts at complete independence?

A. No. The people were quite confident that Parnell meant absolute independence in the end, and that Home Rule was only a stepping stone. And Parnell himself said over and over again that no man could say that when Ireland got Home Rule, we would not want anything more. He was asked over and over again to give that promise, and he refused to give it. He said: "No man can put bounds to the onward march of a nation." These words of his are historic, and that was his answer to England asking him to give a guarantee that if Ireland got home rule, she would not want anything more.

Q. Was there any change in the Parnell policy?

A. No, Parnell never did change it. Parnell carried on that fight by means of obstruction. You can see that there was no chance to go on with obstruction forever. At that time there was no limit to the length of the speech a man could make in the House of Parliament. So Parnell said, "Very well, if you will not pass any Irish legislation, you will not pass any English legislation either." And then the whole eighty members of the Irish Party began to talk, and Parliament did not pass any English legislation. Then they brought in the Cloture Bill, by which the Speaker could stop debate on a bill at the end of the day's session. Parnell was a very much hated man. He adopted a policy that his followers could not join in English social life or join English social groups, in order to keep themselves absolutely uncontaminated by English influence—which was a very wise decision. Then they tried to put temptation in Parnell's way, and Parnell fell. I only want to say one thing about that: after the judgment was given against Parnell, there was a meeting of the Irish party in Room Fifteen, and they discussed in the meeting all night long as to whether they should ask Mr. Parnell to resign. They decided that they would not; that the man's private life was his own affair, and that he was doing the duty that he undertook to do for Ireland; and therefore they elected him leader. The plan was a disappointment to the Unionists, because they thought the Irish leaders would be so terrified of what

people might say in Ireland that they would dismiss Parnell. Then Mr. Gladstone, who posed as a friend of Ireland—and I believe was good enough in his own way, but in regard to Ireland thought it was a matter of territorial dominion and sovereignty—Mr. Gladstone put on a virtuous air and said he could not have any alliance with a man of Parnell's character. That frightened the Irish members very much, because they counted on the Liberal alliance. And Parnell said to them: "I do not care very much as far as I am concerned, but I warn you that if you allow yourself to take English dictation now, you ruin your work through all these years." But after an all night discussion and debate he was asked to resign. That caused what was known as the Parnell split. He said that if they had asked him to resign at the first meeting, he would have resigned at once; but he would not resign because of a charge given them by an English statesman. And, of course, he was right.

JOHN REDMOND'S DUAL VOICE

Eventually Mr. Redmond became head of the Irish party. Mr. Redmond as a young man was, according to his words and public expressions, as ardent an Irishman as my brother. But he did not keep up Parnell's policy of remaining uncontaminated by English society; and gradually he seems to have been hypnotized by the imperial idea, and he began to speak with two voices. When Mr. Redmond came over to Ireland he spoke with a fairly strong voice. When speaking in England he spoke with a very weak voice. He said, at the latter end of his life, words amounting to this: "I only ask you for Home Rule. We would not dream of asking you for anything that would injure you in any way whatever. And anything endangering English freedom or the British Empire we will not ask you for. And, therefore, we will not even ask you for our customs and excise." When Mr. Redmond said *that* he did not speak for the Irish people. He spoke for himself and for a very small number of people whom we in Ireland call West Britons—that is, those who ought to be Irish, but are very anxious to remain English. We call them West Britons. Mr. Redmond spoke, when he said that, not for the Irish nation. The Irish nation never agreed with him. Never once in any speech he made in Ireland did he dare to say anything like that. The Irish people's attitude always was: If our independence is going to hurt the British Empire, so much the worse for the British Empire. They have no right to want anything that is inconsistent with the rights of another nation. The people began to get very angry with the Na-

tionalist party, and then a movement started in Ireland which was called the Sinn Fein movement.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM DESIGNED TO DENATIONALIZE IRELAND

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Miss MacSwiney, do you not think that this would be a good way to come at this Republican movement, to trace your own movements in Ireland. You were a teacher at this time, I believe?

A. Yes, I have been a teacher since 1901, when I left college.

Q. And you might state to the Commission briefly the general plans of the educational system in Ireland. Are you a teacher in what is known as the public school? Give, if you will, please, the different lines on which the educational system is founded.

A. Our educational system differs greatly from yours. I may not have yours very correctly, but what I understand by public schools in America are those financed by the state, to which all people of all classes can go free of charge; that in addition you have in America a good many private schools; that these are mainly for rich people, who prefer to have their children educated separately; and that they are of a different kind, and will, perhaps, give a different kind of education. Is that not so?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: That is quite broad.

The Witness: Well, in England what you call public schools they call board schools. Their national schools are schools run by the Church of England, and all other denominations as well as the Church of England can have their private schools, which can get their grant from the state; not as good a grant as the board schools get, but a grant, provided they confine the teaching of religion to certain hours of the day.

Q. On what conditions can the schools get the government grant? Is it based on examinations, or what?

A. Now it is not any longer. It is on inspection.

Q. But prior to the war?

A. It is on inspection, and has been for some time. In Ireland we have what is called the National Education Act, which is the most unnational thing you can imagine. The National Education Act was passed in 1831. The object was to allow people of all classes to attend schools. It was the very first time that Catholics were allowed to be educated. There was another Act passed earlier that allowed them to have a certain amount of education. But education for the common people only began by

this act of 1831. Previously they got what education they could get illegally. We had in Ireland what we called hedge schools, because the master sat under a hedge. He taught his pupils in the open air because he had no school house. The National Education Act passed in 1831 was passed with the express purpose—definitely expressed—of denationalizing Ireland and anglicizing it. And in connection with that I would like to tell you a little story. You have all heard of Sir Walter Scott's poetry, and you know that he has written a little poem that begins like this:

Breathes there a man with soul so dead
 Who never to himself has said,
 "This is my own, my native land";
 Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned
 As home his footsteps he has turned
 From wandering on a foreign strand.

And it goes on to say that if there is such a man, he should go "down to the vile depths from which he sprung, unwept, unhonored, and unsung." When Archbishop Whately, the Protestant Bishop of Dublin, got together a number of clerks and secretaries, and got them to help him compile books for the new national schools, he found among one of the books, in revising them, this extract. It was to go into one of the books for the national schools. Of course, that would never do, even if it was copied from the best English school books. The secretary who put that in probably lost his job. Archbishop Whately said, "What a stupid thing it was to put that into the books, when what we want is to make these Irish children forget they have a land." And he substituted for it a rhyme which began:

I thank the goodness and the grace
 That on my birth has smiled,
 And made me in these blessed days
 A happy English child.

Of course we call this blasphemy. We do not thank God for a lie.

I have told you that little story to give you the whole tone of the education in those so-called national schools. It was absolutely forbidden to speak a word of Irish within the walls of the school, and that, mind, to children who could speak nothing else, because in those days Ireland was all Gælic-speaking. Even

the children were whipped in school if they did not make haste and pick up English. In addition to that, no word of Irish history was allowed to be taught in those schools. And in a whole series of school books appointed for those schools all over the country, Ireland was mentioned twice. On one occasion the Irish children were told that Ireland was an island lying to the west of Great Britain; and in the other place they were told that Ireland had been visited on a certain date by her gracious majesty, Queen Victoria. And that is the education the Irish children growing up in the middle of the nineteenth century got.

You might ask me, Why did the Irish people accept it? The bishops of that time, with the exception of one glorious example, accepted it because they had no chance to get at their children to teach them, and they said, It is better for us to teach them their religion anyhow; and since we have the opportunity of teaching religion for the first time without hindrance, let us accept this Education Act with all its great drawbacks. The one glorious bishop who stood out against it was MacHale of Tuam. He said, "That Education Bill, as it stands, is an evil. If you accept it you are doing no good to religion and you are ruining nationality." And as long as he lived, which he did for about fifty years after this act was passed, he refused to allow a single national school in his diocese. Unfortunately he did not live long enough. But that is the sort of education our children are getting. But our children—if you will let me use the word—of the better class people—(I hate to use it because I am a thorough democrat, but I will use it here)—these children attend private schools. The better-off people send their children to be educated in England, and naturally they come back very English.

SECONDARY EDUCATION FINANCED BY DISESTABLISHMENT FUND AND WHISKEY TAX

In 1869 the Irish Church was disestablished, and there was a great deal of money left over. And there was one and a quarter million of that—

Q. One million pounds or one million dollars?

A. O, pounds—about five million dollars that would be.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Not at the present rate of exchange.

The Witness: Will you allow me to use pounds, because it is difficult for me to think in terms of dollars? Well, a great deal of money was devoted to education, secondary education, education for those who could afford to stay in school up to eighteen.

The national schools only prepared up to fourteen. For those who could afford to go on to the university these secondary schools were endowed from part of the money left from disestablishing the Irish Church. The system of education was that the Board laid down a certain program. Any school of any denomination could teach that program, and might enroll themselves as an Intermediate school provided they had seven pupils. They got a grant, after their pupils could pass this examination, which was divided into various grades. In the beginning they did very well, because there were not very many children, and there was no system of crams. But as the number of children increased and the money did not increase, of course the tendency was that the prizes and the grant had to be divided up among a great number of people, and got so small it could not finance education. A little more money was given; and I would like to point out to you here where this money came from. A certain proportion of the whiskey tax was devoted to education. The result was this: If our people were sober, there was very little money for education. If they got drunk, there might be a little more. But the total sum devoted to education in Ireland was about forty-five thousand pounds a year. That education became a cram system. There were certain books prescribed. Much depended upon the teacher; but nearly all the teachers in Ireland at the present day were brought up on that system themselves. Cram for examinations; no real development.

ANGLICIZING INFLUENCE OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

For a long time Irish—the Gaelic language—was not allowed at all. Irish history was not allowed. I may as well tell you, incidentally, that when I was going to school in my own native city of Cork, I never learned one line of Irish history. It was only about two years before I left school and the history class that Irish history was allowed, with much fear and trembling, to be taught. And then it was not Irish history, but it was the history of England in Ireland. That was what was called Irish history. But some of us did not confine ourselves to that. We learned a little more. How much you learned depended upon what sort of a family you came from—what England would call a rebellious strain. Therefore the majority of the people, who were in the hard struggle for existence, knew nothing about Irish history. And that has given England a chance to say the Irish people do not want independence. The Irish people do want independ-

ence, but because of their bad education they do not know how to express their desires.

Another thing I would like you to know about education in the secondary and national schools is that there is one set of people in Ireland that were not there in Archbishop MacHale's time. They refused to go under the Board of National Education. They were the Christian Brothers. The Christian Brothers refused it because you had to confine religious education in schools to one-half hour a day, and you had to use books appointed by the national board, and those books omitted all mention of Irish history, about Irish heroes, or a single word about a martyr or a saint whatever. And the Christian Brothers would not have that system, and they adopted books of their own, which are very fine books. And perhaps the reason that the men of Ireland are better educated and know more about the history of their land than the women do, is that the men have been educated by the Christian Brothers and the women have been educated in the national schools or anglicizing secondary schools.

Commissioner Addams: But there is one exception.

The Witness: O, Miss Addams, there are many exceptions. But I am talking about what the government gave us and not what we gave ourselves.

About the second schools: the anglicizing influence of the secondary schools was much greater than the anglicizing influence of the national schools, because it was fashionable to ape England. And there was a certain class of people in Ireland who were the outcome of this system of education. I think they probably would be much worse in any other country than our own. But they were ashamed to be Irish. They all of them finished their education in England, and they were so happy if by any chance they were mistaken for Englishmen. That type of man is hopeless in a country. And you have no idea how hard we had to fight to kill this influence, but thank God it is dead.

The influence of all the secondary schools in Ireland made it seem fashionable to be English. So when the Sinn Fein movement started in 1905, you might be quite sure of this, that the meaning of it was neither understood nor appreciated in the schools—the upper class schools, the fashionable schools of Ireland. The system in those schools was English. It was an anglicizing influence entirely. I am sorry to say that it was largely carried on by religious denominations, by the nuns, who were afraid. They were very timid, and were afraid to be anything except conventional. They are different now, of course. They followed

suit when the times have become Republican. And even then there were many bold exceptions. But that was the run of the secondary schools.

THE MEANING AND POLICY OF SINN FEIN

I will have to digress from the educational question to explain Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein with us today means the party which follows the Republican policy—what Ireland is today. I have seen in American papers, for instance, "The Sinn Fein," as if Sinn Fein were a people. Now, Sinn Fein is a policy, as you have the Democratic policy and the Republican policy.

Commissioner Maurer: We do not have it now. We used to have it.

The Witness: Like we used to have West Britons in Ireland? Well, I do not know enough about your policies to know if they are a good thing or a bad thing, but if you Americans want it, that is your business. Now, Sinn Fein is a policy, but the Irish Republic is a country. Suppose, for instance, I asked you what nationality you were, and you told me you were Democratic. I am quite sure that your countrymen, your fellow-citizens, would resent that very much. A Democrat is a member of a particular organization or a particular party. Sinn Fein is a policy, but the Irish Republic Government is the authorized recognized government of the Irish people, their chosen government. And so we do not call ourselves Sinn Feiners. We call ourselves Irish Republicans, just as you call yourselves Americans. We may have a Sinn Fein policy, or some other kind of policy, within our own country.

I will tell you where the confusion comes. When Parnell and Redmond had failed to secure even a measure of freedom for Ireland, Arthur Griffith, who was founder of the Sinn Fein policy and vice-president of our Republic today, took a different policy. He wanted a reversion to the Grattan Parliament of 1782, with proper representative franchise and an executive which would be subject to Parliament. Grattan's Parliament, while it did a great deal of good, had none of these. It had a strictly confined franchise, and the executive was under the control of England. He said, We are to reach this goal by a policy of self-reliance. He took the name Sinn Fein, which simply is the Irish word for "ourselves." And he took it as a policy of self-reliance. Up to that time we had been working at Westminster for a very long time to see what we could get out of Westminster. We also had our

eyes on America to see if there would be anything good coming from that quarter. During 1798, when we were at open war with England, we looked to the French for help. But Griffith said, There is no good casting your eyes to the ends of the earth. Only the fools' eyes are there. We can do a good deal more at home. We can develop our industries. We can study the Irish language. The Gaelic League had started some years before that. He made the main plank in his policy abstention from Westminster.

That was the policy of Sinn Fein. The reversion to Grattan's Parliament meant a separate Parliament for Ireland. He took Parnell's view that you cannot put bounds to the onward march of a nation. But although he wanted a different Parliament, there would be the same king over both countries. That was the original policy of Sinn Fein. The name has stuck to what has been the policy of the Irish people all along—utter and entire independence. Certain of us in Ireland have never joined Sinn Fein. My brother was never a member of any Sinn Fein club, simply because it was not expressly Republican. It was implied. But he took the attitude that the mere repression of the statement that we are aiming at a Republic is a compromise. And we stand where Wolfe Tone stood. So he said, We will not join Sinn Fein. But he helped it, especially the policy of the development of Irish industry. He worked for the policy of Sinn Fein without ever declaring himself a Sinn Feiner.

Q. How old was your brother when he died?

A. Forty.

THE MACSWINEY FAMILY ALWAYS REPUBLICAN

Q. I think it might be well to develop your statement along that line, by a statement of your brother's activities.

A. I am afraid I would be too long.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I might say to the Commission that, riding over on the train with Miss MacSwiney, I found she knows much more about this than any of us. She asked me to make suggestions from time to time that might keep the narrative in order and get everything in. I just made that suggestion. Of course, if it does not fit there, Miss MacSwiney should go on.

The Witness: The only reason I hesitated was that the Commission might sit for a whole week and ask me questions and yet not get to the end of the story. I am at your disposal as long as you like.

In regard to my brother's activities. Perhaps that would be

interesting just at this point. I might say that we have always been Republican. Not only all our lives, but all our generations. We came down from the north of Ireland, where our family originally came from in the thirteenth century, and we settled in County Cork in the fourteenth century. And I think there are very few generations or fights since when we have not given some sort of account of ourselves. Writing in the days of Elizabeth, a certain one of her ministers, Sir Henry Bagenal, said of Ireland—he wanted at that time to capture the young Red Hugh O'Donnell, the chieftain of the north, and he was very exercised because the leader of the MacSwineys of that day was the guardian and foster-father of young Red Hugh. In those days in Ireland there was the practice of fosterage. It meant that the sons of the chief of one family were sent to the chiefs of other tribes to be educated. And young Red Hugh O'Donnell had been sent to MacSwiney of the Battle Axes to be educated, because he was the greatest chieftain of the North. The MacSwineys were always a great military power there. So Sir Henry Bagenal, writing to Queen Elizabeth, said, "Your Majesty, if I could only manage to get rid of this MacSwiney, I would be able to capture Red Hugh. I think I have a plan." He had a plan. He succeeded in capturing him by duplicity. It is not necessary to tell you that story.

Besides being great military chieftains, the MacSwineys had great characters even in those days. I hope you will not think me blowing a family trumpet, but since it is a great many generations back, it will not make any difference. They had a characteristic even in those days of being honest, and an honest person is at a disadvantage in dealing with rogues, because they give the others credit for being honest, too. So this MacSwiney, being honest, went aboard an apparently harmless merchant ship that came to port. He went on board to pay a friendly, courteous visit to the captain. While they were in the cabin on this friendly, courteous visit, the hatches were closed down on them, the anchors loosened, and they were taken prisoners to Dublin, which was about the only place Queen Elizabeth had for herself in Ireland. That was the history of the MacSwineys of those days.

The family eventually came south and settled in County Cork, and there is hardly a place in the whole barony of Muskerry, as they called that country in those days, where our family had not built castles. There are still ruins all around County Cork belonging to them. In Cromwell's time we went the way of all the Irish chieftains. Cromwell took the land and gave it to one of his troopers named Sweet. And the Sweets held that land, and

some of this family hold it still. They thus became the so-called gentry.

All the Irish chieftains, when they were dispossessed of their land, hated to go away. They preferred to work as laborers on the meanest little farm than to leave Ireland and their native soil. There is an extraordinary attachment to the very sod of the earth in an Irish heart. These people did not leave the county. They took service as laborers, and became small farmers when it got possible to buy a farm, and stayed there. There actually is at this present day a direct descendant of the MacSwineys living on a farm on the grounds where are the ruins of his ancestral castle. He is also Terence MacSwiney.

Chairman Howe: Just a moment. I notice Senator Gore in the rear of the hall. (Applause.)

As you all know, no man in the United States Senate has been interested more earnestly in human questions than Senator Gore. We would like to have him come forward. (Continued applause. Senator Gore is ushered to the Commissioners' bench.)

Chairman Howe: Miss MacSwiney will proceed.

THE SPIRIT OF THE FAMILY

The Witness: You have been kind enough to ask me for some of our family history. I do not want to spend too long on it. I want to get my brother's particular part. Just before the famine period our family moved to Bandon. My grandfather was married twice. They were there during the period of the famine. My grandmother used to tell me very many stories when I was a child. I am using the word famine because it is so familiar to say it like that, but I want to emphasize it once more that it was not a famine, in a country where the fields were growing beautiful rich corn and where there was meat and butter in plenty. There is no famine in that country. It was organized starvation. My father was only a little boy, only a child, at the time of the famine. When he was growing up they removed to the City of Cork. Of course you can understand the want of employment there is in an undeveloped country. Some of you have been in our country and you must have noticed how undeveloped it is—no factories; even the very fields undeveloped. The cause of that is not laziness, as you have been often told. It is a fact that we have not been allowed to develop our country. So my father went to England and worked there for a while, and there got married. He returned to Ireland somewhere about 1880 or 1881, I am not sure of the dates. He

joined his brother-in-law in a partnership as a tobacco manufacturer. The partnership did not turn out very successfully, and he started afterwards himself, but again he did not succeed very well. Matters were against him, and so the business was closed. My father died when we were children. I think the last time—he died away from home, where he had to go for his health, and my brother Terence was only about eight when he saw his father for the last time. But even so, there were a lot of old family customs which he had put into us children—the spirit of the family. One of them was that every Sunday afternoon we had to learn a little poem about Ireland for my father. We generally stood with our backs to the dining-room door, and recited for him. Terence was the last that ever did that. He was only eight when my father died. We had to learn some little poem and it had to be about Ireland. We learned T. D. Sullivan's poems; Thomas Davis' poems, all of them of an insurrectionary character. And I think that the more fiery the poem was, the bigger reward we got. I remember getting a bright, new sixpence when I recited "The Death of Owen Roe O'Neill." It was a very fiery poem, indeed, and two whole verses were taken up with curses on England. I was about nine when I recited that. My mother was very shocked, and I heard her say in an undertone to my father, "Really, that child should not use such frightful language." He said he didn't think it would do me any harm.

EDUCATION AND EARLY ACTIVITIES OF TERENCE MACSWINEY

My brother went to school to the Christian Brothers, but he was not satisfied with it. It was not a national school, as has been stated; but it was so far ahead of the others that we gave them credit for having the only Irish schools in Ireland. He went in for the Intermediate examinations and got exhibitions—that is, a money prize in each class. He left school when he was about sixteen and went into business. In normal times and in less strenuous conditions, as far as money went, he would have remained at school and entered a college course, and would have become a writer or a poet. But he had to leave school, because the family was not well off, and entered business. He did not like business. And he educated himself and was able to take a university degree, and he became a Bachelor of Arts. Not only that, but he did a great deal of writing besides. He wrote poems. In looking through his papers after his death I came across the letter that I myself

wrote him congratulating him on the first poem that was published over his name. He became very interested in national things. There is a society in Cork called the Celtic Literary Society. I think he must have been about seventeen when he was one of the founders of that. It was a body of young men animated by the Republican ideal. They used to meet together after business hours; they read and wrote essays, and brought out a little magazine that circulated among a certain crowd. And that Celtic Literary Society did develop other national activities. The thing that stands most to its credit is the Irish Industrial Development Association, which is one of the things those young men started. I told you that he never joined Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein Society because it was not primarily for Republican independence, but he worked along that line, as far as it went, and with one or two others was responsible for the founding of the Irish Industrial Development Association.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: You might sketch that.

The Witness: It was really a society strictly non-political and non-sectarian, and formed for the especial purpose of developing Irish industries—to make the people of Ireland,—who had been avoiding Irish goods without any thought,—to buy Irish goods wherever they could get them. They started industries. It spread from Cork to Dublin, and naturally Dublin, being the capital, became the center. But Cork has the honor of starting it. Mr. Fawsitt, who is now the Consul-General of the Irish Republic here, was secretary in Cork for many years. He was considered the best man to send over here for that reason. The fact that we have a consul here today, and have a consul in almost every European country, entirely against the wishes of Great Britain, is entirely due to my brother and his comrades who started this society in Cork in 1901, I think. It might be a year one way or another. That was one of his activities.

GAELIC LEAGUE RENATIONALIZES MINDS OF PEOPLE

Another was the Gaelic League. This was a society, also non-sectarian and non-political, for the purpose of developing the Irish language and making the people Irish-speaking again. The soul of a people is expressed in its language. And if you speak a foreign language continuously, you will naturally develop the soul of that language within you. The great anglicizing power that England had over Ireland was in that she had almost killed

the Irish language. She was very clever in her propaganda. It is a great mistake to think that England is not a clever nation. She is very clever and very insidious in her propaganda. She never said to the people outright, You shall not speak Irish. But she took the children and educated it out of them. There is a little verse about the truth coming out in spite of oneself, like the story I told you of Archbishop Whately and the verse of Sir Walter Scott. When Lloyd George said the other day, when Irish atrocities were mentioned in the House of Commons, that those things will happen in a state of war, he thereby admitted that there was a state of war in Ireland. And so you get the truth out like that occasionally in a moment of high pressure.

About the Gaelic League. We wanted to renationalize the minds of the people, and that could best be done by the Gaelic language. And so classes all over the country started up for the teaching of Gaelic. Old men and young men who knew the Gaelic language well, wherever they could be found, were brought into the cities and set to work as teachers. You could see them night after night in stuffy rooms,—mainly because most of these people were poor. They had no money back of them to help their propaganda. They worked hard during the day, and at night sat around the table there in these little rooms and studied Gaelic and made themselves Gaelic speakers.

Q. Senator Walsh: Miss MacSwiney, to what extent in the last ten or fifteen years has the speaking of the Gaelic language been extended among the Irish people?

A. I could not give you the exact statistics, but it has developed very wonderfully. For instance, when those young men began to learn the Gaelic language, they were looked upon as curios. Their own people could not understand. They said, What is the use of that outlandish thing? But they persevered, and now today the person who cannot speak Gaelic is ashamed of himself or herself.

Q. It is then exceptional to find anyone who cannot speak Gaelic?

A. It is the exception to find anyone who is not trying. It is very easy to find some who cannot hold a good conversation in Gaelic.

Q. And that has all been acquired through private instruction? There has been no public instruction?

A. None whatever at first. But they forced the Irish language into the schools. They started a propaganda in the newspapers and succeeded in getting Gaelic into the schools. But it is taught

as a foreign language, and in our own country! In our own schools our own language is taught as a foreign language! The development of Gaelic today was caused by a handful of enthusiasts who had the idea and persevered. The Gaelic League was non-sectarian and non-political, and they got into it a good many people who were interested in the language, perhaps, from an historical point of view, perhaps from a literary point of view; and these people joined in because it was non-sectarian and non-political. But those who remained and made themselves speakers of the language had the right idea, the right Irish idea behind them.

COUNTERED ENGLISH PROPAGANDA

In addition to that, my brother aided a great many other activities. There was considerable English propaganda going on. These young men started themselves to counteract this propaganda. Part of this English propaganda consisted of visits of royal personages to Ireland. When these royal persons were coming, there was always a great effort to get loyal addresses from corporations and like bodies. That succeeded for very many years. Then this body of young men took it upon themselves to see that that did not succeed any more. In 1906 or 1907, when the late King Edward was visiting Ireland, they had a little room up over the street, and they hung out a black flag instead of the union jack. They hissed and booed a great deal. Of course, needless to say, the police were down on them, but they did not care about that. They took good care to see that the corporations did not pass a loyal address, and the corporations did not.

All these things are small, but it is out of those that our success has come today. Not that the soul of Ireland was not always Republican,—I should like to get that into your heads; but it is because it is more successfully Republican. As Mr. Griffith said in a message to some people in America, "Today is our Valley Forge; tomorrow will be our Yorktown." But if I am not mistaken, at your Valley Forge the soldiers had to bear the brunt of the suffering. But in our Valley Forge the women and children have to bear the brunt of the sufferings. But our turn is coming tomorrow, as surely as yours came.

That represents the activities of my brother.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Might I ask if the telegram that came from the Cork Chamber of Commerce, that came to this country to protest against ships not stopping at Queenstown, was that a part of your brother's movement?

A. Yes, they started that, but it was years afterwards.

Q. But after this, this Commission came to America of which Mr. Fawsitt was a member, and it is as a result of their efforts that there is a line of ships running to Ireland such as we have today?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you say that this work was or was not a good thing for the industries of Ireland?

A. Of course, it has made our industries much more prosperous. It has given employment to hundreds of thousands of people. As a matter of fact, it was out of the Industrial Development Association that the cooperative creamery movement was started by Sir Horace Plunkett. Everybody realized that the country should be developed, and they started where they could. And then Sir Horace Plunkett started his creameries all over the country, which the English are now burning to ruin the industry.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Where were we?

CARSON INCITES ULSTER TO REBELLION

A. I am coming to the Volunteer movement. You remember that there was a Home Rule Bill introduced in Parliament in 1912, one of many. It was in the hope of stopping all this activity and getting the people to accept definitely Home Rule in the British Empire,—which would, of course, leave England's hands in our pockets all the time. It was absolutely no use, that Home Rule Bill of 1912, except that it would be centering Irish interests in Dublin instead of London. I said that Mr. Arthur Griffith's policy in the old days was abstention from Westminster. Westminster, of course, means the English Houses of Parliament. The only good that a Home Rule Bill would have done would be that the center of gravity would have been shifted from London to Ireland. That would have had a very great effect. The people would have said then, Why should we have so little when we might have had more? Sir Edward Carson said he did not want Home Rule. He started in 1913 the idea of forcible resistance to Home Rule. He said, "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right." He said a great many other things. The main thing is that he got guns and ammunition, and he got them from Germany. He also said, We will not come under a Catholic government, and if the English people throw us over, we will enroll ourselves under the greatest Protestant nation in the world, under the German nation." He said he would invite the German emperor over himself if the English forced Home Rule upon them.

Q. Senator Walsh: Are these things matters of public record?

A. O, yes, absolutely. They are in all the English papers and Irish papers of the time. You will find them in book form, Sir Edward Carson's statements. They have been collected together by an Irish Republican and put into book form and called, "The Grammar of Anarchy." When Sir Edward Carson made those statements, he got something like two million pounds from England for propaganda, and also the promise that the English Tories would fight with them. He also stirred up a revolt at the Curragh camp, and the British officers in the Curragh camp said they would not, if they were ordered, go and put down a revolution in the Covenanters' camp. They were called Covenanters because they covenanted together that they would not have Home Rule; they would have the Castle code. We were very happy when we knew what Sir Edward Carson was doing. His statements have been collected in book form, as I said. One Sinn Feiner got something like six months' imprisonment for having in his possession seditious literature, and the only seditious literature he had in his possession, besides a few newspapers, was Sid Edward Carson's statements.

IRISH VOLUNTEERS ORGANIZE TO RESIST AGGRESSION

Sir Edward Carson started the Volunteers. There was always an Act in Ireland that you must not have arms in your possession. It was not enforced, however. Sir Edward Carson succeeded in getting a large quantity of arms presently. We looked on and said nothing. We let Sir Edward Carson and his Volunteers get along splendidly. If we could have patted him on the back, we would have told him to go ahead. He went ahead a good while. And then our people in the south began to say publicly, Well, of course, if Sir Edward Carson is getting armed for a march on Cork, we will have to arm also. And then they started the Irish Volunteers. England was in a fix. She had patted Sir Edward Carson on the back when he formed the Ulster Volunteers. English societies had been organized to subscribe money for drums for these Ulster Volunteers. The English Government had looked on with a more or less benevolent eye. And then if she had said, There must be no Irish Volunteers, the world would have said, That is not impartial. But within one week of our starting the Irish Volunteers, the Arms Act was enforced and the Govern-

ment said, No arms in Ireland. Within one week! Sir Edward Carson had been getting arms for several months.

Q. Senator Walsh: What date was this?

A. This was somewhere in the early days of 1914, in the spring, before the War. He got a boat——

Q. Had the Home Rule Bill passed passed Parliament?

A. It had passed the House of Commons in 1912, but on account of the House of Lords it had been suspended for two years.

Q. It passed the House of Commons in 1912?

A. Yes, and it went to the House of Lords, and the House of Lords threw it out.

Q. What date was it passed?

A. In 1914.

Q. After the War?

A. After the War, yes; after the Recruiting Act.

Q. But it was known in 1914 that it would be passed,—it was known before the War?

A. Yes.

Q. So that these preparations that were made were in preparation for the Act?

A. Yes.

GUN-RUNNINGS AT LARNE AND HOWTH SHOW ENGLAND'S BIAS

In the spring of 1914 a ship loaded with arms set out from Germany for Sid Edward Carson. The English government knew perfectly well what was being done, and that those arms were going to Sir Edward Carson. There was a little camouflage done. The boat started with one name from Hamburg and was stopped in midocean and repainted and renamed, and came into Larne, which is one of the Orange ports up there. The policemen are all Orangemen. They were all sympathetic with Sir Edward Carson. It was absolutely contrary to law, of course, but that made no matter. The guns were safely landed in Larne and safely stored. And the next morning it was all over the English and Irish press. The English Parliament held up their hands in horror. It was a very illegal act, said Mr. Asquith, but he made no motion to punish that act. Well, we will take a good example from people when we get it; and as we followed the Irish Volunteers after the Ulster Volunteers, we were not too proud to follow Sir Edward Carson in gun-running. And the last week in July, 1914, the Howth gun-running took place. I was in England at the time on a

little holiday. The Howth gun-running—now notice the difference. The Ulster gun-running was in support of what England wanted. She was forced to pass the Home Rule Bill because she had to take the lesser of two evils. So she allowed those guns into Ulster. But when we started gun-running she knew that what we said, we meant, and therefore our gun-running had to be stopped. Well, it was not. Our people got in quite a number of guns that day. In spite of a regiment of soldiers and all the Royal Irish Constabulary that were available, the guns were not captured. But several men, women, and children were shot down on the streets of Dublin by the soldiers returning empty-handed from Howth. That was the massacre of Bachelors' Walk, which took place exactly one week before the declaration of war on the continent and two weeks before England declared it.

That shows you whether England wants to be impartial. She tries to say that she wants to treat the north and south alike. I could give you a hundred, a thousand examples if time permitted to show you that she never does,—instances of this kind. Then came the War.

VOLUNTEERS DECLARE FOR A REPUBLIC

Q. Senator Walsh: These Volunteers meantime had organized all over Ireland.

A. All over Ireland. But there was this against them. Mr. Redmond set his face against any volunteers whatever. He wanted to keep to the Constitutional movement. At the time the Volunteers were started, it was said that they only wanted to take measures against Sir Edward Carson's rebellion. He felt that it was dangerous to let the young men take things into their own hands.

Q. And this organization was called the Irish Volunteers?

A. The Irish Volunteers.

Q. And they included the people of all classes? Did they include women?

A. O no, only the men were armed. But the women formed the *Cumann na m'Ban*, a society something like your Red Cross, a patriotic society to help carry on the work.

Q. Up to this time, Miss MacSwiney, was there a Sinn Fein movement, or was this simply a movement among the people,—a movement among the Irish Volunteers to arm and protect themselves against attacks from the north?

A. Well, this was a movement among the young men to arm to defend themselves for Irish rights.

Q. Exactly. But up to this time there was no movement for independence?

A. No, of course, that was the idea back of every movement in Ireland. But it was not precisely stated until the first Volunteer convention, which was held in 1914. They definitely stated their policy as a Republic. The policy of the Irish Volunteers was the policy of the Irish Republic, a continuation of the fight for freedom that had been always going on. They armed themselves in defense of the rights and liberties of the Irish nation. The women joined *Cumann na m'Ban*.

REDMOND DEMANDS CONTROL OF THE VOLUNTEERS

Q. You answer my question. Now, going back to Redmond's position before the outbreak of the war?

A. Before the war Redmond disapproved of the Irish Volunteers. He sent messages and letters to all the A. O. H.¹ branches all over the country forbidding them to join the Irish Volunteers. But that is where I would like to point out to you, as I said awhile ago, that the policy of Ireland was always Republican, and when they found that a leader set himself against Irish independence, then the leader fell and not the movement. Mr. Redmond sent orders that no member of his organization was to join the Irish Volunteers. But they joined in hundreds and thousands all over the country. So that by June, 1914, they were coming in in very large numbers, and Mr. Redmond began to see that he could not possibly forbid the movement. And, therefore, the next step was to control it. A great number of people, though they did not refrain from joining the Irish Volunteers at the bidding of Mr. Redmond, believed in his sincerity and in his desire for ultimate separation from England. And when he wanted to come and control the movement, they didn't see any reason why he should not, when he was going to improve it, you see. So he demanded that he have a voice in the councils of the Irish Volunteers, and he demanded a number—twenty-five, twenty-five members nominated by him to sit on the council. A great many were against giving him that,—a great many, the majority, in their hearts. But as a matter of policy they felt this: if we refuse to allow Mr. Redmond's nominees on the council of the Irish Volunteers, we will immediately have a split, which of all things should be avoided at the

¹ Ancient Order of Hibernians.

present moment. And so the majority of the council gave in and allowed Mr. Redmond to nominate members for the Irish Volunteers' council. There were nine who opposed it. Of those nine there were many who lost their lives in Easter Week, 1916. What would have happened if they had gone on? The whole policy of Mr. Redmond was to weaken the Volunteers. He got a number of guns, but they were useless. He did not want war. He didn't want any physical force in Ireland. We knew that he didn't want it, and that his action was weakening our movement. But at that time it would have been worse to start out against him and say, You will not get a single nominee on our council.

REDMOND'S SUPPORT OF ENGLAND'S WAR CAUSES SPLIT

When the war came Mr. Redmond started as recruiter-in-chief for England.

Q. Senator Walsh: In Ireland?

A. In Ireland. You remember Sir Edward Grey, as he was at that time, in speaking of the black outlook in Europe on the eve of the war, spoke of Ireland as the one bright spot, because he knew that Mr. Redmond sided with England in the war, and he thought that Ireland would follow Mr. Redmond. But he made a mistake. Ireland was furiously and indignantly insulted at being called the one bright spot. But the people did not know what was going on. The next thing was that stories of German atrocities in Belgium began pouring in,—how they were cutting off the hands of all the little Belgian children. How these stories were believed is a mystery to me. But they were believed largely in Ireland. Many people became violently anti-German, and because anti-German, pro-British. That is, the unthinking people. Those of us who knew something of history knew that perhaps ninety-five per cent of the stories were lies. War always brings atrocities. There is no doubt that Germany was guilty of atrocities in the recent war. There is equally no doubt that England committed worse atrocities. But there is also no doubt that the stories told in Ireland to touch the kind hearts of our people were lies. I could give you many instances where they were lies. The only people who were not deceived by them were the people who knew that the stories that England was telling about German atrocities were absolutely word for word the stories she was telling the world in 1798 about Irish atrocities. One of our national journals printed one week, in the early days of the war, in one column the stories

England was telling Ireland about German atrocities, and, in a parallel column, the stories England was telling the world about Irish atrocities in 1798. And we who knew what lies the stories of 1798 were, concluded logically that the other stories were lies, too. But you must remember that the Irish people did not know their own history; that when England allowed Irish history to be taught in the schools, she only allowed it to be taught in books controlled by her. Therefore, the people of Ireland would believe these stories. Some of them may have been true, but the majority of them were prevarications, the sort of English propaganda that we had been fighting for centuries.

Mr. Redmond came over and stood with Mr. Asquith, or whoever was Premier at the time, and advised the Irish people to go to war for small nations. You can hardly blame us for being skeptical. As a preliminary measure, they passed the Home Rule Act, and then put it on the shelf until after the war, and said it was only to be passed with an amendment clause that would satisfy Ulster. The next point was an absolute division with Mr. Redmond's Volunteers, the National Volunteers, as they were called, and the Irish Volunteers. Now, because a great many of those who had been strongly connected with the Sinn Fein movement, which, as I told you, was a constitutional movement when it started,—a great many of those who had been constitutional Sinn Feiners had immediately joined the ranks of the Irish Volunteers, the tag got on, Sinn Fein Volunteers versus National Volunteers. Redmond called his the National Volunteers. We in Ireland called them Redmondites. But the general public, to distinguish between them, called them Nationalist Volunteers and Sinn Fein Volunteers. The Nationalist followers firmly believed with Mr. Redmond that this was the way to win liberty for the country. The Irish Volunteers did not. Very soon the National Volunteers disappeared. They got no recruits. The recruits went into the Irish Volunteers.

SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES BEGINS

So matters stood until 1916. There was a great deal of harassing work going on in the meantime. The papers were suppressed one after another. We had a paper called *Irish Freedom*, which ran for some months, and then it was suppressed. Generally each suppressed paper would appear the next week under another name. We did not know always what the name of it would be, but we knew its sentiments. There were many Republican papers suppressed. My brother started a paper called *Fianna Fáil*. It means The Army

of Destiny. From the word *Fianna* the word *Fenian* has come, because they were the army of the great Irish hero, Finn MacCoole. All that time the suppression of papers went on, people were prevented from holding meetings, and various other things.

My brother was one of the very first Volunteers in Cork. In regard to the founding of the Volunteers in Cork, there is a very interesting story. The organization was founded in November, 1913, in Dublin. Eoin MacNeil and other people came down to speak at the inaugural meeting in Cork. I have told you that we Republicans were very much pleased when we saw what Sir Edward Carson was doing, because it gave us our chance. But we rather forgot that the mind of the country was not educated up to that point of view, and to them Sir Edward Carson was anathema because he was opposing Home Rule. Eoin MacNeil forgot that, and in the course of his speech he said Sir Edward Carson deserved three cheers from us for forming his Ulster Volunteers. That night there was a little body of men at the hall that were sent there for the purpose of making a row. That little remark of Eoin MacNeil gave them a chance, and they broke up the meeting. The Redmondite papers the next day spoke of the awful iniquity of calling for cheers for Sir Edward Carson, who was marching on Cork to put us to death. It was a foolish remark to make, because psychologically the people were not up to it at that time. They simply looked upon Sir Edward Carson as the opponent of independence and Home Rule. That retarded the work of the Volunteers in Cork for some time, and they did not advance as quickly as they did in Dublin.

WOMEN ORGANIZE CUMANN NA M'BAN

In the spring of 1914 we started this women's side movement, *Cumann na m'Ban*, as I have said, like Red Cross work, and we trained the minds of the people to know what the Republican movement meant. But our chief work was to support the Irish Volunteers by every means possible in their fight for the independence of Ireland. We wanted to get a big inaugural meeting, and we succeeded in getting a big inaugural meeting, which really gave the Volunteers a big chance to have a meeting also. Our meeting was a real help to them. You know how meetings are sometimes delayed. We began in March, and it was April when we got going. We invited Sir Roger Casement to come, but he could not. One of my dearest possessions today is an autographed letter from him explaining that he could not come down to the meeting. That was in May; and in the beginning of June Mr.

Redmond's call for control of the volunteers came. Then came the war.

In November, 1914, we had a meeting at Dublin when the women had to decide whether they would remain neutral or side with the Irish Volunteers, or with Mr. Redmond's Volunteers, or split. Thank God we did not split, but remained on the side of the Irish Volunteers. *Cumann na m'Ban* has never deviated from that day, and they are still fighting on that position.

EASTER WEEK THE FIRST BATTLE IN PRESENT WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

In 1916 we began our first open battle. I suppose you can regard the declaration of war on England as the day we reorganized the Irish Volunteers and said they are out to fight for the rights and liberties of the Irish people. But the first battle in this phase of the war that has been going on for so long was in Easter Week, 1916. That battle failed. We lost it. But Padraic Pearse said, on the night before we were forced to evacuate the general post-office, "We have lost the first battle, but we have saved the soul of Ireland, and now the people can go ahead." Easter Week saved the soul of Ireland. From that day on there was no more possibility of the Irish people mistaking where their duty lay. From that day on there was no such thing as recruiting for any army except the Irish Volunteers. In consequence of the insurrection, the Irish people were arrested. About two thousand of them filled English jails.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: About how many Irish soldiers took part in the Easter uprising?

A. Not more than one thousand. The English brought in regiments and armored cars and guns and shelled our capital.

Q. Were they all Irish Volunteers?

A. No, there was also the Citizens' Army, the Irish Citizens' Army.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: It was not a Sinn Fein army? It was a national army?

A. It was a national army. The reason the name Sinn Fein stuck to it was that all these people got mixed up in the Irish Industrial Development Association and the Gaelic League, and all got to be called Sinn Feiners because some of them were Sinn Feiners, and because they all joined the Irish Volunteers' movement. Sinn Fein was a tag put on by the people. Sinn Fein was

originally a constitutional policy. But now the name has been adopted everywhere, and it is a Republican policy.

After that there were wholesale arrests.

Q. Chairman Howe: The story of what has happened in the Easter Rebellion ought to be a continuous story, ought it not?

A. Would you like me to tell you?

Chairman Howe: We would like to have you tell us some time, either now or after lunch.

The Witness: About the Easter Week insurrection, I will try to put it as shortly as I can.

Chairman Howe: I did not mean to suggest that.

The Witness: I know, but it would take so long if I went into detail. The essential point for you to understand is that this insurrection was confined mainly to Dublin. Galway rose also, but most of the fighting was in Dublin. You have often heard that Ireland was divided over this insurrection. I should like to explain about that.

RIGHT OF IRISH REPUBLICANS TO RECEIVE AID FROM GERMANY

We expected help in this insurrection. We expected arms. We had very few arms at that time. We were expecting Roger Casement to come from Germany with arms. I have no hesitation about acknowledging that, and I give no one in the world any apology for it. We were at war with England, and we were at liberty to get guns where we could to carry on that war. England said she was fighting for the rights of small nations. We had absolutely as much right to our liberty as Belgium had, about whose rights England was so solicitous. If we wanted to take Germany as an ally we had a right to take her as an ally. England had a great deal of talk about our being pro-German. She did turn France against us. Only my brother's death has softened France. She said we weakened her ally at a critical moment. But what right had France to expect that we should not weaken the cause of her ally when her ally was oppressing us.

Q. We were told you took German gold.

A. We did not take German gold. We took the pennies and sixpences of our people. But did not we have a right to take it if we had wanted it? Did not France take English gold, and did not England take American gold when she could get it. Surely no one has a right to speak if we had taken it. But we did not. Surely not England, who was borrowing from America. Any nation has a

right to make alliances when she is fighting against an enemy. It is said that we wanted to invite the Germans into Ireland. We did not. The only man who ever tried to invite Germans into Ireland was Sir Edward Carson. If Germany tried to take Ireland we would fight her just as long and just as effectively as we are fighting England. Of course it was a lie that we took German money, but if we had taken it, what difference would it make? England says she wants people to have fair play, but she does not give us fair play. If it is right for France to borrow money from England, it would be just as right for us to borrow money from Germany, if we had got it, but we didn't. Germany would have been glad for us to create a revolution in her favor, of course. But we were not doing it to please Germany. More than one Irishman has said: "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." England's difficulty has always been Ireland's opportunity, and we are absolutely right in taking advantage of that opportunity. The sooner you can get that in a common sense way, the better. It was no crime for us to take help where we could get it, to make an alliance with anybody we wanted to.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was it not raised as a fact that France has sometimes been at war with England, and has been glad to help along revolutions in England's colonies?

A. I was going to say that. In 1778 France happened to be at war with England, and she wanted to hurt England in any way she could, and she acknowledged you as a republic to hurt England, and it did. You also wanted, in 1774 and 1775 to appeal to the sympathies of the Irish people, and you got it. And I do not think America needs to be told of the many Irishmen she has had then and since to fight for the freedom of her country.

And therefore I protest against the statement that I or my fellow citizens would choose to ally ourselves with the Central Empires. We did not because they would be no good to us. But if we had, it would have been no worse than England taking your help, and she was very glad to get it, because if she had not got it, she would not be victorious today.

AMERICA HAS FAILED TO ACHIEVE WAR AIMS

I ask you American people, do you think you have helped democracy by entering the war? President Wilson said: "The reasons for this war have been so clearly avowed that no man can make a mistake by entering it." He said—I do not know whether I am stating it exactly: "America has gone to war for the rights and

liberties of all peoples everywhere under the sun, for the right of self-determination for small nations, and for their release from an autocratic power." Are we not a people, and are we not under the sun somewhere? If you say "all people," you must count us. If you say, "the release of small nations from autocratic power," you must not leave out Ireland. As America went out for the rights and liberties of all peoples everywhere, for liberty and self-determination and for the "undictated development of all peoples" (I think that was another phrase of President Wilson), I ask you, have we not rights and liberties and a right to the undictated development of our own country? We have our republic, but we have got it in spite of England's oppression.

You people in America have not carried out the policies for which you went into the war. You sheathed the sword when England got what she wanted. I do not want to hurt you. You have been very good to us, and you have given us a chance by this Commission to tell the truth about Ireland. But you have not made the world safe for democracy. You have only made the world safe for a time for the British Empire. But I know this. When England begins to collar all the coal fields and all the oil fields, and when she begins to hamper your navy and your shipping by collaring the coal and oil fields of the world, she will not find it as easy to overwhelm America with force of numbers as she has found it to overrun Ireland.

Chairman Howe: The hearings will now be adjourned,—it is quarter to one—will now be adjourned until two o'clock.

* * * * *

2:21 P. M.

Chairman Howe: We will proceed with the hearing (rapping for order). Is Miss MacSwiney here?

(Miss Mary MacSwiney retakes witness stand.)

CONFLICT OF ORDERS PREVENTS NATIONAL UPRISING

Mr. F. P. Walsh: When we let out for the noon recess, Miss MacSwiney, you had just begun to tell of the happenings of Easter Week, 1916.

The Witness: It was a point made very much of by England that the Easter Week insurrection was not an insurrection of the Irish nation. That it was only a few extremists. And they pointed to the fact that the fighting took place in Dublin only. I had begun to tell

you that we had expected help in the shape of arms. We had hoped to get some arms to enable us to carry on the fight, because the arms and ammunition of the country did not amount to much. And those arms failed us. They did not come. An insurrection had been arranged for Easter Monday, 1916. The leaders had counted on getting the arms the last of the week, on a Good Friday. The ship bringing the arms was sunk by the British. They were perfectly justified from their point of view in sinking that ship, just as we were justified in bringing it in if we could. However, it was sunk. The result of that was that some of the leaders, notably Mr. MacNeil, thought that the time was not opportune to begin. And though the orders had gone out for the whole country for the insurrection on Easter Monday, the orders were cancelled at the last moment by Mr. MacNeil. Many of the leaders did not agree with the canceling of those orders, and I think that some of them thought that Mr. MacNeil had exceeded his powers and his rights in sending these cancellation orders. One section, the Irish Citizens' Army, was not under the control of the Volunteers. That was a labor organization chiefly. You have heard of Jim Larkin here, and he and James Connolly were concerned with the organization of that Citizens' Army. They had threatened to go out in any case. The secret history of those few days has not been fully published, and the documentary evidence in connection with it was largely burned during Easter Week. And some of us, even though we were on the inside of Republican affairs, are not exactly certain of all the orders and counter-orders of that week. It ended by only a portion of the Volunteers rising in Dublin. They began on Monday morning, according to the plan. Mr. MacNeil had sent the order all over Ireland on Sunday that the Volunteers were not to rise. An order followed on Monday signed by Padraic Pearse and John MacDermott that they were to rise, that the orders were to be kept to. By the time these orders reached the outlying districts it was too late. Cork was not in the Easter rising. The fact that it was not was a lasting source of grief to my brother. Many of the people thought they should have gone out, even though they were certain to fail. There were some people, I am not sure how many, who accused them of cowardice or funk at the last moment. That charge was not justified, and I do not think it will be ever made again. But the situation in Cork made it impossible for them to rise. Cork is built in a valley. The order to rise did not reach the commandants until Monday evening. By the time they could have got their men together every hill in Cork was mounted by a huge field gun, the largest piece of artillery they could get. Cork is built in a valley. The British military barracks are on

the highest hill in the district. By Tuesday night they had a huge gun planted on every hill around the city. They could have shelled the city in an hour until there was nothing left of it. The Volunteer commanders in Cork knew that. They did not want to order the men out to what was absolutely certain slaughter. They realized that Dublin was only a first battle in the war, and for the time they had to remain inactive. I can speak of personal knowledge of the very, very great reluctance with which they came to that decision. I can tell you what very few people in Ireland knew at that time or even now, that as late as Thursday evening at seven o'clock they had made plans to get out of the city into the country districts where they could have fought. Cork is not like Dublin, which was suitable for street fighting. Cork could not have street fighting. It would have been shelled from the hills within an hour. By Thursday evening they were trying to call the Volunteers out of the city, and as late as Thursday evening at seven o'clock I had orders to put in a fresh supply of first aid material in case they were able to manage it. They were not able to manage it, but I can testify to the great reluctance with which they finally gave it up.

BRITISH MILITARY BREAK PLEDGE TO MAYOR AND BISHOP OF CORK

The military in Cork were so certain that they would rise that the military commander appealed to the mayor and the bishop to try to get the Volunteers to lay down their arms. If the Volunteers showed no signs of giving the military trouble, the military undertook not to give them any trouble. Our men would not have any negotiations with the British except on equal terms. But they came, by the advice of the bishop and the lord mayor, to an understanding, as they were assured that a rising in Cork was impossible. The understanding was that they would hand over to the bishop and the lord mayor of the city the guns, the arms and ammunition that they had; that these arms and ammunitions were to remain under the charge of the bishop and the lord mayor as joint guarantors that the Irish Volunteers would not rise in insurrection, on the one hand; and that the military authorities would not capture the guns and would not arrest the leaders, on the other. This was a definite understanding, a promise made by Colonel East, who was commanding the British forces in Cork. And that promise was given to the lord bishop and the lord mayor of the City of Cork. After a lengthy discussion the men agreed to accept that, and on Monday night, that would be the first of May, they handed their guns over to the care

of the lord mayor. They were locked up in his offices, and the guarantee was given, not a written guarantee in the hands of the Volunteers, but the word of the military commander was given to the bishop and the lord mayor, as the word of our men was given to them, that they would take no further action. That was on Monday night, and the arms were handed to the lord mayor before midnight. At eight o'clock on Tuesday morning,—at quarter to one, let me say first, just three-quarters of an hour after midnight, a military party headed by a captain went to the lord mayor and demanded the arms that had been entrusted to him. He said they had been given to him as a trustee, and the military had promised not to ask for them. He was told that he would be in jail in a very short time if he did not give them up. Not being an Irish Republican at the time, he gave them up. At seven o'clock in the morning the arrests began. Practically every Irish Volunteer in the city was arrested, and two women were arrested. My brother had left for the country early on Tuesday before the arrests began, or before he knew of it, and he was out of the city when a party of six policemen with loaded rifles came to our house. I was in school at the time,—at least, I was not in school at the time, I was in jail, but my sister thought I was in school. But they stood around her, and the whole six pointed their loaded rifles at her and demanded to know where her brother was. She said she would not tell them. They threatened and coaxed her, but she gave them no answer. They wanted to know if he was upstairs, and she said, "Go and see." She happened to be standing with her arms behind her back, and they ordered her to put up her hands. She put them up, for she had nothing in them. They then wanted to know again if he was upstairs, and she would not tell them. And so they went upstairs, but they were all very polite, very polite to each other, each one letting the other go first. They thought that he might be at the top of the landing with a gun. The sergeant finally went first. They found nothing. They came down with very relieved faces and went away. We had a little maid at the time. They found her in the kitchen and threw her out by force, threw her out in the next room against the wall and demanded to know where the master was. She did not know. She never knew, of course. And they finally went away.

WHOLESALE ARRESTS AND REARRESTS

In the meantime they went to the school and arrested me. All over the city that day the tension was frightful. Great squads of soldiers and police going all over the city, as many as a hun-

dred and fifty soldiers to arrest one man. Naturally the word was taken to the bishop. Men and women were going to the house of the bishop and demanding to know what it all meant. He got in touch with the military authorities. I think he spoke very plainly to them. And finally, although they did not give back the arms, Colonel East sent an order to release all the people who had been arrested in the city about seven-thirty Tuesday evening. So we all got out. We did not have very much jail. It was about twenty to eight when I was driving down from the jail, and about ten minutes afterwards an urgent order came from General Maxwell that no one was to be released on any condition whatever. But we were gone. The birds had flown. They did not take the women back, but they began rearresting the men in twos and threes until they had about two thousand of them arrested and put in jail in England. My brother was arrested in the country and taken. We did not know for a long time where he was.

MR. ASQUITH'S DUPLICITY

To show you how they can tell lies: we were very uneasy because for over a week we did not have a single word from my brother. We knew he had been arrested. Someone had seen him brought into Cork at half-past four in the morning, and they were taking him up to Cork jail. A few days afterward we learned that someone had seen him about five o'clock in the morning removed from Cork jail. We applied to the governor, but got no information where he was. After a question asked in the House of Commons as to why these men were not allowed to see their relatives, Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister at the time, replied that all the Cork prisoners were allowed to see their friends and had fresh air and food and visitors and all other nice things. It was utterly false. That appeared on Thursday morning, about the thirteenth of May, I think. He had been missing since the third. Some of us whose relatives had been taken away and did not know their whereabouts went to the general postoffice and sent a series of telegrams to Mr. Asquith, and sent him each one his own particular story, and told him that our relatives had been taken away and we had been denied all information as to where they were. We also sent copies of these telegrams to William O'Brien, because it was he who asked for information from Mr. Asquith, and to Lawrence Ginnell, because he was the only one in the House of Commons on whom we could depend to bring out the truth.

We sent them in great hurry, because there was to be a debate in the House of Commons that day on the Irish question. Mr. Ginnell later told me that those telegrams created a great sensation when read in the House. That was on Thursday. On Saturday morning we all got letters from our friends. That is the way. And then when you catch them at it, they correct it and say, It is a lie; you are not telling the truth.

PENAL SERVITUDE AND EXECUTION FOR INSURRECTIONISTS

That was my brother's second term of imprisonment. They were all in prison most of the time until Christmas. There was a general amnesty at Christmas. But the men who were concerned actually in the rising, the men who were in Dublin, were sent most of them to penal servitude, those who were not shot. And they were not released from prison by the Christmas amnesty.

SUBSERVIENCE OF SCHOOLS TO ENGLISH INFLUENCES

Mr. Walsh asked me this morning to tell you something about education in Ireland. There is a little addition I would like to make here. I was teaching in a large secondary school, in one of the intermediate schools of which I spoke, in the city at that time. As an example of the type of mind engendered by the British education in our country, I might tell you that the nuns are personally very fond of me. I know that. They highly disapproved of my political opinions, and they were very nervous at having them in that exceedingly respectable school. On the January preceding the Easter rising, my brother had been arrested for making a speech. And a district inspector of police who had a child in the school went up to the Reverend Mother and told her I was not a proper person to be teaching in a school like that, and I ought to be dismissed. Now, I do not want to say an unnecessarily harsh word about that school. It was my alma mater, and I am very attached to it. And the only crime I convict the nuns of was cowardice. It is a pretty bad one in my category of crimes. But it was absolutely unavoidable in that condition of mind engendered by the education of the country. It was so fearfully disrespectable to be a Sinn Feiner. We are all called Sinn Feiners. And Sinn Fein by that time had become Republican. However, some time before Easter the Reverend Mother complained of my

tendencies to make Sinn Feiners of the pupils. I said, "I have never mentioned the name Sinn Fein in the class. I am not a Sinn Feiner at all. I am a Republican. But I have never told the children what I am." And she said, "But at the same time there is something there." And she finally brought it out with a great burst that I was too Irish. And I asked her if she ever heard of an Englishwoman being too English, or a Frenchwoman being too French; and it was not a crime for me to be too Irish. Then she said, "You must keep to the textbook in teaching history." I said, "If I keep to the textbook, the senior girls will fail in the examination, because there is not enough in it." That was not exactly what she meant, and I told her what she meant. "You want me to teach Irish history from the English point of view. I would no more do that than as a Catholic I would teach the history of the Reformation from the Protestant point of view." And whether you are Catholic or Protestant or nothing at all, you can perfectly understand that I would not teach the Protestant point of view against my own than you would, if you were a Protestant, teach the Catholic point of view against your own. Naturally, the teaching of all history must be colored by the point of view of the country in which it is taught. I think before this war there was an idea that history should be wholly colorless; that it should be taken from state documents. If there is anything that this past war has taught the world it is that of all the lies that it is possible to tell, that official documents are the biggest lies. I have friends who were in the war who told me exactly how these official documents were compiled. It is very interesting for the historian and I don't think—

Chairman Howe: Please keep to the recital of the Irish situation, Miss MacSwiney.

The Witness: I am sorry. Please pull me up if I say things I ought not to say. I have said that about the school to show you the type of mind that was engendered in our country. The Reverend Mother hinted to me that they would have to reduce the staff. I think I was expected to take the hint that I was to be the one dismissed, so I said to her, "Now, Mother, I am the senior teacher here. Therefore, I take it for granted that I am not the one to be dismissed." She could not take it for granted at all. I said, "Why, then? Am I incompetent?" And she had to say I was not. I said, "Now, look here, if you dismiss me in reducing the staff, it simply means that you are dismissing me because I am an Irish Republican. You are dismissing me because of my political opinions. If you say that, well and good. But I will not permit myself to be dis-

missed on any other ground." There were three teachers in that division of the school. And all three teachers got notice that in consequence of changes in the school during the coming summer, we could not consider ourselves engaged for the next year. We were at liberty to get another post, and they were at liberty to get other services. That was the quietest way to get rid of a troublesome person. It does not sound very nice, and I do not want to be hard on that particular school, but I am doing that not to hurt them, but to show you the type of mind that was engendered by the British education in that country. They were afraid—afraid of offending the rich people, who were mostly West Britons; afraid of offending the police authorities; afraid that anybody connected with them might be connected in any way with that very dangerous thing called Sinn Fein. When I was arrested on a Tuesday morning and released on Tuesday night, I went to school again on Wednesday morning.

EXECUTIONS OF EASTER WEEK MAKE IRELAND CONSCIOUSLY REPUBLICAN

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: How is that school about being Republican now?

A. Oh, everyone in Ireland is Republican now.

Q. Does that include that school?

A. Yes, of course. In the recent martyrdom of my brother, when prayers were being said for him and masses were being said for him, all the school children said prayers for him, and I am glad to say that that school sent me word through one of the nuns that they had done their share. All the children are all right and all the nuns are all right. I think there are several old ladies there yet who are very much afraid. But they are all right at heart. I was deeply grieved at their treatment of me, and still am deeply grieved because they did not dismiss me straight out. When they found out Easter week had changed the whole of the citizens, and there was a revulsion of feeling and indignation in the city because I was dismissed, they tried to say that I was not really dismissed; that it was a mistake.

I have introduced this to show you the state of mind of a large number of the Irish people in 1916. It was the shooting of the leaders of the 1916 movement and the arrest of over two thousand people that woke up the ordinary man, who up to that time had been a home-ruler, perhaps, to realize that it was the same old fight over again in their generation, although they had not realized it up

to that time; and that when England began shooting Irishmen, no matter what the Irishman's political opinions were, he must be right. From 1916 on Ireland became more and more consciously Republican in the hearts of the common people. They had, of course, been instinctively so. They became consciously so after that.

ELECTIONS PROVE PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY FOR REPUBLIC

The first chance they had to give expression to that was in the general election of 1918. In that election Sinn Fein or the Republican movement swept the country. There were very few constituencies in which there was a contest. But where there was a contest in the whole of Ireland, outside of Ulster, there was only one man got in who was a Redmondite, and that man was John Redmond's son, who, because of sympathy for his father and because of his hold on the people of Waterford, was returned.

Q. That is exclusive of Ulster?

A. I am excluding Ulster. In the Parliamentary elections again matters were—

Q. Senator Walsh: Was there a candidate representing the Nationalists in every county in that election?

A. Oh, no; very few. There were twenty-five constituencies, I think, in which Republicans were elected without any opposition.

Q. There was very little opposition?

A. Very little opposition.

Q. But where there was a contest?

A. Where there was a contest it was a contest between the Redmondites and the Republicans, and Redmondism was wiped out completely, except in Waterford, where it was not Redmondism that won, but a feeling for Redmond's son.

In Ulster the case was rather peculiar. You have at present four men representing the Constitutionalist Home Rule Party in Ulster—five men. Four of them got in this way. There were eight seats in Ulster in which the proportion of, we will say Nationalists, using the word Nationalist in its broad sense—Ireland versus England—had a majority. But if Sinn Fein and Redmondites and Unionists went up, the three-cornered division would probably let the Unionists in. On those seats, upon the advice of Cardinal Logue, there was a compromise suggested: that they should divide them equally. Our people wanted a much fairer thing than that. Our people wanted an election of the Nationalist population held, a kind of a

plebiscite of the Nationalist population held on the preceding week, everyone to vote, and the seats to be given to either the Republican or the Redmondite, according to the votes cast. If that had been so, we would have had seven of the eight seats. Consequently the Redmondites did not agree to it.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Seven or eight seats in Ulster?

A. Oh, yes; this does not deal with the contests with the Unionists, but only with the contest between the Republicans and the Redmondites. They would not agree to this plebiscite, so it was either let them have half the seats or give them to the Unionists. I mean the risk would be letting the Unionists slip in. So the people agreed to halve them, and that is why you have a few representatives still of Redmond's party.

With regard to the general election of 1918, it was 80 per cent. Republican. It was claimed by the British Government and by our opponents that it did not represent a Sinn Fein election or a Republican election, but an anti-parliamentarian election. It was an anti-Redmond election rather than a pro-Republican election. And they said that ever so many people had got tired of a parliamentary policy and were willing to give Sinn Fein a chance. We knew it was not so, but of course they had a certain amount of plausibility behind their argument. And so it was not until 1919 and 1920 that we were able to counter that and prove that it was false by the municipal and county elections. It is true that every candidate who went up had to take the Republican pledge.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: What was that pledge?

A. "I pledge my allegiance to Dail Eireann and the Parliament of Ireland." I do not know the exact words, but it was pledging allegiance to the Irish Republican parliament and renouncing everything English.

Q. Chairman Howe: Every candidate?

A. Every candidate, yes, who received Republican support. But some said, after the Republican victory in 1918: "Even so, the candidates were Republican, but we have people voting for the Republican candidates not because they were Republicans, but because they were anti-parliamentarian. They were sick of parliamentarianism." And so when the municipal and county elections came and were overwhelmingly Republican, even more so than the general elections had been, that argument was killed.

Q. Commissioner Addams: That was the county and municipal election of 1920?

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ACT FAILS TO REDUCE REPUBLICAN VICTORIES

A. Yes. In spite of the fact that in the meantime proportional representation laws had been passed by the House of Commons for Ireland for the purpose of spoiling the Republican elections and getting in candidates who would not otherwise have got in. Our people had from 1905 advocated proportional representation. And so when it was passed by the House of Commons it was opposed, not by us, because we welcomed it, but by the Carsonites. And the result showed that they had good reason to be afraid of it. For the first time we have Irish members in the Belfast corporation. We have Irish Republican members in county councils that before were wholly Unionist. We have won all over the country, and have lost nothing. Probably in the south and west there are Unionist members on the councils who might not have been there otherwise; but we have no fear whatever of Unionists getting on, providing they get on fairly and in proper proportion. We do not dread proportional representation, and you have a proof of that by what I have given you and what you get in the daily newspapers. Proportional representation was passed to ruin the Irish Republican elections. But the only people who opposed it were the Carsonites.

I told you I would say something more about my brother's activities. I don't think there is anything else about the present situation before I come to that.

OUR REVOLUTIONARY WAR, AND NOT CIVIL WAR, ANALAGOUS TO IRELAND'S RIGHT TO BREAK UNION WITH ENGLAND

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Before that, while it is a very well-known subject in England, one of the Commission has asked you to briefly sketch the Act of Union, it being claimed by many persons that there is some parallel between the efforts of certain states in the American union to secede and the efforts of the Irish people to get their independence. Do you understand what I mean?

A. Oh, quite, Mr. Walsh.

Q. Give the date of the Act of Union and what attitude the Irish people take toward it.

A. I would like to deal first with the suggestion that there is any parallel between the fight between your north and south against secession. If you want any parallel you will have to go back to 1776, and not to 1862. That is the parallel, and not the war for

secession. And I would like to say in connection with this that you had far less reason to secede from your mother country than we had, because she was never our mother country. We are a distinct race. (Continued applause.)

Chairman Howe: Please let the witness go on without interruption.

The Witness: I am sure you will not mind doing that, because I am sure I am taking up much of the Commission's valuable time.

We are a different people. As I told you this morning, they tried to kill our language and make us forget it. But you were the same people, many of you. But you were not going to permit them to take away your liberties, and so you set up a republic of your own. That is the only liberty. And you became a colony naturally in the first place. Your liberty was never filched from you. Our liberty was filched from us.

PARALLEL BETWEEN SECESSION OF ULSTER AND SOUTHERN STATES

A parallel with your war of secession is the parallel between Ulster and the rest of Ireland today. And if you maintain that you were justified in waging a long war of five years which nearly broke President Lincoln's heart, if you were justified in fighting that war rather than let a part of your country secede, then you must admit that we are justified in fighting for a century, if need be, rather than let a part of Ireland secede. The parallel is the war between north and south as far as Ulster and the rest of Ireland are concerned. But between England and Ireland your Revolutionary War is the parallel.

ACT OF UNION SUPPRESSED IRISH PARLIAMENT

The Act of Union was signed by King George III in 1801. He was your enemy as well as ours. Ireland had always had her own parliament. But Poyning's Law of 1494, and what is known as the Sixth of George I, passed in 1719, I think—I am not certain, but it was the sixth act of George I's reign, anyway—those two laws destroyed all the powers of the Irish Parliament. Poyning's Law said that no laws could be made in Ireland or for Ireland without the consent of the king and the privy council of England. That was so that no law for the benefit of Ireland, Irish commerce, or Irish trade could be passed, unless the English king and the English council were quite convinced that it would not interfere with any-

thing they wanted. The Sixth of George I went a step further, and declared that all laws passed in England were binding on Ireland. That distinction is quite clear. The first said that all laws passed in Ireland must be approved in England. The second one, passed nearly three centuries later, said that all laws passed in England would become operative in Ireland. And thus those two laws ruined all of the power of the Irish Parliament. The 1782 movement followed very largely from the example of your War of Independence. Ireland could not see why she could not follow your example. But just as in the beginning of your war you had no idea of seceding from your mother country, so those in the Irish movement of 1782 had no idea of breaking connection with the English crown. They wanted what they called "the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland." They wanted an Irish Parliament separate from that of England, but the English king was to be the ruler in both countries. After a great deal of work that was passed in 1782. But the Act of Union, definitely renouncing all power of Ireland to pass laws, was passed in 1801.

Arthur Griffith has often had this sneer thrown at him, that he wanted to create another Grattan's Parliament. But this is not true. That parliament was elected on a purely Protestant franchise. Its executive was appointed, not elected. And still, in spite of those defects, when the parliament turned its attention to Irish trade and Irish development, they increased the prosperity of the country to such an extent in the space of twelve years that the English government called a halt immediately, and said, "This will never do." And so Pitt began to put his clever mind to work to see what could be accomplished.

IRELAND REFUSES SOLDIERS TO CRUSH AMERICAN REVOLUTION

To go back a little bit. When your war was on with England, and England's plan was to raise an army in Ireland to send over to fight you, Ireland declined. She also wanted to bring in about three or four thousand Hessians to guard the Irish coast, while she was sending over an Irish army to defeat the Americans. The Irish people said "No, thank you. You can send your Hessians where you like. We are not going to fight Americans and we are going to take charge of our own coast." But there was no anti-English movement there at all. They found Ireland so strong on that that they were obliged to give in. Consequently, you got the Hessians and we stayed at home.

PROSPERITY OF IRELAND UNDER GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT

Now, we wanted free trade in Ireland. And when the Volunteers were formed and got their power they began to say they could not see why Ireland should not have the right to trade abroad if she wanted to. She was not allowed to. And so she demanded free trade—the right to trade where she liked. And there is a very famous march of the Volunteers in Dublin when they took up their position before the House of Parliament with a cannon trained on the House, and they put a motto on the cannon, “Free Trade or This.” I think there is a very striking parallel there between your position in 1774 and this. You wanted free trade and you wanted the right to settle your own taxation, and not to pay taxation where you had no representation. That act resulted in Grattan’s Parliament. It had its disabilities, but it doubled Ireland’s trade in a short time, and made it very prosperous.

Q. Senator Walsh: Miss MacSwiney, just what years are you talking about?

A. That was in 1782. The Parliament lasted until 1800. But it really was effective only about ten years, because intrigues destroyed its power.

Q. The prosperity you mentioned was during that period?

A. Yes.

Q. Did building develop as well as trade?

A. Yes. But you must remember that the Irish people at that time were ignorant, and being ignorant, they were poor. The Catholics, then as now, were in the majority. But the Catholics did not have a vote. The mass of the population had no representation whatever in the government. Grattan and Flood and Hely Hutchinson were all of them Protestants. No Catholic could sit in the House of Parliament. It was a crime punishable by death to follow a Catholic service. No Catholic could own land or lend money on land. No Catholic could lend money and take in turn a mortgage on land, because that would mean that the land might revert to the hands of Catholics, which was against the law. No Catholic could own a horse worth more than five pounds. If he did, any Protestant could come up to him on the streets and say, “I would like that horse. Here is five pounds. You may sell it to me.” An incident like that happened with a great-granduncle of my own. He was a priest, and had a valuable horse, because he had long distances to go to see sick people. One day he was held up by a terrible scoundrel who was well known in the neigh-

borhood, and he was ordered to dismount from the horse and turn it over. Instead, he put spurs to the horse and got away. But he knew that would save him only for a few hours, so he went to the Protestant minister, who was a great friend of his, and explained to him. And he said, "That is easy. You give me the horse—sell it to me, and I will loan it back to you." And he did, and kept the horse. And that shows another thing—the extraordinarily friendly relations between ministers of religion of different faiths when the country was in such a state that a Catholic did not dare to show his face on his own street.

The franchise, then, was restricted. Only Protestants could sit in Parliament. But they were Irishmen, and they believed that the development of their country was necessary. Grattan's Parliament had its disabilities, but it was an honest attempt to develop Ireland for the Irish. And one of the first things we shall do, I hope, when we have cleared out the army of occupation, will be to take up the bones of Grattan, who is buried in Westminster at the feet of Castlereagh, one of the most infamous villains in history, and we will take them back to Ireland.

ACT OF UNION MADE POSSIBLE DESTRUCTION OF IRISH INDUSTRIES

Pitt decided that the Irish Parliament was inconsistent with the rights of England and that it was injuring English trade. I would recommend to you to read a book by Mrs. Stopford Green, "The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing," which will tell you how England has deliberately destroyed Irish industries whenever they conflicted with her own.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do you know, Miss MacSwiney, the name of the book which has been published which is a compilation of all the statutes passed by the British Parliament hostile to Irish industries, and also indicates the speeches made on that subject in the English Parliament?

A. No, I do not, but you can find out, I think, from Mr. Fawcitt.

Q. I understand there is such a book that contains all the hostile statutes and the purpose of them and the speeches made about them.

A. I am sorry I haven't it with me. But we are now living history so fast that the events of a few years ago seem very far away indeed. But if you want to know the purposes of England in Ireland, the book of which I spoke, "The Grammar of Anarchy," containing the statements of Sir Edward Carson, is quite sufficient, and if you read it you will understand why an Irish Republican

got a term of imprisonment for having it in his possession as seditious literature.

There are many instances of English statutes destroying Irish industries. One of the statutes of William III was against the Irish woollen industry. It was better wool than the English wool and it was quite as cheap. Consequently it got a better market on the Continent. There is actually a petition in the English archives from the merchants of England to William III asking him point blank to destroy the woollen industry in Ireland. They give their reason: We cannot sell our wool because the Irish wool is better. It sounds very nice. Nowadays they do it more diplomatically. William promised them that on the opening of Parliament he would see what he could do about that. And he did. He put a tax of four shillings a pound on Irish wool. And of course you cannot expect a French merchant to pay that much tax on Irish wool when English wool is much cheaper and only a bit inferior.

ENGLISH POLICY IN IRELAND "DIVIDE AND CONQUER"

And then Pitt began his little tricks. By this time the Irish Volunteers began to admit Catholics to their ranks, and Catholics and Protestants all over the country began to work harmoniously in the ranks of the Volunteers. At this time there was a dispute between Flood and Grattan as to whether they would work first for Catholic emancipation or work first for the development of the franchise and the solidification of the liberty they had won. They disagreed on that point. Grattan was for Catholic emancipation. But as a Catholic I would say that Flood was right.

Q. Senator Walsh: Both Flood and Grattan were Protestants?

A. Oh, yes, they were both Protestants. Catholics had no say whatever for thirty-five years afterwards. Another Protestant, the Earl of Charlemont, was commander-in-chief of the Volunteers.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Was there not a certain class of Protestants disqualified?

A. Oh, yes. Everyone had to be a forty-shilling freeholder in order to vote. There were large masses of the population excluded, even though they were Protestants.

Q. Did Nonconformists vote?

A. Yes. When Catholics finally got the vote, in 1829, there was a rather interesting thing in connection with that. Up to that time it had been forty-shilling freeholders who were allowed to vote. Immediately there was a nice little addition passed. It was not

forty-shilling freeholders any longer, but ten-pound freeholders. The result was to knock out of voting a large part of the Catholic population that did not have ten pounds.

Q. Commissioner Addams: It was true all over the world at that time that there was a property qualification.

A. Yes, but the forty-shilling law held in England. The ten-pound law applied only to Ireland, you see.

The Earl of Charlemont was commander-in-chief of the Volunteers. He was a very good man, no doubt, but he was a very timid man in some respects. He was timid very largely in being afraid of new innovations. He was afraid of Catholic emancipation. And Pitt worked on his horror and dread of Catholic emancipation until he split the Volunteers over it. Always the same British policy—divide and conquer. The Volunteers split over the Earl of Charlemont's resignation. The others wanted to keep the Volunteers intact and have Catholics admitted. The Earl of Charlemont would not have the Catholics admitted, and the Volunteers split over that. The Earl of Charlemont was a timid man who was afraid, even at that time, that the pope would come over and do terrible things in Ireland. Having split the Volunteers, the next thing was to disband them. When Charlemont had them disbanded, those who would not disband formed themselves into United Irishmen, a definite body announcing a Republican policy and declaring for the Irish Republic.

Q. Senator Walsh: What year was that?

A. 1795, 1796, and 1797.

IRELAND'S RIGHT TO SECURE HELP FROM ENGLAND'S ENEMIES

They sent to America for American help and sympathy, and they sent to France, and Napoleon was thinking about helping us. But all the great powers have been willing to help us only when it is for their own interests. I hope America will be an exception to that rule. France was at war with England, and she sent over an expedition to Ireland, just as Germany would have gladly sent over an expedition to Ireland in the present war. Ireland would have welcomed the Germans just as she did the French. She had a right to get any help she could in the struggle with the enemy. Not one of your people would deny that, if you would put justice before everything else. Many people are afraid of the truth. There are a great many good people who will tell the truth and nothing but the truth. But the whole truth sometimes frightens them. And I have been

told that I am likely to alienate a great deal of American sympathy by acknowledging the plain truth that we would have taken German help if we had got it in 1916. If that is so, I ask Americans of that opinion to try and let their sense of justice get the upper hand of their prejudices. The fact that the person who might have helped us was an enemy of their—

Senator Walsh: They were not an enemy of ours then.

The Witness: No, not an enemy of yours then. We were not pro-German in the sense that we wanted Germany instead of England. We were not pro-German in the sense that we wanted Germany to dominate Europe. If Germany had treated us as England has treated us, she would have got the same treatment that we are giving England. I do not want to be misunderstood, and I am not going to purchase your sympathy by the sacrifice of one iota of the truth. The truth is just that. We were pro-Irish always. If in order to help our country an alliance with any other country is necessary, we were perfectly justified in forming that alliance. We would be sorry if that alliance would alienate anybody with whom we want to be friendly. Ireland would always want to be allied with France rather than Germany, because France was near us for many years and Germany was England's first cousin, say what you will. Our natural inclination was to sympathize with France. But if we could have got Germany as our ally in our war with England, we would have taken her. I must say that because I don't want to be afraid of the truth, and I don't want to purchase any sympathy by denying the truth.

Chairman Howe: We were at the Act of Union.

ENGLISH ATROCITIES PROVOKE UPRISING OF 1798 AS EXCUSE FOR ACT OF UNION

The Witness: The Act of Union was passed in that way. First, the Volunteers were alienated from each other. Having alienated them, they were suppressed. A fresh supply of Hessians were brought over and let loose on the country. I cannot dare to tell you of the horrors that were committed by those Hessians and the English yeomen in our own country.

Q. In 1798?

A. Yes, in 1798. When England dares to tell you of the atrocities of other countries, she is simply dishing up some of her own atrocities in Ireland, or perhaps in Egypt and India also.

Now, at that time all the Irish Volunteers who were willing to be Irish first, formed themselves into the secret society of the United

Irishmen. It had to be a secret society, when if it were known to be in existence every member of it would be killed on the spot. They formed their society in secret and then entered into the '98 insurrection for a republic. This was exactly what Pitt wanted. He wanted an insurrection in order to smash the growing liberty of the people and give him an excuse for the Union. History is repeating itself today. In order to get that insurrection, which the people did not want, because they were not ready for an insurrection, he instituted a system of horrors similar to those of the Black-and-Tans today. The English yeomen and Hessians were just like the Black-and-Tans today. Devastations, lootings, murders, and burnings took place all over the country to exasperate the people into insurrection before the people were ready for it. That insurrection followed, and the result was that the Act of Union was passed.

IDENTICAL TACTICS OF LLOYD GEORGE TODAY

You have the same thing being done in Ireland today. Lloyd George wants to get the Irish people into the open again so he can shoot them down. I believe that their prime motive in letting my brother die was just that. Our secret service, you know, has not done badly. They have gotten a lot of information about the enemy's plans. We know that today they want the Volunteers in Ireland to come out into the open. And they thought that since my brother had the confidence and affection of the Volunteers of Cork, that if they let him die, the Volunteers would lose their heads and come out into the open, and then they could shoot them down.

THE ACT OF UNION PASSED BY SMALL MINORITY WITH FRAUD AND PERJURY

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Might we not close the question that one of the members of the Commission has asked about, the Act of Union, when it was passed, and what the circumstances were?

A. Well, I want to give you the exact particulars of the passing of the Union, and I will just recapitulate what the Parliament was at that time. It was purely Protestant. It was made up of Protestant landlords from England—placemen. As Miss Addams has just said, the franchise was not democratic anywhere in the world at that time, and I do not think you had any in America. They had in England, as in Ireland, too, what used to be called pocket boroughs. That is, there were certain districts which returned

parliamentary members where there was really no population at all. There was one district in Ireland, a pocket borough in the possession of a West Briton of that day—that is to say, a man whose interests were centered in England. In that particular district there was a public house and a little hamlet of about ten houses, two of which were inhabited by Protestants. Only two people in that hamlet had the vote, because they were the only Protestants. And they returned two members to Parliament. There were other boroughs in which there were a half dozen houses represented by two or three members.

Q. Senator Walsh: This was the Irish parliament?

A. Oh, yes. But the same thing held true in England.

Q. You are explaining the make-up of the Parliament that passed the Union?

A. Yes, and I am explaining how it was that a Parliament apparently composed of Irishmen passed the Act of Union. I have told you that this Parliament was made up of Irish landlords and English placemen—that is to say, a man who had performed some service for the King, and was given land in Ireland, and was therefore entitled to sit in the Irish House of Parliament. But nobody would call him an Irishman! That Parliament, great as was the work it did, was largely composed of English placemen, and the Patriotic Party was small from the beginning. The Patriotic Party was the Grattan and Flood party. That Patriotic Party was increased, because even these placemen, when they got land in Ireland, wanted the land to be as prosperous as it could. And so, unless they got orders to vote against a measure from the people who gave them their places, they generally voted to help Irish industries. But that was the composition of the Parliament. You can see that it voiced only the minority of the people, because Catholics had no representation at all. In the second place, it voiced only a small minority of that minority. And since there was open voting, no man who had a vote dared vote against his landlord. If he did, then he lost his holding at once. If you quite grasp that, you see it was quite easy to corrupt a parliament of that kind. Pitt began by giving a good many placemen the right to hold land in Ireland. It might be only a few acres: that made no matter; they were land-owners. Then he got these placemen to buy up all the pocket boroughs. You had, we will say, a borough there which contained nobody, but returned two members to Parliament. These were sold for fifty thousand pounds, sixty thousand pounds, or ten thousand pounds only, if they were small ones. But they were openly sold. The transaction of the buying and selling of seats can be found in

certain documents, even to the present day. And anybody who will take the trouble to read the life and letters of Lord Castlereagh, which is published in six volumes, I believe, can see how openly they boasted of the buying and selling of parliamentary seats. There is a poem in Ireland that begins: "How did they pass the Union? By forgery and fraud; by perjury and corruption of every kind." I do not know the rest of it. And when I emphasize that point, I want to emphasize with it that it was not the Irish people who sold their Parliament. The Irish people, the bulk of them, had no voice in their country at all. The majority of the Protestants in the country, who had no franchise, would not have done that.

Now, suppose that tomorrow morning you had a Congress who were in English pay and under English influence. I am only taking that as a supposition. You may be dominated by men under English influence, perhaps, because they have their roots in the *Mayflower*; but they are not in England's pay. But these were men placed in the Irish parliament to vote for what England wanted them to vote for, and they carried out the contract. Suppose that Congress tomorrow passed a vote by a majority handing you over and deciding that you would have a union with England, and that the English king was to be your king again. Or suppose that it passed a vote handing you over to Germany. I do not think the majority of the American people could possibly be said to desire a union with England or Germany under those circumstances. Yet these are the circumstances under which England got the Act of Union passed. She bought up all the pocket boroughs and placed sufficient men in the Irish Parliament to pass the Act of Union. And that was how the Act of Union was passed. When England says, "The Irish people passed the Act of Union and wanted to be united with us," go and tell her to read history—read Lecky, who certainly is not an Irishman. Froude, the historian, will tell the truth. Gladstone himself says it is the blackest stain on England's history, the Act of Union.

ENGLISH DEBT SADDLED ON IRELAND BY FRAUD

And even then they did not keep their word. When they passed the Union they made a solemn promise that the English and Irish exchequers were to be kept separate. The reason was that Ireland had a national debt of two and one-half million pounds. England had a national debt of over two hundred million pounds. Those seem very small sums in today's computations. After the Act of

Union in 1801, Ireland's debt was twenty-one million pounds. Where did it get up to that sum? She bribed these men, England did, in the House of Parliament to pass the Union, and then she paid the bribes out of Irish money. And then she promised that the exchequers would be separate. In 1817 the English national debt, owing to the Napoleonic Wars, had gone up to something like four hundred fifty million pounds. The Irish national debt had gone up, I think, to something like twenty-five million. And England suggested that it would be very nice for Ireland if they amalgamated their exchequers. The Irishmen representing Ireland in the English Parliament at that time did not think it would be nice for Ireland to saddle Ireland with that debt. But of course they were outvoted. So the two exchequers were amalgamated. One clause of the Act of Union was that they should not be amalgamated. But they were amalgamated as soon as it suited England. From that time to the present day Ireland has been in the control of England.

Q. Senator Walsh: Grattan and his party then opposed the Act of Union?

A. Oh, yes; absolutely.

Q. Was it just before the Act of Union that Grattan was carried into the House of Parliament on his sick bed to make his protest?

A. Yes, he was carried in, practically a dying man, and made an eloquent protest against it.

Q. What was the vote? Was it close?

A. I cannot recall it. It was close.

FINANCIAL COMPETENCY OF IRELAND PROVED BY REPORT OF ENGLISH COMMISSION

I would like to say another thing about financial matters of that period. Before the war, while the Home Rule bill was being discussed, we were told that Ireland could not possibly govern herself. As it was, she could not pay her own way; that England had to subsidize her to the extent of half a million a year; and what would she do if she were her own mistress and England would not be able to subsidize her? This was one of the economic points brought up against Irish Home Rule. Ireland never got a subsidy of half a million a year from England. She got it one year, and I will tell you how it happened. The old-age pension was passed, giving to each old person over seventy several shillings a week.

Q. Chairman Howe: This was quite recent?

A. Yes, it was quite recent, but I must go back to give you an idea. You can get from reliable statistics an idea of how many

old people in the country there ought to be. Owing to England's misgovernment of the country and the way she had impoverished it, the proportion of old people in Ireland was perfectly abnormal. All the young men and women had gone out of the country. Indeed, their emigration was encouraged and subsidized by England. In consequence, the proportion of old people was much greater than it was in any other country. The result was that that year there was a deficit of a half million, and England used that one year to say that she was subsidizing the Irish exchequer to the extent of half a million pounds a year.

Q. Chairman Howe: What year was that?

A. That was 1912, I think.

When the Home Rule Bill became an issue of practical politics, they wanted to adjust the financial relations between the two countries, and consequently there was a commission appointed by the King to inquire into the financial condition of Ireland from 1817—that was the date the exchequers were combined—to 1908. That was about one hundred years. This was known as the Childers Commission, presided over by the uncle of the present Erskine Childers. It was an English commission appointed by the King. They went into all the statistics from 1817 to 1908. They published their statistics. That can be found in all the blue books. I am giving you only the results now. They found that from that period Ireland had paid all her own expenses, every single penny—all the expenses, including the army and navy expenses in Ireland, which is not really an Irish expense. She had covered the whole of it, and had in addition paid three hundred sixty-nine million pounds into the English exchequer. So that during the period when we were supposed to be an impoverished country, we had paid three hundred sixty-nine millions into the English treasury.

Q. Chairman Howe: That was from income taxes, excise duties, and so forth?

A. Yes, all the income of the country, after the expenses were paid. And yet England has the impertinence to say that Ireland is a bankrupt country! Those facts are given by the Parliamentary Commission which began sitting in 1908 and reported and gave its findings in 1911. And remember what we had been through during that time—the Tithe War, the Fenian movement, the Land Wars, and all those experiences. We had been through the terrible period of the famine. And yet all that expense was paid for by Ireland, and that three hundred sixty-nine million pounds left over. I think that when we send out the army of occupation, we are entitled to get back that three hundred sixty-nine million pounds.

Senator Walsh: Let us get ours first.

The Witness: Yes, we will forgive her every penny of it if she will only take out her army and let us alone.

I would like to suggest that the first relief ship that came to relieve the distress of America came from Ireland.

BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF LAND ACTS WRESTED FROM ENGLAND

Mr. F. P. Walsh: You might discuss, while we are on this point, some of the great benefit that has been given to the people of Ireland by allowing them to purchase their land.

Q. Chairman Howe: When you discuss that, will you not discuss that land levy, please? How much alien landlordism still exists, how the people were allowed to purchase land, and so forth?

A. I will do my best, but I cannot be very accurate on percentages. The landlord question was very vital to us. While it was a sectional war, yet the goal all the time was freedom, and therefore those of you who have gone into the study of history a bit, just take a broad view of that. It was necessary to get it done, and we do not worry very much about statistics. But I will do my best.

The land acts have been very beneficial to the country. But they were not passed by England to benefit the country. They were passed by the campaign in Ireland of Parnell and the Land League, in the early eighties, I believe. That part of history has not been written yet, at least not very fully. I have never read it, at least. I cannot give you full details, but this, at all events, is the outline of it. When Parnell carried on his Constitutional Movement, he felt that it was very necessary to get the land for the people. The farmers could do nothing, because if there was an adverse vote in the district against a landowner's plans or against England, the farmers all got notice of ejection. They had no security of tenure for their lands. It certainly was a wise move for the people to get the land tenure fixed. But England never gave those land acts as an act of justice. When the Fenians blew up Clerkenwell prison, Gladstone took it into his head in 1871 that there was something behind the movement, and he had better do something for those people. I could not give the details of that Act, but I will come to the last Act, the Wyndham Act, which has been very beneficial.

Q. Chairman Howe: What date?

A. In 1903, I think. That Act has been very beneficial. It has enabled the farmers to buy out their land. They could pay rent

for twenty or twenty-five years, and at the end of that time their land was their own.

Q. Senator Walsh: They paid so much on the principal as well as the interest?

A. Yes. Immediately that Act was passed, the farmers started to improve their land. They did not do it before, because they had no security of tenure. Do you know, in that period if a mother put a clean pinafore on her child, she had her rent raised from two to ten pounds a year. And any woman would say, "Is it not better for a child to have a dirty pinafore than to have the rent raised?" And that is why you hear the Irish described as a lazy, dirty people sometimes.

Q. Chairman Howe: Did that apply to the whole country?

A. Yes, to Ulster just as much as the rest. That Land Act gave the people the right to purchase their farms. The instant the farmers could purchase, they went on improving and improving and improving. Why? Because they knew they were doing that for their sons and their daughters, and they knew they would not be thrown out of it next week. If a man put a new paling up around his field, he knew that his rent would go up several pounds the next week, and consequently the paling was not put up. If too many improvements were made, the farmer could be ejected and lose them all. But the moment the farmers got their security, they improved their farms. And consequently you have a good many prosperous farms all over Ireland today.

Q. How many farms have been converted in that way up to today? Two-thirds of them?

A. I don't know. Perhaps.

Senator Walsh: It is not as much as that.

Q. Chairman Howe: And it has led to improvements?

A. Yes. But the buildings! Some of them are very ugly. They do not build their houses beautiful. I wish we had a law to make them. At all events, the houses are comfortable, well built, and much better than the old unhygienic detached buildings.

Q. How prosperous is the agricultural population of Ireland today?

A. Of course, the agricultural population benefited by the war, as all agricultural populations did. They got high prices for their crops, as all of them did. Some of them were unpatriotic enough to sell too much of the country's food, and some of them had to be stopped. I do not know whether you know of the incident that happened in Dublin when the Volunteers stopped the exportation of food because they were sending too much of it away. A gentle-

man in this country now, Mr. Lynch, was our food controller at the time, and he ordered that no more pigs should be exported. But the people did not think that the Irish government would have to be obeyed. There was a large consignment of pigs going off to England one night, and the food controller ordered them to be stopped. The pigs were taken off and turned into an abattoir and slaughtered, and the price was paid to the owner. That had to be done in a summary fashion, but it was a necessary act of government.

ENGLAND PLACES EMBARGO ON BEST IRISH PORT

Q. There have been a number of statements made about economic embargoes on Ireland by the British government. Can you tell us anything about them?

A. I know they have put an embargo on everything they could. They have put an embargo on our best port, the port of Queenstown. Once Queen Victoria visited us, and the sycophantic council of that day (for then it was only that kind they could get into the council) ordered in her honor that the port should be called Queenstown. But we do not recognize it as Queenstown. I would like our friends in America to get into the habit of calling it Cove, the Irish name for it.

MONEY ADVANCED TO FARMERS UNDER LAND ACTS NOT AN ENGLISH GIFT

There was a question about one hundred million pounds loaned to farmers in Ireland. That one hundred million pounds was very beneficial, but I would like you to understand that the security given by the farmers was quite adequate, and that the people who are paying the money are Irish. It was advanced by England for the time being, but it is Ireland that is paying the debt. But do not let them hypnotize you into believing that that money was given by England, for it was not. England and France borrowed huge sums from America during the war, and they borrowed it without giving you security. But you do not say that you have given them a present of all their war debt. And this loan is very largely paid back already, and paid back out of Irish money.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: And it was paid back to absentee landlords and those who have succeeded to their estates, was it not?

A. Yes. And there is a very large number of farms where the payments have been completed, and that money has all gone back

to England. I believe the great bulk of that money has been already paid back.

Q. Chairman Howe: To what extent has alien landlordism prevailed as it did in the Hungry Forties?

A. Not much. There are very few big landlords today. They may spend a part of the year in England or abroad, but generally those that are left spend a part of the year in Ireland. The alien landlord of the early nineteenth century has gone. There are very few of them left now.

Q. That question does not figure at all any more?

A. No, not much any more.

Now, about the embargoes. I wish I had Mr. Fawcitt here. He has all that on his fingertips and could give it better than I.

Senator Walsh: He is coming, I believe.

The Witness: Will you ask him, then?

Chairman Howe: I did not know but what you are familiar with the industrial issues.

The Witness: I am, but I cannot give you exact figures as he could.

ORGANIZATION OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT FOLLOWS ELECTION VICTORY

Q. Senator Walsh: Miss MacSwiney, I would like to have you give us for the record just when there was organized in Ireland the *de facto* Republican government, who organized it, how long the Parliament continued to meet in the open, when it began to meet secretly, and if it is meeting now, how long it will continue.

A. I would like to answer the last question first, because it is meeting and will continue to do so.

Q. I would like to get in the record how much of local government there is and how it is functioning, and if it will continue to function.

A. The Republic was declared in 1916, but for two years there was no government to function, until the general election of 1918.

Q. In other words, you made your declaration of independence in 1916, but it took you two years to get your government organized so that it could function openly?

A. Exactly. There were seven Irish Volunteer leaders in the Dublin General Postoffice on Easter Monday in 1916, who in the name of the Republican Army declared Ireland a free and independent Republic. They were Padraic Pearse, Thomas Clarke,

John MacDermott, Connolly, Kent, Plunkett, and MacDonagh, and they were all executed for it afterwards.

Q. Chairman Howe: They were executed for that offense—for signing your declaration of independence?

A. Yes, that was the chief thing for which they were executed.

Q. Senator Walsh: The elections took place in 1918?

A. Yes. And immediately after the general elections the Republican Parliament got busy.

Q. Were the members of that Republican Parliament the Republican members who were elected to the British Parliament from the boroughs or constituencies in Ireland?

A. Yes.

Q. So that upward of seventy-five men who received a majority as Republican members of the British Parliament at London from Ireland, these men met to form the Irish *de facto* Government?

A. Right, quite right.

Q. How many altogether were elected from Irish constituencies to the British Parliament?

A. One hundred and three.

Q. How many of that number met in Dublin, or wherever they met afterwards, to organize the Republican Government of Ireland?

A. I think that at the very first meeting of Dail Eireann there were only 37, for all the others were in jail.

Q. How many joined in the call? I want it for the record.

A. I think it was 37.

Q. How many went to England?

A. None of the Republicans went to England. The only Irish who went were the Redmondites and the Carsonites.

Q. It was alleged in America that sixty or seventy or so did not go to the British Parliament, and joined, either *de facto* or in person, to the call for an independent Parliament.

A. Yes. You see, there were seventy-five members elected, but some of them were elected from two or three constituencies. President de Valera was elected from three constituencies.

Q. How many constituencies were represented at the first meeting, either by those present in person or in jail?

A. I suppose it would be about sixty-nine men, but the constituencies represented were seventy-five.

Q. So that seventy-five constituencies out of one hundred three representatives to get a Republican organization?

A. Yes.

IRISH PARLIAMENT MEETS OPENLY UNTIL PROSCRIBED

Q. Where did they meet?

A. In the Mansion House in Dublin.

Q. But some of them were not there, because they were in jail.

A. Yes. President de Valera was in jail, and my brother was in jail, and a number of others at that time.

Q. What steps did they take? Was this first meeting in the open?

A. Yes, oh, yes.

Q. Now, give us the history of that organization. It is very important.

A. As so many were in prison, the government elected was only provisional. Because you must remember that the cream of the men were in jail, and those who were left felt that they should wait until they got all their comrades together before electing a regular government. So they elected only a provisional government. That was in January, 1919. In March there was a general amnesty. It was in connection with the German plot idea of May, 1918, that they were put into prison. In March, 1919, they let them all out. And then they had the election of the Irish Government. President de Valera was elected president, and Arthur Griffith was elected vice-president; and the names of the others I would rather not give for state reasons. Some of them are known and some of them are not known.

Q. But a complete organization was effected?

A. A complete organization was effected, and the first resolution to be passed was that Irish would be spoken in the Irish Parliament, although English could not under the circumstances be excluded entirely, and that all the records of the Parliament should be in Irish. English could not be kept out altogether, because some of the older men could not learn to speak Irish. But all the records are in Irish, and all who can speak Irish use it.

Q. How long did they continue to function openly in the eyes of the British officials?

A. I think the first attempt to smother them up was on the occasion of the American delegation's visit to Ireland in 1919. Senator Frank Walsh, you were on that delegation, I think.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: No, I'm not a senator.

The Witness: I got mixed up, and it doesn't matter. Coming events cast their shadows before, perhaps.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Not for those who are here, with all due deference to them.

The Witness: You see, the Irish Parliament only held a few sessions in the open; and then the word was passed around that there was going to be a meeting of Dail Eireann, and the public was admitted. But the enemy did not get word beforehand. They really held their meetings in public for twelve months, or nearly twelve months at any rate. But they have been able to do almost as much meeting in secret. They immediately compiled statistics as to the conditions of the fisheries and of agriculture, and the condition of the ports, and the improvements that could be made. They have done all the ordinary work of government, and have done it very well and very effectively.

NINE-TENTHS OF LOCAL COUNCILS RENOUNCE ALLEGIANCE TO BRITAIN

Senator Walsh: Up to this time the municipal and county council members had not declared themselves openly and publicly as to whether they were still holding allegiance to the British Government or not?

A. That is quite true.

Q. Then the elections came, in 1920, when that issue was presented for all candidates for office in Ireland?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you kindly state how many elected members to the municipal councils and county councils declared under oath their abandonment of allegiance to the British Government and swore their allegiance to the Irish Republic?

A. All the county councils in the south and west of Ireland, in what are called the chief provinces, and I think three or four in Ulster. But all of the south and west.

Q. What per cent. would that be?

A. That would be twenty-seven out of thirty-two.¹ There are thirty-two counties in Ireland. There are nine in Ulster. Out of that nine in Ulster, there were four, I think—I am pretty certain of four—that declared themselves for Dail Eireann.

Q. Senator Walsh: I have seen the statement in some English paper that ninety-one per cent. of county and municipal councils had declared their allegiance to the Irish Republic.

A. It was fully ninety-one per cent.¹

¹ See note, page 155.

Q. So that in 1920 you had, in addition to the Irish national Parliament, some ninety-one per cent. of the municipal and county councils recognizing the Irish Government and declaring that they no longer gave allegiance to the English Government?

A. Right.

REPUBLICAN COURTS SUPPLANT ENGLISH JUDICIARY

Q. Now, to what extent did the courts and judicial functions of Ireland pass from the control of the British government to the Irish government itself?

A. It passed almost absolutely.

Q. Give us the figures, please.

A. I do not know what you mean by figures. Wherever the Irish Republicans gained the elections—

Q. What I want to do is to get what you claim the facts are, so that your friends in America can get the truth.

A. Wherever the councils had declared allegiance to Dail Eireann—that was in ninety-one per cent. of the counties—the courts were established immediately. At first the courts were not noticed very much by the British Government. She did not like them, but she had no law which could absolutely forbid them. Arbitration courts were legal. And these courts, under the head of arbitration courts, began their functioning.

Q. So that ninety-one per cent. of the elected representatives of the people established arbitration courts?

A: Yes, certainly. But you must remember that they came on only gradually.

Q. Yes, I understand. But previous to this movement the judicial control of Ireland was never a matter of local control; it was always a matter of British control?

A. Yes, always.

Q. So that the entire judiciary was appointed by the British Government?

A. Yes.

Q. So what became of them?

A. They sat in state in empty courts, surrounded by barbed wire and soldiers. And they waited for cases, and none came. In one case—I would like to have you notice that when the judge came to the city he was always lodged at one of the friendly houses in the city, in what would correspond to your Four Hundred, I suppose. And when the arbitration courts began to function, the Irish Parlia-

ment said that these judges were forbidden to hold their courts. The result was that when the judge came to Cork there was no lodging for him. He could not sleep in the barracks, because it was against English law in some way. And so he had to sleep in the courthouse.

Q. So that in Cork there was not only no court for the judge, but not even a bed?

A. Yes, not even a bed.

Q. Chairman Howe: Were there no hotels?

A. There are hotels, but the judge, you see, in Ireland is always an obnoxious person. You see, he was in the pay of the enemy, and he was doing the enemy's business, and he always came surrounded with a great deal of police and military. And so he did not consider it safe to stay in the hotel.

Q. How many of these judges have resigned their positions?

A. Many of the magistrates have resigned. They sit in the petty courts.

Q. Are they elected officials?

A. No. The Local Government Bill gave the right for nationalists to become J. P.'s. But they have many of them resigned now.

Q. But the judiciary, the English judiciary has practically disappeared?

A. Yes. But they sit there yet for purposes of state, I think.

Q. Senator Walsh: Now let us come to the police force. To what extent does the old Irish police force, the Royal Irish Constabulary, exist to this day? To what extent has the old Royal Irish Constabulary disappeared by resignations or by severing allegiance to the British crown, and gone over to the Republican movement?

A. Several hundreds of them have resigned. I do not know how many of them have gone over to the Republican movement. They have not gone over as police. They would not be accepted as police. They have been trained very largely as spies, and they have been trained to spy on each other. When we set up a police force, it will be a police force such as the R. I. C. never was.

Q. That force has largely broken down?

A. Yes, although it has been largely recruited from England.

Q. Commissioner Wood: I would like to ask Miss MacSwiney a question in regard to the resident magistrates. The resident magistrate is a paid official?

A. Yes, he is a paid official appointed by the British Government.

Q. What has become of them?

A. They have continued to sit in their courts. If a policeman

catches something like a petty thief, he will bring them up before the court. But the court is empty most of the time.

Q. Have not many of them resigned?

A. No, not many. They have nice, comfortable jobs, you know, and are always selected from the anti-Irish population. Not many of them have resigned.

AUTHORITY OF REPUBLICAN COURTS DERIVED FROM UNANIMOUS CONSENT OF PEOPLE

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Does the authority of the Irish courts rest upon the consent of the people or upon some other force?

A. Upon the consent of the population entirely. And I do not think anything could show the truth about the false contention put out by England that we are not a law-abiding people better than the success of these courts, with only moral force, in many cases, to enforce their decrees. We are a law-abiding people absolutely, if we are given a chance to have our own laws.

I would like to stress the good the courts did in bringing together the people. Unionists brought their cases to the Irish courts. Protestants brought their cases to the Irish courts. And although they may not have ceased to be Unionists, they have come to the conclusion that if they want their claims settled, they must bring them into the Republican courts. There was one case where a Protestant landlord had a case which he felt he must have settled, and so he took it to the Irish courts. And his friends were shocked, and remonstrated. And he said, "I do not care. If I take it into the English courts I might get a just judgment, but it will not be obeyed. And if I take it into the Irish courts I will get a just judgment and it will be obeyed." And he did get a just judgment and it was obeyed.

There is a rather interesting incident in connection with those courts. Three men were arrested for breaking down a wall. They were convicted in a Republican court. One consented to repair the damage, and the other two refused. We have no jails. However, it happened to be on the coast of Galway. So these gentlemen were taken to one of these islands off the coast of Galway. They were given food and everything, for we believe in treating our prisoners humanely. After a couple of days the British police heard where they were, and went out in a boat to rescue them. But when the British police came out, these prisoners stoned the police and said to go away, that they were prisoners of the Irish republic and would not be molested.

REMARKABLE ABSENCE OF CRIME IN IRELAND

Q. Senator Walsh: Is nearly all the civil litigation and criminal litigation carried on in these Irish courts,—in the Republican courts of Ireland?

A. The civil litigation altogether. The criminal litigation would be a burden if there were much of it. But it is not an excessive exaggeration to say that there is no crime in Ireland. That would be true before the trouble started rather than now, since the Black-and-Tans came. In Ireland there is a custom that when a judge goes on circuit and has no serious cases to try, he is presented with a pair of white kid gloves. And there were sessions after sessions where the judges going around their circuits got white kid gloves. They often made a joke about it, that the judges should set up a glove shop. And that is an absolute fact. There may be little petty larceny cases and breach of promises and the like, and I think that is about the most serious thing. We occasionally have a murder case, but very, very rarely.

BRITISH JUSTICE PERVERTED FOR POLITICAL ENDS

And with a view to the English support of law and order in Ireland, I would like to tell of the last murder case before I left Ireland. A man named Quaid in County Clare in Ireland, a man without a good reputation, a blustering sort of a bully who took England's part in the war and advocated recruiting, and did his very best to get recruits for her. He was a man with a very hot temper. And sometime about a year and a half ago,—he was a publican, a saloon keeper—and he kicked one of his bar attendants to death. She was a woman. Kicked her to death absolutely. She was found dead in the yard the next morning. That man deserved to be hanged in any civilized country. His counsel made a very long speech in his behalf, showing that he was a very loyal subject, that he had done a great deal of recruiting for the army and had gotten a great many recruits, and that he asked for a light sentence.

Q. Senator Walsh: This was in the British courts?

A. Yes, in the British courts. He got a sentence of twelve months as a first-class misdemeanor, which meant that he could have his friends visit him, and his own clothes, and all the other privileges except that of walking out when he liked. So he got twelve months, when men who were found with revolvers in their pockets—which it is the right of a free man to carry if he likes—get from two to five years penal servitude. He got twelve months in

the most comfortable prison they had. And the judge, in passing sentence, said they would make him as comfortable as they possibly could. Six weeks afterwards the man was released. I believe he developed a headache or something like that. That is the way the English keep law and order in our country.

Again, three policemen were caught red-handed in Aghada, not far from Cork, in the act of stealing. There were Americans there, and the policemen were accused and found guilty of stealing their property. About two months after that the Americans cleared out. They got a sentence of nine months each, I believe. But three days after your boys cleared out, they were released. That is keeping law and order.

CRIMINALS SENT TO IRELAND AS SPIES AND BLACK-AND-TANS

Another case of law and order I would like to mention is that of Hardy. Perhaps you have heard of that before. It was in all the papers of England and Ireland. It was the case of a spy. That man got five years penal servitude, and the judge who sentenced him said his record was the very worst that he had ever come across in all his years of experience on the bench. About five months after he was incarcerated, he was released and sent to Ireland to see how many Sinn Feiners he could spy upon. He was sent to find out who the Sinn Fein leaders were, how they made their remarkable escapes, and if they could not get hold of them. He visited Mr. Arthur Griffith and said that he had been a secret service man, and that his sympathies were very much for Ireland, and that he would like to help them if he could. He said that he knew all the movements of the enemy. He could tell them where Mr. Hamar Greenwood could be found if it was thought advisable to have him visit another planet, and he knew where Mr. Lloyd George could be found if they wanted to get him. Mr. Griffith listened to him very attentively and asked a few questions. What the man wanted was to get in touch with the Sinn Fein council. So Mr. Griffith listened to him apparently very favorably, and said, "Come back tomorrow morning and we will see what can be done to put your information before the council." And then Mr. Griffith said when he came back, "I have arranged a meeting for you, and you be here tomorrow afternoon and we will see what can be done." He did arrange a meeting, not of the Sinn Fein Council, but of some newspaper correspondents, of some American and French and Danish and other correspondents. He had the only English newspaper man in Ireland he could trust,

the London *Daily Herald* man. And of course he had some Irishmen. And they sat around and acted like a Sinn Fein council. But in case their accents might betray them, it was agreed that only the Irishmen should speak at all. Hardy was asked to tell his story. He said that on a certain night on Kingstown pier Sir Hamar Greenwood would be crossing to England, and it would be easy to get him. He was quite nervous when he started, but as he got along he got very fluent. When he got through Mr. Griffith got up and said, "Mr. Hardy, you think you have been speaking to a Sinn Fein Council. You have been speaking to a number of foreign press correspondents. They doubtless know already who sent you here. And now I want them to know your record." And he gave them all his record, and gave him until nine o'clock in the evening to get out of the country. Hardy begged to have until eight o'clock the next morning, and this was granted; but he was advised not to be found in Ireland after eight o'clock the next morning.

This is the way the English keep law and order in Ireland. They take criminals out of the jails and send them to spy on the Irish. And they take them out of the jails and make Black-and-Tans of them. There is a friend of mine who was temporarily the prison physician at Portland prison, and one day he met a man on the street in the Black-and-Tan uniform and stopped him and said, "Where did I meet you?" And the man said, "Oh, doctor, don't you know? I was at Portland prison when you were the prison physician." That is the way we get English law and order in Ireland. Most of the criminals are sent in from the outside. We have no trouble except where the British forces make it.

Q. Chairman Howe: Is that due to the Irish character, or is that due to the fact that they are banded together in this common cause where they must protect one another, or is it historically true?

A. It is historically true. There was at one time a great deal of drunkenness in the country, but the Volunteer movement killed that. The people are intensely serious now. The work of our courts is really very light.

BRITISH ENDEAVOR TO SUPPRESS REPUBLICAN COURTS

Q. Senator Walsh: Do these courts have to meet in secret?

A. Now they do.

Q. How long were they in the open?

A. They were in the open until about, I think, the time of my brother's arrest. There was a court going on that night. They are

open now to those who want to go into them. The Irish public knows where they are.

Q. And others than the Irish can go into them?

A. Yes, but not too openly, for then the police or the military would come in and break things up.

Q. But they are going on now?

A. Oh, yes. But the British authorities have put them down and declared them illegal.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: The British Government specifically declared them illegal. They were afraid they were getting too much power, because not only the Republicans used them, but they were used by the Unionists and by the people all over the country.

The Witness: I have been asked to say something here about the burning of creameries and destruction in general; the circumstances under which the Coercion bill went into effect, as well as the exact circumstances of my brother's case; and the shooting of police.

I would like to say as quickly as possible with regard to the shooting of policemen. I am most anxious to speak to the Commission on that point. I have been told ever since I have come to this country that there were three things that were a great stumbling block to American sympathy in the Irish situation. The first was that it was a religious fight. The second was that the Irish were murdering policemen. And the third was the difficulty of giving Britain guarantees that we would not molest her or let our coast be used for purposes of military aggression.

RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTY CREATED BY ENGLAND

With regard to the religious difficulty, there isn't any, except what England creates. The religious difficulty of today is created exactly as she created the religious difficulty with the Earl of Charlemont in 1797 and smashed the Irish Volunteers. She keeps alive the religious issue in Belfast for her own purposes. But there is no trouble among the people otherwise.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: What is your history in Cork? Will you kindly state if there has ever been any trouble there and what per cent. of the people are Catholic?

A. I suppose that the per cent. of the population that is non-Catholic would be about ten per cent. The Jews have their synagogue, the Nonconformists have their church. The Church of Ireland, which has been disestablished and is the Episcopalian Church, have their churches. The Protestants of Cork all have their churches just like the Catholics, only they are not so numerous.

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE OF IRISH PROVED BY HISTORY AND EXPERIENCE

There never has been any persecution of the Protestants in Cork. If we wanted to persecute Protestants, we could persecute them and make it too hot for them very effectively. But the very biggest business houses in the city are owned by Protestants. For a long time they employed only Protestants. That does not hold any longer now. They have become more broad-minded and less bigoted. But the only bigotry shown in Cork has been shown by Protestants. A business house needing help would put up a sign in the window, "No Irish Catholic need apply." Personally I would feel like doing something to such people, but the population of Cork did not. The Protestant population of Cork, if asked individually, could never prove a single case of aggression on the part of the Catholic population. If you went through the whole length and breadth of Ireland, you could not find a case where the Catholics were the aggressors. If they are attacked, they will answer back, the same as other people would. But Ireland has been remarkably free from religious persecutions. The Irish people seem to be unable to do otherwise. We are the only nation in the whole wide world that accepted Christianity without murdering the first apostles. We are the only nation in the whole world that does not show in its history some early persecutions for religious heresies.

Q. Mr. Frank P. Walsh: Do you have a Jewish quarter in Cork,—a Ghetto?

A. It is not called a Ghetto. It has the curious name of the Hibernian Buildings.

Q. Commissioner Addams: You never have had an anti-Semitic movement in Ireland?

A. We never have had a religious persecution movement of any kind whatever.

Q. But they did that in England.

A. Yes, but England has often endeavored to have persecutions in Ireland without any success whatever. Queen Mary in England started to persecute the Protestants in England. She issued the same writ for the Pale, the district she owned in Ireland. The writ was obeyed in England. It was not obeyed in the Irish Pale. The Catholic Irish citizens refused to persecute their own fellow citizens. And Protestant citizens by the hundreds left England and went to Ireland for safety.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: But there never has been any persecution, even of the Jews?

A. No.

Q. But there is a large Jewish quarter in Dublin, I think.

A. Yes, the Jews have a habit of creeping in, you know. But they are quite harmless. As a matter of fact, the Jewish population and the Jewish synagogue in Cork sent us one of the nicest expressions of sympathy on the death of my brother that we had from anybody.

We will not persecute anybody. There are very few people in Ireland, even the people who shout loudest, who believe in religious persecution. The Orange section in the north of Ireland are a very ignorant type of people. They are more like the lower class of England than they are like the Irish. But it is true that they have the idea very firmly fixed in their heads that the pope is going to come over to Ireland and persecute all the Protestants. Of course it is nonsense, but it is one of those ideas that are very difficult to get out of their heads. When the English army of occupation is withdrawn that will disappear. As for not coming under the Irish Parliament, they will have to. We are not going to have anything like Englishmen in our country. We will give them any kind of guarantees they like, but we will give it to them and not to the English.

So much for the religious difficulty. The fact that there will not be any religious persecution under the Irish Government can be proved only by experience. We know there will not be.

Q. Senator Walsh: To what extent have Catholic constituencies elected Protestants to represent them in the British Parliament and on the county and city councils?

A. Very many of them.

Q. Have you had Protestant mayors of Cork?

A. Yes, the third last was a Protestant.

Q. Have you other Protestant officials?

A. Yes, the senior alderman is a Protestant.

Q. Who is he?

A. Alderman Beamish.

Q. Is he a Unionist?

A. Yes.

Q. Is it true all over the Catholic part of Ireland that they have elected mayors repeatedly who have not been of the Catholic faith?

A. It is true, true repeatedly, that a Protestant is elected if he is the best man. But they would not elect a Unionist at all, no matter what his religion was. Thomas Davis said in one of his poems: "There art two great parties in the end. You are one with us if you are Ireland's friend." If a man is for Ireland, we never ask

him his religion. If he is a Catholic and we knew that he was against Ireland, out he would go. It is Ireland that matters.

ULSTER RELIGIOUS ISSUE MAINTAINED TO PREVENT ORGANIZATION OF WORKERS

Q. Commissioner Maurer: To come back to the industries. The textile industries of Ireland, where do they exist?

A. In the south of Ireland and Belfast and Balbriggan. The hosiery factory at Balbriggan that was destroyed lately was owned by an Englishman and a Unionist. But of course the injury to him was unintended. The factory was burned to destroy the industry of the town.

Q. Did that give employment to many people?

A. Yes, to several hundreds. It is the main industry of that town.

Q. Are you acquainted in the north?

A. Not very well.

Q. Do you know whether these textile workers are organized into labor unions?

A. They are, but they ignore their unions when the time comes to have a fight against the Catholics.

Q. In the north of Ireland are they organized?

A. There are trade unions in the north of Ireland, but they are spoiled by this bigotry.

Q. Do you not think that perhaps these religious differences may be more economic than political; that those who profit by keeping these employees divided, by keeping them unorganized, wherever there is an effort made to improve their standard of living, they simply start a religious war among them and make organization impossible?

A. Yes, that is largely true. But the main interest in Ireland is not a capitalistic one. It is a political one. It is England versus Ireland all the time.

Q. Yes, but now the burning down of that mill was not political. That was owned by a British capitalist.

A. Yes, that was Mr. Smith.

Q. Yes. That was simply to harass the people who worked there?

A. Yes. It was not an attack on the individual owner. It was simply the English policy of starvation. They are trying to throw the people out of work and prevent them getting food and starve them into submission.

Q. I have been informed that labor organizers in the north of Ireland are endeavoring to organize the Protestants. In previous years they have endeavored to organize both Catholics and Protestants. This time they said, we will organize the Protestants and we can get the Catholics later. Then when the employers heard of it they told the Protestant employees that it was a Catholic trick. So the regular organizers went over to organize the Catholics, and then the employers told the Catholics that it was a Protestant trick. Do you not think that it was a game of playing the parties off against each other?

A. Yes, but the fundamental difference is political.

Q. Yes, but the religious differences are inspired more by the economic than by the political issues.

A. Yes, that is quite possible.

IRELAND WILLING TO GUARANTEE PORTS WILL NOT BE USED BY ENGLAND'S FOES

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Now, I handed you a list of questions.

A. Yes. I have discussed the first. That one, the religious difficulty, does not exist. I will take the next one, the guarantee for England's supremacy, I shall say, or England's safety.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: They call it safety.

The Witness: They call it safety. Our President took lately the first paragraph of the new agreement made with Cuba by the United States. It is a guarantee that the ports of Cuba will not be given to any foreign power or used in any way that would injure the United States. I am not sure of the wording of it. But the point is this: that we are perfectly willing to give a promise that we will not let any other foreign power, or any power, use our ports as a war base.

Q. Senator Walsh: Against Great Britain?

A. Yes. We are perfectly willing to give that guarantee and to keep it, because when we get our Republic, we are not going to go to war with anybody. Neither will we allow our ports to be used by one big nation that wants to make war on another big nation. England says that is not enough. If it is not enough, she will have to do without. She is not going to keep us perpetually in slavery. England will have to be satisfied with what is right from us. She will have to be satisfied with justice to our interests as well as hers. We will be perfectly willing to be good friends and forget the past, provided she clears out and leaves us alone. If, as Lloyd George said some time ago, England will never agree to an Irish Republic

until England is beaten to the ground, well, I am very sorry, because England will have to be beaten to the ground. And perhaps Macaulay's traveler, who stood on London bridge and looked on the ruins of St. Paul's, is already on the horizon. At any event, we are going to get our freedom. England cannot keep us in slavery. You cannot keep in slavery a people every individual of whom is willing to die for the principle of freedom. So much for the third point.

SHOOTING OF BRITISH POLICE WARRANTED BY RULES OF WAR

The second thing I was asked is about what is called often the murdering of policemen. Here it is called the shooting of policemen. I will simply take the murders of policemen by denying that there ever has been a policeman murdered in Ireland. Now I will deal with the shooting of policemen. Will you please start out with the premise that Ireland and England are at war. One of the instances about the shooting of policemen was the ambush of seventeen Black-and-Tans last week at a place not far from Mallow, when the whole seventeen of them were captured, sixteen of them killed, and the seventeenth very severely wounded. That was put down as a very horrible murder. Suppose that in the recent war an American scouting party went out on a Belgian road and got information that three or four lorries of German soldiers carrying ammunition were coming along the road. If they felt strong enough, and if they were very plucky,—perhaps even if they did not feel strong enough, they would get into a nice little ambush and they would give the best account of that German party that they possibly could. I think you will agree with me that that is a statement of what would happen. Would you do anything but laugh at any man that would call that ambush party murder? Of course it is not a murder. It is an act of war. The Black-and-Tans were armed to the teeth. I should like to tell you how the Black-and-Tans go around the streets of our cities and country places. Four or five days ago there was an ambush at Bandon, and in that ambush our men got the worst of it,—four or five of our men were killed. You will not find any Irish citizen coming before this Commission and claiming that these men were murdered. Why? Because it was an act of war. It was the shooting of one set of soldiers by another set of soldiers. I think there is an incident in American history known as the Boston Massacre. I am not quite conversant with American history. I know a fair share of it, but I feel diffident about talking

American history in your presence. But I think that in that Boston Massacre two or three or perhaps more British officers were shot, and perhaps several civilians. I think that the shooting of those officers was described as murder, and the shooting of the civilians was described as the shooting of rascally rebels. Do you agree that the shooting of those officers was murder? You may do so if you wish. I do not. I do not agree that the shooting of any of the armed forces of the British Crown while they are armed is murder. It is not. I will tell you this: every single individual in the enemy's uniform who passes through the streets and roads of our country by that act commits an act which by the laws of international warfare renders him worthy of death. Any German soldier who went out in the streets of Belgium during the late war was shot if his enemy could shoot him. I think that a little clear thinking on these points would be advisable before we are accused of wholesale murder.

NO UNARMED POLICEMAN SHOT UNLESS A PROVED SPY

I have also been told that individual policemen who were unarmed have been shot. That is also true. Now I will tell you who those individual policemen are. I was asked a little while ago about the police in Ireland. The police in any civilized country are a civil force under the control of the civil authorities, and that civil force deals with offences against the civil law only. The police in Ireland have always been under the authority of the British Government. They have not always carried arms, because there have been times when we were not in a state of war. But they carry arms at present, and therefore they are among the armed forces of the Crown. Among the Royal Irish Constabulary was a division known as the G Division. Their work was purely detective work. The people they were sent to spy upon were our fellow citizens. And that went on during every political agitation in Ireland. During the present war, since 1916—since 1914, in fact—the police in that G Division were very active. I am sorry to have to acknowledge that they were Irishmen. That only makes them greater sinners. No one is held in greater horror and contempt than Judas, and every one of those men was a Judas because he betrayed his own. In that G Division were men who were expert spies, because they were people that mixed freely with the Irish people and picked up information from girls whom they met and other people, and they gave that information to the British Government, and that information led very often to the arrest and imprisonment of their fellow coun-

trymen. Therefore they were spies. In the recent times in Ireland, when the times got very hot, these spies have done very good work for the English Government in Ireland. One of our leaders who was executed in 1916 was executed through one of those spies, who has himself been shot since. During Easter Week some of the Volunteers were anxious to shoot down every policeman, every police spy, that is—every policeman of the G Division; but the leaders, Pearse and MacDermott, said, “No, this is a clean fight, and we will deal with them afterwards.” There was one detective who was very active in tracking down our men. His life was saved by John MacDermott, one of the signatories of the Irish Declaration of Independence. John MacDermott was a very young man, and he was very lame. As a soldier he would be considered as among the unfit in any army in the world. But he was one of the greatest workers we had. Because of his lameness the military officers who captured the people after Easter Week came to the conclusion that he could not be one of the leaders, and so he was thrown into the barracks along with the rank and file, and he was put in the batch to be sent to the Wakefield prison in England. They were paraded in the Richmond barrack yards before leaving Dublin, and this particular detective was sent up and down the ranks to see if there was any man there who ought to get penal servitude rather than deportation. And in going up and down the ranks he saw John MacDermott, and he pointed him out to the British authorities as one of the seven signatories of the Irish Declaration of Independence. And John MacDermott was taken out and shot a few days afterwards.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Was this the man whose life he had saved?

A. This was the very man whose life he saved. And that man has subsequently been shot, and shooting was too gentle a death for such a wretch.

No unarmed policeman has been shot in Ireland unless he has been proved a spy. And he has been proved a spy on good evidence. Our Irish Secret Service, like other divisions of the Irish Government, is rather efficient. We have captured the official and private correspondence of Lord French, and we have sent back his personal correspondence marked “Censored by the I. R. A.” His official correspondence he did not get back. The official correspondence we have captured from time to time has been conclusive evidence that there are spies at work among us. One morning a policeman coming along from the general postoffice with a mail bag was stopped on the street by two Volunteers and relieved of his mail bag. It is not always done as openly as that on the streets at eight o'clock in the morning. He was sent home without his mail bag. That mail

bag contained conclusive evidence against a man who had been suspected as a spy for a long time. And he paid the penalty that all spies pay.

You may hold up your hands in horror and say we are not justified in shooting spies. They are people that I have a great deal of contempt for, but I have a great deal of contempt for many people I would not shoot. But I ask you this: what right have you or any other nation to object to our shooting spies unless you object to the shooting of spies for yourself and your allies? It has been suggested that these men should have an open trial. There were a good many spies shot in England at the beginning of the war. I believe that the question was asked in the House of Commons why they were not given an open trial. And the answer was that it would be giving aid and information to the enemy. If England is allowed to shoot her spies without an open trial, why should we not too? I do not know whether America had any spies to shoot during the recent war.

Chairman Howe: Not in this war.

The Witness: But in any war where you found spies to be shot, you shot them. Very well. But spies in Ireland have only been shot on official evidence, and the official evidence was very largely obtained from themselves, from Dublin Castle.

Q. Senator Walsh: Have any Irish Republican officers who have been spies of the government been shot by the British?

A. I do not really know whether we have any spies like that. When I say that we have a secret service force, I mean those who capture the mails and get information like that.

Q. But you seek the same right for the officers of the Irish Republican Army to shoot British spies as the British exercise in shooting Irish secret service men?

A. Yes, I ask only this, that when England calls the shooting of the spies she captures murder, she can begin to call the shooting of the spies that she employs murder. You must begin to use the proper word. The shooting of spies is not murder. The only murders we have had in Cork in many, many years—I am not a young woman any more—but in all my life I can only remember two murders in Cork, and I do not think there would be more than four or five in Ireland. And the murder that I told you of, that man who kicked his barmaid to death, was sentenced by the British Government to the lightest sentence that he could possibly get, and let out after six weeks.

SPIES NOT SHOT UNTIL AFTER WARNING

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Miss MacSwiney, I want to ask a few questions to get this straight. You say that policemen are not shot indiscriminately, but that only when they are spies and have done work worthy of death?—that is, unarmed policemen?

A. Yes.

Q. You also say that some are ambushed and shot that way?

A. Yes.

Q. There is also a third case that happened when you were on the water, perhaps. Something like fourteen policemen were shot at different times and places, some on duty and some off; some of them in their homes.

A. Fourteen of them? Those were in Fermoy, perhaps?

Commissioner Thomas: No, in Dublin.

The Witness: Oh, those men were spies. They were English secret service men who had the clews of the machinery of our government. I believe they were the head men there, who were doing untold damage. I do not know the details. But I know this: if any of those men were shot by the Irish Republican Army, they were shot justly and after warning.

Q. Chairman Howe: What do you mean by warning?

A. Oh, they have been told that they would be shot.

Q. You mean that they were told they would be shot if they did not leave the country?

A. Yes, they had to leave the country.

Q. If they left the country they would not be shot?

A. Yes, if they left the country they would be safe. We would have no further objection. They would not be shot.

ENGLAND VIOLATES RULES OF WAR IN TREAT- ING IRISH PRISONERS AS CRIMINALS

Q. Commissioner Thomas: You said that one object of the British Government was to drive the Irish people into open warfare?

A. Yes. It is guerilla warfare now.

Q. Do I understand you to say that England would then be justified in arresting the vice-president of the Irish Republic as an act of war?

A. She has done it.

Q. Yes, but you say that she is justified in doing it, though, as an act of war?

A. Yes, but I say that she is not justified in doing any act of aggression whatever in Ireland.

Q. Yes, but it is according to the code of war, the ethics of war, if you could use that word, that Arthur Griffith is in prison at this time.

A. Yes, with one proviso that covers my brother's case at the same time. Why? Because when two countries are at war, and when the officers of one country are captured by another, they should be given the status of prisoners of war. If my brother had been given the status of a prisoner of war, he would never have gone on hunger strike. If Arthur Griffith is given the treatment of a prisoner of war, well and good. But what we object to and what we fight against and what my brother died to protest against is the assumption of England that she is entitled to arrest us and drag us off to prison or execute us because she owns our country.

Q. I understand. But according to the code of war, military search and seizure is not the thing that it is under the code of peace. Now, military search and seizure, you would say, is not any special disability in Ireland at the present time?

A. Yes, granted the treatment of prisoners of war.

Q. In other words, granting your point of view that England has no right to be in a state of war with you?

A. We do not complain against search and seizure, against arrest, against anything except vindictive reprisals against the civilian population; providing only that the people so arrested are treated as prisoners of war and not as common criminals.

Q. Senator Walsh: Accepting that you are in a state of war with England?

A. Accepting that we are in a state of war.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: In other words, there is a distinction to be drawn against the burning of factories, as at Balbriggan, and the burning of creameries and the destruction of civilian homes, which is wrong, even under conditions of war, because it is the destruction of civilian property. But search and seizure and imprisonment you do not object to?

A. Right, exactly, if they give us the status of prisoners of war. But they are not doing that. But as long as England holds that she is arresting us as criminals or as rebels, as she once said, and gives us the treatment of criminals rather than prisoners of war, she is not justified.

Q. Senator Walsh: You claim that the shooting of these men who are spies would be justified the same as England is in shooting spies?

A. Certainly.

Q. But it is quite a different thing for England to shoot at random at a crowd of civilians?

A. Yes, certainly. Now here is the thing we have to contend with on the country roads.

Q. Chairman Howe: Wait a minute. Is that taking up another subject?

A. You want to stop now, Mr. Howe?

Chairman Howe: It is now ten minutes to six, and perhaps we should stop now before you branch out into any new subject.

POLICEMEN SHOT BY BLACK-AND-TANS TO THROW ODIUM ON SINN FEIN

Q. Senator Walsh: Have you finished with the shooting of policemen?

A. No, there is one thing more. Policemen have been shot either accidentally or on purpose by other policemen. There is one case that happened lately, about which I can give you no absolute proof. It is the case of the shooting of an old sergeant, Sergeant O'Donovan or O'Donoghue. It happened about the time of my brother's death, between that time and the time I left home. I know that that was murder, and was not done by any of our people. He was an inoffensive old man and within a few months of his pension time. He had not committed a single act of aggression against our people. He was not acting as a spy. He was doing no harm to anybody, and not a single Irish Volunteer would have shot him. And this man was to have his pension and retire from the force in a very short time. He had not taken any part in the work of the Black-and-Tans. And he was found shot. The Black-and-Tans have shot several men like that who would not act as spies, in the hope of throwing further odium on Sinn Fein, as they call it.

PUNISHMENT INFLICTED ON POLICEMEN WHO RESIGN

Also they have taken out and flogged and shot policemen who have resigned from the force, and they have done that in uniform.

Q. Senator Walsh: That is, before the expiration of their term?

A. Before the expiration of their term. They have shot them in uniform, and all these shootings have been put down as to the Irish Republican Government. We do not accept the responsibility, because these are murders committed by these men for the purpose of throwing odium on Sinn Fein.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Are any of these Irish state policemen or Irish Constabulary resigning? If so, why do they resign?

A. They are resigning because they will not take any part in what is going on now in Ireland.

Q. After they resigned, did anything happen to them?

A. Not by our own people.

Q. But did any of them lose their lives? Have you any personal knowledge of such cases?

A. The information I have of such cases I got from the newspapers.

Q. But you have read in the newspapers that many of them have been shot after they have resigned?

A. Yes, I have. After they had resigned.

Q. But it seems to me that a Royal Irish Constabulary man who had resigned would have rather endeared himself to the people of the Irish Republic.

A. Yes, they would. And furthermore, I can tell you that the Irish Government would see that they do not suffer from their resignations.

Q. But the Black-and-Tans and the military notice it?

A. Yes, that is it. While my brother was in Brixton Prison, I read in the paper that about four hundred R. I. C.'s sent in a notice to the Government warning the Government that if he were released, they would resign in a body. The very instant that I saw that, I knew for one that it was a lie. There are not four hundred of the old R. I. C. men left, nor four dozen, who would say such a thing. The four hundred, if there were four hundred, I knew were the English recruits to the R. I. C., commonly known as Black-and-Tans. It sounded very big in the English papers that four hundred R. I. C.'s threatened to resign if the Lord Mayor of Cork was released, because their lives would not be safe if he lived. That, of course, was another piece of lying propaganda. I said that on the instant I saw it, because I did not believe they would do it. The very next day the chief of the R. I. C. sent a letter to the paper denying that the R. I. C. had taken any such action, and very vigorously protesting that such a statement should be made. There are not four hundred or four dozen of the old R. I. C. who are left, but there are any number of Black-and-Tans who might say that they protested against his release.¹

¹ This fictitious protest against Lord Mayor MacSwiney's release contained the imputation that he was one of the chief instigators of the shooting of policemen, and hence the lives of policemen would not be safe if he were released.

Q. Commissioner Wood: You say that the taking of the lives of these policemen, of the R. I. C. and the Black-and-Tans, was done in punishment for indiscriminate murders. But has the murder of resigned officers caused reprisals?

The Witness: Would you mind repeating the question?

Q. You said that some policemen when they resigned from the R. I. C. had been shot by the Black-and-Tans. Do you claim that any such killings have been given as an excuse for the shooting up of communities by the Black-and-Tans?

A. By the Black-and-Tans?

Q. Yes.

A. I could not say about that.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Might I say that I told the Chairman some time ago that an effort would be made to locate a number of members of the R. I. C. that have resigned and would be available as witnesses. We will give their names to the secretary this evening. And they can give the whole story of the R. I. C.¹

Chairman Howe: We will now adjourn. The meeting will be held here in this room at nine-thirty tomorrow morning.

Adjournment 5:53 P. M.

¹ See testimony of Ex-Policemen Crowley, Tangney, Caddan, and Galvin.

SECOND HEARINGS ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND
Before the
AMERICAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON CON-
DITIONS IN IRELAND

Session Two

JANE ADDAMS	}	COMMISSIONERS
JAMES H. MAURER		
OLIVER P. NEWMAN		
GEORGE W. NORRIS		
NORMAN THOMAS		
DAVID I. WALSH		
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD		
FREDERIC C. HOWE <i>Acting Chairman</i>		

Before the Commission, sitting in Odd Fellows' Hall, Washington, D. C., Thursday, December 9, 1920.

Session called to order by Chairman Howe at 9:50 A. M.

Chairman Howe: Mrs. MacSwiney will take the stand.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. MURIEL MACSWINEY

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh (of counsel): Will you please state your name, Mrs. MacSwiney?

A. Muriel MacSwiney.

Q. And where do you reside?

A. In Cork.

Q. You are the widow of Terence MacSwiney?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. And he died on what day?

A. I am not sure,—I am not sure of the exact date.

Q. And where?

A. In Brixton prison, in London.

Q. And at the time of your husband's arrest, what was your husband's business or profession?

A. He was the Lord Mayor of the city of Cork.

Q. And did he have any other official connection?

A. Yes, he was an officer in the Irish Republican Army.

Q. Now, would you be good enough to begin, I might suggest, to tell the Commission in your own thoughts about his connection with the Republican movement in Ireland? And just state to the Commission your observations of the movement down to your marriage with your husband and down to the time of his death. I will let you start with your own story. You were born where?

A. I was born in Cork.

Q. And what was the name of your parents?

A. My father's name was Nicholas Murphy.

Q. Of Cork?

A. Yes, of Cork. And Mary Purcell was my mother's name.

Q. And your father is dead?

A. Yes, he died when I was sixteen.

Q. And you have brothers and sisters?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. How many?

A. Three sisters and two brothers.

Q. What was the date of your marriage with Mr. MacSwiney?

A. June 9, 1917.

THE MAKING OF A REPUBLICAN CONVERT

Q. You can go ahead now and state your own position in this matter. When, if at any time, did you become interested in the cause of Irish independence, and what actuated you?

A. Well, I think what actuated me was that all my life, even when I was quite a baby, I never could understand why there should be poor people and rich people. You know there is a great deal of poverty in Ireland, especially in Cork. You cannot help noticing the many poor children with no shoes and stockings and the like. I noticed that when a baby. I could not understand why it should be. However, I do not think it is right to give people things only in charity. There should be no need of that. There's plenty in Ireland for everybody to have enough. As I grew older I saw that things could not be set right except by government.

Q. Was this prior to your marriage?

A. O yes, that was when I was quite a child. And I saw that while England was there we could do nothing, because she destroyed our business and kept us poor.

Q. What was the business of your father?

A. He had a big distillery.

Q. Briefly stated, he was a man in comfortable circumstances?

A. O yes, very.

Q. You say as a child you were moved by the poverty that existed in your country, and the reasons for it, and why it should be so?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Now, you may proceed, then.

A. As I got older, as I have told you, I saw that England was responsible for all that, and if we had our own government we could do something; and until we had our own government we could do nothing. I saw that, and I picked up other things, and I learned that England was only there as a thief, and had no right to be there at all.

Q. Where were you educated, Mrs. MacSwiney?

A. I was educated at home until I was fifteen, and then I was sent to England for two years.

Q. To what school?

A. To Saint Leonard's Convent of the Holy Child at Hastings. They have a great many convents in America, by the way; and many in England.

Q. And where was your education finished?

A. There, at Hastings, in the south of England.

Q. Did you have any personal interest in the Irish Republican movement after your graduation?

A. Yes, I did. You see, my parents are not quite like myself. I think I am rather characteristic of a certain section in Ireland. The younger people of Ireland have been thinking in a way that some of the older ones have not. There some years ago the Unionists did not wish an Irish Republic. They wished to belong to England. They were well off and quite comfortable and thought only of themselves. That is dying out now. The younger members of such families are Republican. On account of that, I did not get the opportunity to meet Republicans when I was a child. That was why I was sent to school to England. I am only characteristic of a great many who are brought up shut up at home. And still the Irish spirit comes out of them in spite of everything. So until I was about twenty-two I did not get the opportunity to do very much.

Q. What is your age now?

A. I am twenty-eight.

Q. When did you first meet Terence MacSwiney?

A. I met him in 1915, about Christmas.

Q. Were you interested in the Republican movement before then?

A. O yes, I was, some time before then.

Q. You might state what your activities have been prior to that time.

A. My thought has long been that we should have an Irish Republic, and that England should go from Ireland.

Q. Did you belong to any organization up to that time?

A. I did not, up to that time. I had spoken to people, of course.

Q. But you had not been connected with any Republican organization?

A. No, on account of my family. I was living at home, of course.

COURTSHIP INTERRUPTED BY POLITICAL IMPRISONMENTS

Q. I wish you would proceed and tell about your husband, and your marriage, and tell the whole story down to the present time. I am sure it would interest the Commission to hear your story from the very first.

A. Well, I met my husband at the house of mutual friends, about Christmas, 1915. And, well, I did not really get to know him very intimately at that time. Some time after that I met him a few times.

Q. You might tell what his status was at that time.

A. He was a commandant of the Irish Republican Army at that time.

Q. He was a commandant?

A. Yes, in the south of Ireland. Of course, my husband has been in all the movements ever since he was a boy; because of course, as his sister has told you, theirs is a very old family around Cork. She can tell you about that better than I can, because she knew him before I did. I met him, as I said, about Christmas. And he was arrested about a month after Christmas.

Q. Upon what charge, if any?

A. The charge of making a speech. But he was kept without trial for a whole month. He was never tried at all. He had to be released in the end.

Q. Where was he confined?

A. In Cork prison. And he was quite ill then.

Q. What was the date?

A. My sister-in-law can tell you the date.

Q. In 1916?

A. Yes, 1916.

Q. Was it after the insurrection or before?

A. O before. Well, when we got the news in Cork of the insurrection in 1916, we heard there was something up in Dublin. And I went into town to try to find out what had happened. I heard that my husband was up at the Volunteer Hall, the headquarters of the Republican army in Cork. There was danger in Cork then. He had been sleeping there because they thought it was safer for him. It was not well for him to be alone. He might be shot or arrested. He was up at the hall all the week. I had a chance to see him and get the news of what was happening in Dublin and in Cork. My husband was arrested after that.

Q. What date was that?

A. I cannot give the date exactly. It was after Easter Week.

Q. What was the date of your marriage?

A. The ninth of June, 1917.

Q. And I believe you have one child?

A. Yes.

Q. And the name of your child?

A. Maura.

Q. And when was Maura born?

A. She was born on the twenty-third of June, 1918.

Q. Had your husband been arrested before you were married?

A. Yes, I told you he had. Easter Week, 1916.

Q. And he was arrested after that,—after your marriage?

A. O yes, like all men in Ireland, whether they had fought or not. They were all arrested, after Easter Week.

Q. And when was he first arrested?

A. Early in 1916, and then after Easter.

Q. And how long was he confined?

A. He was confined until after Christmas.

Q. And where was he sent?

A. First of all, he was sent to Dublin to Richmond barracks, and he was then deported to Wakefield prison in England.

Q. And he got out under the general amnesty?

A. Yes, with the other prisoners at Christmas.

Q. During all that time there was no formal charge lodged against him?

A. O no, none of those were charged.

Q. They just kept him in jail until Christmas time?

A. They did, for nearly a year.

Q. From that time what was the course of your husband?

INHUMAN TREATMENT OF IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS

A. I visited him in Richmond barracks, I should say. And then I was sent over by our own people to England to do something for the men who were in the prisons there. Our men were in a terrible condition at that time. In the beginning none of their folks were allowed to see them. When I went over first, I went to Wandsworth prison in London, and then I went to Wakefield, where my husband was, because I was supposed to look after the Cork men, and my husband and they were in Wakefield.

Q. How many were confined?

A. O hundreds, if not thousands. The whole of Ireland was in jail at that time, and people who had never handled arms also. When I went there our men were in a terrible condition. They were literally starving. I know one friend of mine,—he had never handled arms. He was from Bandon in County Cork. I was god-mother to one of his children. He was sent to Wakefield before my husband was. He was not allowed anything, not a book, not even a prayerbook. All of his wife's letters were stopped, and he thought that something had happened to her, because she was not very strong at that time. His wife was one of the first to get into the jails to see their people. Well, I went over just to help those men. It was June when I went over. They were in a frightful state. They had literally no food except what we brought them. Of course there were many Dublin men there, too, but I was looking after the Cork men.

Q. After they were released in 1916, tell what happened.

A. I was ill after they were released in 1916.

Q. Were you in Cork?

SECOND ARREST AND DEPORTATION WITHOUT CHARGE OR TRIAL

A. Yes, I was in Cork, and I was in Dublin for a month, and then I went over to England for a visit. And while I was there I got the news that my husband had been arrested again. He had been out a very short time, about a month, I think.

Q. What was the date of that?

A. In February, 1917.

Q. On what charge?

A. There was no charge whatever. He was deported to England with several others from different parts of the country. I heard

just that they were arrested and deported to England. I did not know where they were, of course. At that time we were not engaged, but only friends; but I think I felt how things were, and that he felt the same as myself. I was in London then, and went to Cambridge to stay there with an Irish friend. She was at the university there then. At that time no communication was allowed with our men in jail whatever. I found out from Mr. Laurence Ginnell, the Irish M. P., and he told me that he had seen some of the men and he thought that my husband was in Shrewsbury. I met a policeman at the station and asked him where the men were, and he said that the military had charge of them, and told me to ask a soldier. I asked a soldier and he said they had gone, and that nobody would ever know where they had gone.

ENGAGED AND MARRIED IN INTERNMENT CAMP

I felt very badly. I did not know what to do. And that night I heard from him. They had been sent up to Bromyard in Herefordshire. And I went up to see him. And we really became engaged that night.

Q. He was in jail then?

A. Yes, he was the same as in jail. He was confined to a certain area, and could not go out of it.

Q. He was interned?

A. He was interned, yes.

Q. What date was that?

A. That would be,—O we were engaged on the third of March.

Q. And how long was he interned after that time?

A. He was there until after we were married.

Q. And when were you married?

A. About a fortnight in June.

Q. And how long did you remain in England?

A. We had to remain in England for a time after that. But although we were in England, we were married by an Irish priest, Father Augustine. You have had him over here. And we were married in our own language, the Irish language.

Q. And that was on what date?

A. The ninth of June, 1917.

Q. And you went back to Ireland when?

A BRIEF RESPITE BETWEEN ARRESTS

A. About a fortnight after that. The men were released, those who were interned, and we all went back to Ireland at that time.

I went back to Ireland with him, and then we went off in the country together. And that time was about the only one that we had together.

Q. How long did you remain there?

A. For some time.

Q. Where were you?

A. At Ballingearry, in County Cork, a very, very beautiful place out in the country where they still do things in the old Irish way. They do not know English there yet, I am glad to say, and they are very much better off for it.

Q. Where did you go from Ballingearry?

A. We returned to Cork.

Q. How long, then, did you remain at Cork?

A. About three months. And then my husband had to go up to Dublin to look after his affairs, but he did not stay there.

Q. He came back to Cork then?

A. Yes, he came back to Cork and tried to settle down, and it was while we were there, in the house that we had just got, that he was arrested.

Q. He was arrested?

A. Yes, he was arrested in November at two-thirty o'clock in the morning by seven policemen.

Q. Were you there then?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. How was he arrested?

A. They came to the house for him and took him, and although it was but so very early in the morning, they were afraid to take him through the streets of the city where someone might see them. And although my husband had lived in Cork all his life and knew the city well, they went in such a round-about way that he said he did not know some of the streets through which they took him.

Q. What was the charge on which they arrested him?

A. Wearing a uniform of the Irish Republican Army.

THE FIRST HUNGER STRIKE

Q. Your husband was taken to prison and went on a hunger strike?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did your husband go without food?

A. He went without food for three days.

Q. That was at what time?

A. That was just before Christmas.

Q. 1917?

A. Yes, 1917. He was at home for Christmas.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was that the hunger strike that the Irish prisoners all demanded that a hearing be given them and charges produced or that they be freed?

A. No, sir.

Q. F. P. Walsh: That was not the Mountjoy hunger strike?

A. O no. This was in Cork.

Q. There was a large hunger strike later in Mountjoy?

A. O yes, there was.

Q. About how many went on this strike?

A. About twenty, I think.

Q. And they all went without food for several days?

A. Yes, they did. After six weeks' imprisonment they went on hunger strike to protest against not being treated as prisoners of war.

Q. And they were released by the Christmas amnesty?

A. Yes.

Q. And how long after this was he again arrested?

A CHRISTMAS TOGETHER BREAKS SUCCESSION OF ARRESTS

A. I want to say that this was the only Christmas I ever had my husband for. It was the only Christmas that we were together. He was arrested again in the beginning of March.

Q. 1917?

A. 1918. I went up to Dublin to rest, and he went up with me to keep me company. We arrived in Dublin about two, and three of these G Division men came and arrested him about six. I never speak to these people at all, because I think it is better not to. But this time I had to. I asked them where they were taking my husband, and they would not tell me. They twisted and twisted, and said, "O it's uncertain." I knew very well that they knew, because they were men high up. I kept after them, and two of the men said they would come back the next morning and tell me where my husband was taken to.

Q. Where was he taken?

A. He was taken to the Bridewell in Dublin. It was a terrible place.

Q. Where is the Bridewell located?

A. There are several Bridewells in Dublin. This Bridewell was near the Four Courts in Dublin.

Q. Describe this place.

A. The men were not treated like human beings there. They had no mattresses, no bedclothing, no anything. And what struck me as most terrible was that they had sort of round holes in the doors, and the prisoners could just stick their heads through. And some of them were mere boys there in that frightful place.

Q. How long was your husband there?

A. He was taken away the next morning to Belfast. And those men came back the next morning and would give me no information whatever. And there I was, not knowing where to look nor what to do. And then I learned he was at Belfast. He was in jail there for about three weeks, and then he was removed to Dundalk.

Q. How long was he in Dundalk?

A. He was there until the beginning of September.

Q. From what date?

A. From about the middle of March.

BABY FIRST SEES HER FATHER IN JAIL

Q. What time was Maura born?

A. Well, he was up in Dundalk. Of course, I was in Belfast first, and then I was in Dundalk until I had to go home,—until the baby was about to be born. My husband wished that she should be born in Cork, his native city. He said that she might have to work for Ireland, and he wanted her to be born there. I went home the end of May, and she was born the twenty-first of June.

Q. When did your husband first see her?

A. He was in Dundalk when she was born, but he was moved to Belfast soon afterwards, and we had to take her up there to see her father, because, although his sentence would be completed soon, they had at that time taken to arresting people on the door of the jail just as they were walking out on finishing their sentence, and then deporting them to England without any charge at all.

Q. What was your husband's sentence on the original charge against him?

A. That was the sentence against him just after we were married. He got six months for wearing a uniform of the Irish Republican Army.

Q. Did your husband have any official position in it then?

A. Yes, he was a commandant in the Irish Army at that time.

Q. You say you went up to be there at the time of his release?

A. Yes, I went up there, for we knew that probably he would be deported to England like the others, and that was the reason that

I took the baby up; because if he was deported to England I might not be allowed to see him at all, and he might never see his little daughter. I was staying a good distance from the prison, because I thought it would be better to be where I was when I stayed in Belfast before, because the lady there liked children.

Q. How old was the baby?

A. She was six weeks old. We left Cork at three, and we did not get to Belfast until half past ten at night. My sister-in-law went with me,—not this one, but the other sister-in-law. Of course a long trip like that was not very good for the baby, as your wife can tell you.

Q. How long did you stay there?

A. About a fortnight. She used to be taken into the prison every day. I don't suppose anyone so young had ever been taken into that prison before. She was so young. Her father, of course, was delighted to see her. If he had been allowed to act according to his interests and desires, he would have stayed at home with the baby and me. He liked his home. That is, he would have liked to do that if Ireland had been free.

Q. When did he return home?

RE-ARRESTED AT JAIL GATE

A. O, you see he was arrested just as he was walking out of the jail, as we expected.

Q. Were you there?

A. He did not wish me to be present, because the police might pull me back and hurt me, as they often do in Ireland.

Q. Where did you go?

A. I went back to Cork, and I was there when he was deported.

Q. What was that date?

A. About the beginning of September. About the fourth of September, I think.

Q. Where was he taken?

A. He was taken to Lincoln. President de Valéra was there at that time. He was sent there earlier than my husband.

Q. Did you visit him there?

A. I was not allowed to see him. I had practically no communication with him at that time because the letters I sent him had to go through the prison authorities and through the English authorities at London also.

Q. How long did that endure?

A. From September to the beginning of March.

Q. When did you again see your husband?

A. In March.

Q. He returned to Cork?

A. Yes, to Cork. He was released before the others a little bit on parole, because I had the influenza. He got a week on parole, and by the time that was up he was released. He expected that they intended to release him or they would not have let him be with me then. Because, you see, when the baby was born he was in Ireland.

Q. Did he attempt to be paroled at the time of the birth of the baby?

A. He would have liked to, of course.

Q. Was any effort made that you know of?

A. Not that I know of. Of course I was ill at the time.

Q. What was the date of his release from prison that you spoke of?

A. In March, 1919.

Q. Who was Lord Mayor of Cork at that time? Was it before the election of Mr. MacCurtain?

A. Oh, yes. It was Mr. Butterfield who was Lord Mayor then.

Q. Was he arrested from that time down to the time he was elected Lord Mayor of Cork?

A. No, he was not.

ELECTED LORD MAYOR OF CORK TO SUCCEED MURDERED FRIEND

Q. I wish you would detail what took place from that time to the time he was elected Lord Mayor of Cork. The elections intervened?

A. Yes, they did, while my husband was still in Lincoln Prison.

Q. Was he elected?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. He was a candidate from where?

A. He was a candidate from Mid Cork.

Q. Is that a part of the county of Cork?

A. Oh, yes. That was the place where my husband's family was from. That was the place where we spent our honeymoon—because what time we spent in England when we were married we did not count as a honeymoon. It was when we got back to Ballin-geary, when he came back that time when he was released. The little girl was about nine months old. We were afraid she would begin to speak then, and her father wanted her to learn Irish. I did not know very much Irish at that time. My husband knew it

very, very well, but I did not know much. I had not made much headway with it. So I went down to that place I spoke of, which is the Irish-speaking district.

Q. For how long?

A. For seven months, I think it was.

Of course, in the country almost everybody knows Irish. Everybody knew Irish before the English came into the country, but in the towns the Irish language had died out a bit, and only the old folks knew it. We had this ring (indicating small gold circle on dress). You can get this ring when you sign a paper and say that you will not speak any English to anybody else who has this ring. And after I was back in Ballingearry awhile I got this ring. And after I got it, I never spoke a word of English to my husband or to the baby.

Q. The baby is how old?

A. About two and one-half years, sir.

Q. And she speaks Irish?

A. Yes, Irish. In this district where I was, there are a lot of tourists, and they speak English, of course. But for the last three months I was there I never spoke a word of English to anybody. Of course, my husband was there then, and he never spoke a word of English either. We gave one of these rings to the baby when she was born, so that she would always speak her own language. We had to take it away from her because she put it in her mouth, but I think it is time to give it to her again.

Q. When did you return to Cork?

A. November, 1919. I should like to say that while we were in Ballingearry the English soldiers and police twice raided the house we were living in at 4 o'clock in the morning. Luckily my husband was not there either time. He used to go back and forth from Cork.

Q. Did you vote at the election?

A. No, I did not.

Q. They held a general election, however, at which all the men and women of Cork were entitled to vote?

A. Yes.

Q. And they did vote?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Where were you at the time?

A. I was in Cork, but I was ill.

Q. What is the age of the franchise for women?

A. I do not know. My sister-in-law can tell you that better than I can.

Q. It is thirty, I understand.

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. You are still an infant, so far as the franchise is concerned?

A. Yes.

Q. In this general election there was a full and free vote for members of the Council?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recall the number of candidates voted on at that time?

A. About thirty, I think.

Miss Mary MacSwiney: There were more than that, about sixty-six.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Miss MacSwiney says sixty-six.

The Witness: Yes, I don't know much about it.

Q. Following that election who was elected mayor of Cork?

A. Mayor MacCurtain.

Q. And he was a friend of your husband?

A. Yes, indeed; a lifelong friend. Mrs. MacCurtain used to tell me that if my husband was a girl she would be jealous of him, because they were together for so long a time, and planned and worked for Ireland together.

Q. Were you in Cork at the time of the death of Lord Mayor MacCurtain?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you there at the inquest?

A. I was in Cork, but I was very ill at the time.

Q. So you had better leave that to your sister-in-law?

A. Yes.

Q. Just describe the events leading up to the death of your husband. After the death of Lord Mayor MacCurtain, your husband was elected Lord Mayor of Cork?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. And you were not present when he was invested with office?

A. No.

Q. How long was he Lord Mayor of Cork before his arrest?

A. About six months.

HUSBAND DARE NOT STAY AT HOME

Q. And were you in Cork all that time?

A. We came back to Cork before the election, and we got another house. We gave up the other house. But my husband could not stay there nights.

Q. Why?

A. Because he would be arrested. The English police and soldiers would arrest him. For years he has had to do that. He really could not be with me at all. He could not be where they might find him nights. I stayed with friends, cousins of my husband. The house was a little bit out of the way, a side house, and he could come there occasionally, but always at a very great risk for fear of being arrested. The baby was nearly two years old then, but she did not see much of her father. And she was awfully fond of him. He had a telephone in his office when he was made Lord Mayor, in his office at the City Hall. And I used to speak to him on the telephone. Sometimes I was speaking to other people, but whoever I was speaking to on the telephone, the baby would shout and snatch the receiver out of my hand and think it was her father, and she would whisper, just whisper to him. She loved him and he loved her, and wanted to be with her more than anything else.

CHARACTER, EDUCATION, AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF TERENCE MACSWINEY

Q. Your husband was a literary man, I believe?

A. Yes, he was. He wrote a lot. He wrote some very excellent poems and plays.

Q. You might describe him, his inclinations, age, appearance, and so forth.

A. I think the chief characteristic of my husband—apart from his love of Ireland, which was above everything else—was his love of people, his charity. He never said a word against anybody. I never heard him say a word against his worst enemies. I will go into that a little later on when describing him at Brixton. I remember that when he was in Wakefield, a few of them were put into solitary confinement, and they thought that surely they would be shot, because some others had been shot who were in solitary confinement. And even then, when he expected death, he would not say anything harsh against the English.

Q. How tall was he?

A. Fairly tall.

Q. Dark complexion?

A. Yes, very dark, with black hair—a lot of it, with one big lock that was always getting over his face. We used to tease him about that lock of hair. He was very good looking, I think.

Q. Of course you were familiar with what he wrote?

A. Oh, yes, I was.

Q. What was it, in a general way? Did he write verse?

A. Oh, yes; he was more of a poet than anything else, I think.

Q. And did that go back to his young manhood?

A. Oh, yes. When he was about thirteen or fourteen he wrote some beautiful things, some of his most beautiful things. My husband wrote plays, too.

Q. What was his education?

A. He was educated at the North Monastery in Cork, the Christian Brothers in Cork. But of course he educated himself, like most Irish people do. Of course you will hear about that from my sister-in-law. My husband's father died when he was fifteen, and he had to be taken away from school and go into business. And so he studied at nights, although he was working hard from eight-thirty in the morning until six.

Q. What was his business?

A. He was an accountant in Cork. At first he used to stay up most of the night and study, but he found that was very bad for him and he got headaches and the like. And then he used to come home and have tea and go to bed, and then get up about two in the morning and study. And when I heard that, I thought that a man like that could do anything. At first he would have a fire, but he found that that would make him sleepy, so that even in cold weather, in the winter, he would be without a fire. And he studied like that until he got his degree.

Q. What degree did he get?

A. The degree from the Royal University of Ireland.

Q. Just describe his election as Lord Mayor of Cork.

A. I think my sister-in-law could tell you that better, because I was not well at the time.

Q. But just a general idea—what he told you about it. He expected to be elected Lord Mayor?

A. Of course he thought he would be. He knew it was a very dangerous post, after what had happened to his predecessor. Mayor MacCurtain was his greatest friend, I might say, and it was his duty to fill his place.

Q. Did you have any conversation with him about it?

A. Not very much, because I was ill at the time.

PREDECESSOR MURDERED IN HIS OWN HOME

Q. Briefly, for the record, tell what did happen to his predecessor.

A. He was at home one night in his own house,

Q. What was his name?

A. Thomas MacCurtain. He was a very quiet sort of man, and just like my husband, he would have liked to be at home with his wife and children all the time. He had five children, very sweet little children. One was only a year old. He was at home one night, sleeping with his wife and children, and his sisters-in-law were also there. And there was a knock at the door and his wife went to the door—the men do not answer the door at night in Ireland, for they might be shot. The men broke into the house and pinioned her arms, and went upstairs and shot the Lord Mayor.

Q. In the presence of his wife?

A. Yes.

Q. Chairman Howe: At what hour?

A. In the middle of the night. At a time when there would be nobody about.

Q. Who did that?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Was it developed afterwards in the coroner's inquest who did the shooting of the Lord Mayor?

A. Yes, it was. The police.

Q. The British police?

A. Yes, of course, the British police in Ireland, but at the orders of their government.

Q. The coroner's jury found that Mayor MacCurtain was killed by the Irish police under orders from the British government?

A. Yes, the Irish police, being the English forces. I know you all understand that.

Q. How long after the killing of Lord Mayor MacCurtain was your husband elected?

A. Almost immediately afterwards, when the funeral and all that was over.

BESET BY DANGER IN PUBLIC DUTIES AND PRIVATE LIFE

Q. And during the time that he was Lord Mayor of Cork did he live at home?

A. He could not.

Q. He was still pursued and had to live in the homes of other people?

A. Yes. It was very much worse after he was Lord Mayor of Cork than it was ever before.

Q. Did the corporation meet from time to time?

A. Oh, yes, sir.

Q. And did he preside at the meetings?

A. Certainly.

Q. Chairman Howe: Did they meet in the town hall?

A. Yes, in the city hall. It was not secret. Anybody could go in.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: It might be interesting to know why they did not arrest the Lord Mayor when they were meeting?

A. I do not know. Perhaps they were afraid of public opinion.

Q. As a matter of fact, the police do not work in the daytime? They expect to surprise these men in their homes and in their beds?

A. Oh, yes. I think that they are afraid of doing it in a public place.

Q. Senator Norris: He thought he would be arrested or murdered if he stayed in his own home?

A. Oh, yes. He never even went about alone. He could not. Someone went with him, not so much to guard him as to identify anyone who might attack him. A Volunteer went with him or I often went with him.

Q. Chairman Howe: And that was the reason they did not do it in public.

A. Yes. Of course they did not want to be identified.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: And furthermore it would create a hostile popular demonstration to shoot him in public.

A. Oh, yes; certainly it would. They would not shoot him where they might be identified. I could identify an assailant as well as anybody else, so I was often with him.

SAW HUSBAND SELDOM BECAUSE OF DANGER

Q. Just give us your own general description of his life after that.

A. As I told you before, since the Christmas before, after I came back from the country, I lived with distant relations and friends, because, as I told you, we could not stay in a house of our own because he could never be there at all, and I could not very well be there on account of the raids and that sort of thing going on. And so I saw my husband sometimes, because I was in the house of friends, but indeed very, very seldom, and always at a very great risk. Sometimes he would come up after dark, because it was a little out-of-the-way place, a little outside of the city. That was better. And then he would come after dark and go away the first thing in the morning. The only meal I could have him for was breakfast, and that on rare occasions. I hardly ever saw my husband at all, to tell the truth.

Q. And that continued for six months after he was elected Lord Mayor?

A. Oh, yes, of course; ever since we were married. But it was very, very much worse after he was elected Lord Mayor.

Q. Is there anything else that you would like to tell the Commission after he was elected Lord Mayor?

A. I do not think so.

THE FINAL ARREST

Q. When was your husband arrested the last time?

A. He was arrested on the twelfth of August.

Q. Where were you at that time?

A. I was in Cork on the twelfth of August, and at two o'clock on that day I and my little girl went down to the seaside.

Q. That was the twelfth of August, 1920?

A. Yes. I took the baby down to the seaside. There was no one along there besides ourselves. It was to another Irish-speaking district.

Q. About how far from Cork?

A. It was to Youghal. You took the train to the station, and then it was a short distance—on a bicycle about five minutes—up to the town. It is an out-of-the-way place not very far from Cork. I did not know about my husband's arrest until the next morning, when a friend came over with the paper and told me that he was arrested the night before, about seven o'clock.

Q. What did you do then?

A. What could I do? There was nobody to mind the baby except myself. I had nobody to take her except strangers, and she would not go to them. My sister-in-law here came down to take care of the baby. She came down the next day, on Saturday. They had tried to see my husband—both of my sisters-in-law tried to see him. He had been arrested and taken to the military barracks, and they were not allowed to see him. They could not see him until Saturday morning. He was then on hunger strike.

Q. When did you go to Cork?

A. I did not go to Cork until Monday. I went up to my sister-in-law's house. This sister-in-law (indicating Miss Mary MacSwiney) was down at the seashore taking care of the baby. That was the day of the trial.

BEGINNING OF FATAL HUNGER STRIKE

Q. Did you see him before the trial?

A. My sister-in-law and myself went up to the barracks. That was where he was to be tried. A big military lorry came up, a very large one. I never saw so many soldiers in a military lorry in my life before. My husband was sitting in the center of them on a chair. That was Monday morning. He had been on a hunger strike since the morning of his arrest on Thursday.

Q. Had you been advised of that?

A. Yes. I need not tell you that he was very weak. It seemed such a cruel thing to have so many armed men guarding a weak and absolutely unarmed man.

Q. Was he all alone in the lorry?

A. Yes, there were no other prisoners. He was in very great pain. He looked it. I think that was one of the worst times for me. From the morning that I heard my husband was on a hunger strike, I believed that he would die. I felt terrible on that day when I saw him, because I knew he was in pain, and it was an awful thing that I could not give him anything to eat, for of course it was part of my duty that I should look after all his wants.

TRIAL BY COURT-MARTIAL

First of all, they took him up very high stairs to a place where they were going to try him; and then they changed and took him down again. I saw by his face that he was suffering, and I said to one of the soldiers, could they not give him a chair, because he had been without food for so long. That is one of the worst times in a hunger strike—the first few days—because it is so painful. I was speaking to him in Irish and they did not interfere. He told me that he felt himself that he would be sentenced, and that he would be deported to England, and that the others arrested with him would get out. But of course he was pleased with that. He wanted to suffer for everybody else's wrongs.

Q. Had he stated his intentions at any time to you?

A. Oh, yes, he did. He felt that what might happen to him was very unimportant to whatever he could do to help Ireland.

Q. Anything that you think would interest the Commission, and that you would like to tell, about what happened to your husband, just tell the Commission.

A. I think I would like to describe the trial. Of course I always knew what my husband's motives and intentions were. He had no other idea in his head but to die for his country if need be,

Q. Describe the trial then.

A. Might I read my husband's speech at this trial? It is quite short.

Q. Yes, certainly. Did he make it in the beginning of the trial?

A. No. We went upstairs then. There were several soldiers standing around him armed to the teeth. The room was full of soldiers.

Q. Before what sort of a court was he tried?

A. A court-martial—soldiers.

Q. In uniform?

A. Oh, yes. One of them was presiding.

Q. How many judges?

A. Three judges—three soldiers.

Q. How long a time did the trial last?

A. For three hours. They kept him there for such petty things.

Q. Did he make a statement?

A. Yes, he did. I will read you this. First of all, when they brought the charges against him, they asked him if he had anything to say. He said that if he was an ordinary individual, like he was before he was elected, he would not say anything at all. He would disregard the charges, because he never recognized England's courts, which have no right to function in Ireland. But he said that because he was Lord Mayor of the city, he represented more than himself, and that was why he spoke. He said this more or less at the end of the charges.

Q. What was the charge against him?

A. There were three charges, one of which was that when they arrested him when they raided the city hall, they found in his desk the text of a speech he had made when he was made Lord Mayor. Of course this was made six months before, and it had been published in all the papers, and so if there was anything objectionable in it, they could have mentioned it sooner. As a matter of fact, he had a right to make any speech in Ireland that he liked.

Q. Were there any other charges?

A. Yes, he was charged with having the code used by the police.

Q. And yet he was the chief magistrate of the city?

A. Yes. What he said was that he was the chief magistrate, and he had the right to have anything like that that he wanted. He said the English had no right to have such a code. He said it was illegal for any citizen of the Irish republic to have such a code without his permission.

Q. In the city of Cork?

A. In the city of Cork, yes.

Q. There was a third charge?

A. Yes, there was. It was a resolution that was passed by the corporation recognizing Dail Eireann and renouncing allegiance to England. It was passed by every public body all over Ireland, and if they wanted to arrest everybody who had passed that, they simply could not do it, because the jails could not hold them.

Q. There was no other charge?

A. That was all. Shall I read this (indicating paper)?

The Commissioners: Yes, please.

STATEMENT OF LORD MAYOR AT THE TRIAL

The Witness (reading) :

“We see in the manner in which the late Lord Mayor was murdered an attempt to terrify us all. Our first duty is to answer that threat in the only fitting manner: to show ourselves unterrified, cool, and inflexible for the fulfillment of our chief purpose—the establishment of the independence and the integrity of our country and the peace and the happiness of the Irish Republic. To that end I am here. This contest on our side is not one of rivalry or vengeance, but of endurance.”

I would like to say something about that. My husband, as I said before, was essentially charitable—a very charitable man. It was his chief characteristic. He hadn't anything like vengeance in him. And certainly he wished for nothing more than that the English would be gone out of our country and that we could be good friends with them then.

“It is not those who can inflict the most, but those who can suffer the most, who will conquer, though we do not abrogate our function to demand that murderers and evil-doers be punished for their crimes. It is conceivable that the army of occupation could stop our functioning for a time. Then it becomes simply a question of endurance. Those whose faith is strong will endure to the end in triumph.”

Well, of course, my husband was one of the first in Ireland who started this movement, and a great many people were against it then; they did not believe that we could be free from England. In Dublin the Irish people were always better off than in Cork, for in Cork they had a very hard time in the beginning. So only for my husband's great faith in our country and his faith that they would win out, I don't suppose that we would be very far along today.

“God is over us, and in His divine intervention we must have perfect trust.

“Anyone surveying the events in Ireland in the past five years must see that it is approaching a miracle how our country has been preserved during a persecution unexampled in history, culminating in the murder of the head of our great city. You among us who have no vision have been led astray by false prophets. I will give a recent example. Only last week in our city a judge, acting for English usurpation in Ireland and speaking in the presumptuous manner of such people, ventured to lecture us and uttered this pagan sentiment: ‘There is no beauty in liberty that comes to us in innocent blood.’ At one stroke this judge would shatter the foundations of Christianity by denying beauty to that spiritual liberty that comes to us dripping in the blood of Christ crucified. He, by His voluntary sacrifice on Calvary, delivered us from the domination of the devil when the pall of evil was closing down and darkening the world. The liberty for which we strive today is a sacred thing, inseparably entwined with that spiritual liberty for which the Savior of man died and which is the foundation of all just government. Because it is sacred, and death for it is akin to the sacrifice on Calvary, following far off and yet constant to that divine example, in every generation our best and bravest have died. Sometimes in our grief we cry out the foolish and unthinking words, ‘The sacrifice is too great.’

“It is not we who take innocent blood, but we offer it, sustained by the example of our immortal dead and that divine example which inspires us all for the redemption of our country. Facing our enemy, we must declare our attitude simply. We see in their regime a thing of evil incarnate. With it there can be no parley any more than there can be truce with the powers of Hell. We ask no mercy and we will accept no compromise.

“The civilized world dare not look on indifferent while new tortures are being prepared for our country, or they will see undermined the pillars of their own government and the world involved in unimaginable anarchy. But if the rulers of earth fail us, we still have refuge in the Ruler of Heaven, and though to some the judgments of God seem slow, they never fail, and when they fall they are overwhelming.”

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Now that was the speech which your husband delivered as his inaugural speech on being made Lord Mayor of Cork?

A. No. I have that here also.

Q. Senator Norris: This is the speech that he delivered at his trial?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: This is the speech, is it not—if it is not, correct me—that your husband made at his inaugural as Lord Mayor of Cork, and the document with which he was charged with having in his possession which they claimed to be seditious?

A. That was practically the same. This was the speech that he made at his trial.

Q. Have you another one there?

A. Yes. This was the speech he made when he was made Lord Mayor (indicating another paper).

Q. He delivered this speech at the trial?

A. Yes, practically the same thing.

I wish to say something else. You know this speech was one of the charges against him. Of course, one of the soldiers, the president of the court, read the speech, and even coming from him, it made a very great impression on everybody there. And even on the soldiers—no matter who they were—it impressed everybody.

RECONCILED TO HUSBAND'S DEATH

As I told you, I think I felt that day more myself than at any other time. Because now I felt that my husband was going to die. After that I was accustomed to it. The shock was more in the beginning for me. Of course I was upset, although I did not mean to be. But when he spoke himself, he made me feel all right. You have heard, I suppose, of the message that he sent to the men of Cork, that when we are doing work for Ireland, it should be not in tears but in joy. And so I think that it is Ireland that has kept me up all through. That is the only thing. There has been nothing else.

Q. When was he removed from Cork?

A. He was removed that night, or at four o'clock the next morning, I believe.

Q. Senator Norris: What was the result of the trial?

A. He was found guilty by the court-martial.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: And sentenced to what?

A. To two years. Of course he told them then that it meant nothing what his sentence was, because in a month's time he would be free, either alive or dead. None of us dreamed that it would be a month. I certainly did not think it would be more than a fortnight at the outside, and I did not think it would be that much.

Q. You say that after you heard his speech you were reconciled?

A. Of course I was always reconciled, but after that I felt quite happy about his work.

DEPORTATION AND IMPRISONMENT IN LONDON

Q. You say you went to London?

A. Yes, but I was able to speak to him after the trial. I asked one of the officers going out where they were going to take him. Of course he knew. He did not deny that he knew, but you know they are very petty. He would not tell me anything. My husband was taken off that night in the state he was in on a submarine.¹ They were afraid to take him from Cork during the day. He was taken to Pembroke in the submarine, and arrived there about two o'clock in the afternoon, and he was kept waiting until about six o'clock. Of course his sufferings were terrible coming over in a submarine. In an ordinary boat it would have been very different. He arrived in London about half-past two in the morning. They were afraid to take him there during the day. It was put in the London papers at first that he did arrive during the day. But that was a lie. And then he was taken to Brixton prison. My sister-in-law who is here went over first. My mother was not there, so she could not take the baby for me. Some people with whom I had been staying since Christmas, who were very kind to me, took it. I left on Saturday morning, and went straightway to see my husband.

Q. Where was he then?

A. In Brixton prison.

PRISON DOCTORS SEEK TO INDUCE HER TO END HUSBAND'S HUNGER STRIKE

Before I saw him one of the doctors of the prison spoke to me. He was not the head doctor. This was Dr. Higson. Of course he was an Englishman. He said to me, "You will see your husband in a few minutes, and will you not try to get him to take food?" He said he hoped I would see the foolishness of what he was doing. The greatest danger was not if he lost his life, but if he was injured for life. And he said, of course, that any injury which he would receive from the hunger strike might harm our children. I told him that I understood that, and it was perfectly true, and I under-

¹ The witness referred to a torpedo boat destroyer. See correction by Miss Mary MacSwiney, page 310.

stood the harm of going without food, and of course from a health point of view I quite agreed with him; but that I did not interfere with my husband in anything, especially in a matter of conscience; and each one was the best judge in matters of conscience of what he should do. He could not say very much to that. I saw my husband then. I saw a great change in him. He looked very badly indeed.

Then we used to see him every day. And after a bit, I think it was about a fortnight, the head doctor came back. He had been away. And of course he often asked me to ask my husband to take food. We never had anything like scenes, because I do not give people opportunity to do that, to have a fight or anything like scenes. We were always very civil to each other. But he thought it was utter foolishness for a man to refuse to eat when he always had food before him. Being an Englishman, he could not understand why a man should die for a principle. But the subordinate doctor, I must say, was more sympathetic. He never urged me to get my husband to take food after that one time when he told me what it would mean for our children, which I think from an English doctor's point of view I did not mind his putting before me. He did not say much more to me after that, but the other ones did. The specialist, Sir Norman Moore, came in to see him too, and he was also quite sympathetic.

Q. Did you see your husband every day?

A. I saw him every day. After a bit he did not like to be there without some one of us. My brother-in-law came over, and his other sister afterwards. For of course we were afraid that he would die any moment. Nothing but his faith kept him alive. There is no doubt about that. He did not like to be left alone, so one of us would go in the morning, and another at noon, and another in the evening, and like that.

HIS WISH TO DIE FOR IRELAND

This went on for some time. My husband was perfectly peaceful and happy. I do not think I could have gone on like that if I had not seen him every day, because he absolutely radiated peace. He told me in the beginning that one reason that he was glad to be doing what he was doing was that he had not taken a part in any of the dangerous things in Ireland, except the rebellion, and of course they did not fight in Cork; and he hated their being in danger when he was not in any. But what could he do? So he told me that he felt what he was doing was as dangerous as anything, and

on account of that he was glad to do it. He always wished to die for his country. He never had any other thought.

Things went on very much the same. We always saw him. After a bit they got two nurses for him, one for the day and the other for the night.

My husband was very charitable, and he never said a word against anyone. The doctors and nurses told me that the only thing which he did say—he didn't like the head doctor—and he said once, "I am fed up with him."

THE LAST FIVE DAYS: DOCTORS THREATEN FORCIBLE FEEDING

Then it came to the Wednesday before he died. There isn't very much to tell up to that. Well, the Wednesday before he died, the news had already come that one of the hunger strikers in Cork was dead. Of course, the doctors had promised us that they would not feed him and would not put any food in his medicine or anything of that kind, but they said that if he became unconscious that they would feed him.

Of course, if a person becomes unconscious, they are unconscious, and they have no will of their own; and they could do anything they liked with him. And so feeding him when he was unconscious was like feeding him when he was dead. Of course they did promise not to feed him at all, or to make any attempt to forcibly feed him—it would have been forcible, as long as he was conscious. It was on Tuesday, the Tuesday before my husband died, the news came from Cork to London of the death of one of the hunger strikers there. Of course he had gone a bit longer than my husband. This frightened the doctors in the prison. One of them went to my husband on his usual visit, and he turned everybody out of the room, including the nurse, which was not usual, for she always remained there. One of my sisters-in-law was there at the time. When she went back into the room my husband was terribly upset, frightfully upset, and he said that this doctor told him that he had to eat, he would make him eat. When I got there in the evening the other doctor, the second doctor, whom I do not think would have done a thing like that, was on duty. My sister-in-law said to him that Dr. Griffiths, the head doctor, had threatened to make my husband eat and had made him awfully uneasy that morning. When I went in my husband was quiet like usual, but looking very badly—worse than usual.

DELIRIUM

The next morning I was in the office of the Self-Determination League in London. The papers wished to get bulletins, and your American papers, too, wished to get bulletins on my husband's condition every two hours. We were allowed to use the prison telephone—they did not make any difficulty at all whatever about it. All the news was sent out from the office of the Self-Determination League; and of course, if there was any news about my husband for us, we would get it there. I happened to be in there in the morning. My two brothers-in-law were in there too. I was told that a telephone message had come, and that they were afraid the news was bad. So I and my brothers-in-law went out to the prison with Mr. O'Brien, who is the president of the Self-Determination League.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Mr. Arthur O'Brien?

A. Mr. Arthur O'Brien, yes. Do you know him?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I know him very well.

The Witness: So we went out, and when we got there we heard that my husband had become quite delirious. My sister-in-law—not this one, but the other¹—was with him. There was hammering going on outside, and my husband said to her, "That is Dr. Griffiths' new treatment." She said, "Shall I stop it?" And he said, "No," and then went out of his head completely. She asked the warden to telephone to the office so we would know, and he was very reluctant to do it. It was half-past twelve when we got there. Both of my brothers-in-law and my sisters-in-law were there then. They said my husband was normal again. But when I went in I saw that he was not. He was fairly himself, but not completely. The others all went away then but myself and the sister-in-law. We remained there. And he said to me, "I want the nurse." The nurse was at her dinner. My husband always had a most extraordinary consideration for everybody, and when he asked for the nurse when she was at her dinner, I knew he was not right. Then they asked us to go outside the door. We always went outside the door when they asked us; we never made any difficulties about that. And we heard my husband shouting out, and we went in then, and he was sitting up in bed and shouting. It was the delirium, because before this he could not hardly move a finger, and he spoke only in a whisper. And he was sitting up in bed and crying quite strong and saying, "This nurse will not let me have my wife and sister."

¹ Miss Annie MacSwiney.

And we said, "Here we are," and he knew us perfectly well. That was the worst of it. And in other things he was as mad as could be. But one thing he said to me then, when I came into the room, I liked. He said, "Muriel, you have always stuck by me." And he was very bad then, and talked rubbish. He could not have been more mad than he was. I have seen mad people, and they were not worse. And then Dr. Higson came up, who had always acted like a gentleman to me. He stroked him and got him to lie down; but of course he went on throwing his arms about and talking. And then they gave him morphia, and then he got quieter, and in about an hour he was asleep. I stayed for quite a good time, but did not disturb him.

FORBIDDEN ADMISSION TO DYING HUSBAND

I must tell you this occurrence. I wanted to do the best I could and wanted to try to make him better, and did not know what to do. I used to speak to him a little, and then the nurse said, "I think it is better not to speak to him, because it disturbs him." And so from that time on I did not speak to him, thinking it might disturb him. In fact, I never spoke to him first because it was hard for him to respond. But if he spoke, I answered him back, because we did not want to cross him and offend him when he was ill. He would say to me, "This is awful for you because you have to stay here." And I said, "It is a better time than we have had since we were married or since you have been Lord Mayor, because I can be with you all the time." And then we laughed. Anyway, he got bad during the night. Of course I was not there. All up to that time, although my husband had got terribly emaciated, his mind was perfectly clear and anybody could recognize him, because the face is the last thing that the hunger strike affects. For instance, a friend of mine who was our bridesmaid stayed with me all the time I was in London. She did not ask to see him. She was very sensible. But he asked to see her when she was going home, and so she went to see him. She said she would have known him quite well, although of course it gave her a great shock to see him. Up to that time, although he was delirious, you would have known him. But the next morning when I went in, I would not have known him at all. He was very quiet, and only moved his hands a little bit. That was Wednesday he got bad. The next day was Thursday. On Friday I was there in the evening. Of course they started feeding him when he was unconscious. And the nurse used to do that. I know very well that as long as the nurse was there at all, she had

to do what the doctor told her, and I never interfered with her in any way. I would not have spoken to her while she was doing it, because I was at one side of the bed and she was at the other, and I might have disturbed my husband. He never understood anything that was going on about him, I know, but there was a chance that it might have disturbed him, so I never said anything to her at all. Well, on Friday I was there in the evening, and my brother-in-law, the one who was in New York, Peter, he was there with me. And then the doctor came in in the evening. This was the one, the head one, Dr. Griffiths. Of course I went out of the room. We both went out of the room. We always did when the doctor was there, naturally. When he came out he told the warder to tell me that we were not to go into the room any more, any of us; that we were not to go into the room at all. I must say that after he got very bad the nurse used to turn us out very often. So they now said also that we were not even to stay outside the door. You see, when we would go outside the room before, we used to stay outside the door always. And they also stopped up every little hole or window we could see through. The warder said we could not stay outside the door, and I said I wanted to speak to the doctor, and he went down and found him. And I asked him if he was dying, if he would not want his wife to be near him. And he said he would. And he said it was bad for us to be in the room, so many of us. And I said, "We will go out and only one stay." And then he laid it onto the nurse. He said the nurse said it was bad for so many of us to be in the room. And I said, "What harm have I done since I have been here with my husband?" And he said nothing. He could not tell me a single thing that I had done to harm my husband. After a bit—he was a very weak man, you see—he gave in. I suppose he got orders to do this from the Home Office, but he gave in. And he said I could go in there when the nurse permitted me to, and that I could stay outside the door. I said, "I cannot be here always, and what will we do when I cannot be here?" He said, "I cannot refuse you, because you are his wife." But he had refused me previously. But he said the others could come there, but they would have to stay downstairs, a long distance away, and could not stay outside the door. I said that the only conclusion we could come to when they kept us outside of my husband's room was that they were doing something they did not wish us to see. So he finally said that when I could not be there, I could name one of the others to stay with my husband when the nurse permitted. Then I went upstairs. There was another nurse there, a new one, and I asked her if it was true that she had said I was not to go into

my husband's room, and she said it was. And I put the same question to her I had put to the doctor; and she said, "No, you do not interfere with me. You have never interfered with me when I was feeding him. But I know you are against it, and it makes me nervous." They were feeding him. They were giving him two teaspoonfuls of liquid food.

Q. When did they begin that?

A. Five days before his death. That was Wednesday, and he died the following Monday. I said to her, "Of course, I can quite understand that as long as you are here, you have to do what the doctor tells you; but if I were you I would not take a case like this." She knew she was not doing right. But she said, "I have taken this case and I must see it out." But my husband never said a word against this nurse, never a word.

I must tell you this, that she let me in the room just a few moments at a time. I was just outside the room, but I hardly ever saw my husband at all.

NEVER FED BY RELATIVES

Q. Senator Walsh: Did the newspapers of Great Britain announce that he was being fed?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. There were announcements in the American press that his relatives were feeding him.

A. Yes, that was British propaganda.

Q. Where did those announcements come from?

A. From the British government. It was British propaganda.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: As a matter of fact, did his relatives at any time put food before him?

A. Never. His relatives never did that.

Q. Did the prison officials offer him food?

A. Yes, always; it was always beside him.

Q. Did they bring him fresh food?

A. Oh, yes; it was milk and broth and things like that that he would have had if he got out. Food was always put before him.

SISTER-IN-LAW REFUSED ADMISSION

The next day was Saturday. My brother-in-law had been there with him through the night, and my sister-in-law was there to relieve him. I found her in the waiting room just inside the gate, and then she told me that they would not let her in; they had refused to let

her into the prison at all. The same sort of business that had been going on the night before.

They would not let her out to telephone either, and she could not send any message to my brother-in-law either. He was accustomed to be relieved in the morning, after being there all night. I went upstairs immediately, and it was about ten-thirty, and the nurse would not let me in.

FORBIDDEN USE OF TELEPHONE

As I said, I had always telephoned about noon to Mr. O'Brien's office about the condition of my husband. They had never made the slightest objection to it. The clerk now said I could not use the telephone, and I said, "By whose orders?" And he said, "By the governor's order." And he said very politely that he would speak to the governor if I wished. And I said I would speak to him myself. And I went up to the governor and asked him, and he said it was his orders. And I said, "I wanted to know, because of course your government is murdering my husband. You are only an instrument. But I want to know whether you are carrying out their orders." The governor said that we were using the telephone too much. I said we had never used the telephone much, and only with their permission. The deputy governor came up, and said we had always respected their wishes and had not used the telephone very much. He then had to admit it. I said another thing: "You must have got orders about this, so that they are stopping us from going in to see my husband." I think he was surprised at that, but he said, "You are very well treated here. You are using this place like a hotel, coming in here any moment you like." And I said, "This is hardly like a hotel. My husband does not wish to be here, and you are keeping him against his will." And he said, "Even in ordinary hospitals there are visiting hours, and you are not allowed to see your friends at any time." And I said, "In an ordinary hospital we would have put my husband there with people whom we trusted." I did not have any fight with him, but he had nothing to say. He sent a message up in the afternoon that if I had anything to telephone and wrote it on a piece of paper, they would send it. Of course you know what that would have meant.

PERMITTED ONLY HALF-HOUR WITH DYING HUSBAND

When my sister-in-law came in later, she was refused in the same manner. When I got back to the room the nurse let me in about half-past twelve, and then I was turned out again.

(Senator Thomas Walsh, of Montana, arrives and is escorted to the Commissioners' bench.)

She let me in for half an hour, and then I was asked to go out. She made some excuse like she had to take his temperature. I expect she was feeding my husband. And then I was in again a half hour later. Then the head doctor, Dr. Griffiths, came in and asked the nurse to go out, and I went out too. So I had only about a half hour with my husband that day. As a matter of fact, it was the last day I saw him; but I think he may have half known me that day, because he smiled a little bit when I kissed him. I do not know, but I think he did.

There was another thing about my husband that I want to mention. I think the hardest thing on him was being separated from his little daughter. And I asked him if he would like to have her over, and he said, "Oh, no; it would only be cruelty to have her over," and she would not recognize him if she saw him because he was so changed.

That day Mr. O'Brien came up and took me to the Home Office, and we spoke to them there, protesting about the treatment of my sister-in-law and myself, and requesting them to let my husband's relatives be near him. Of course they refused; and they refused about the telephone point blank. There was no humanity in them whatever.

The next morning was the first time that I collapsed at all. I had kept up until then and really felt very well. But the next morning I felt ill and could not go, and went to bed again. And in the afternoon, since I was about the only person that was allowed in the room, Mr. O'Brien took me down in a taxi. I opened the door and the nurse was there, and she said, "Would you wait outside a few minutes?" I had not been there at all that day, and my brother-in-law had not been there. I must tell you that the day before I had not been allowed in to see him until half-past twelve, although I had come about ten. This day the nurse said, "Would you wait just a little while?" They had a habit then of having a warder just inside the door. And I opened the door again in about five minutes and asked if I could go in, and he said he would ask the nurse, and she said no, she was taking his temperature. And in about five minutes more, about twenty minutes from the time I came, I sent in word again if I could see him, and she said no, I could not. And so I did not see my husband again until after his death.

The next day my brother-in-law¹ was there, and his chaplain, Father Dominick, and they saw him. He was dead, and he looked like a perfect martyr.

THE INQUEST

Shall I tell you about the inquest?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Yes.

The Witness: That was on Wednesday. I was in bed after he died. But they thought it was important for me to be at the inquest, and I went. I was addressed by the coroner, who asked me my address. I was puzzled, because we had no address. We could not have a home. And I said, "Cork." And he said, "Cork is a big place." But that was the best I could do. He asked me my husband's profession, and I said, "An officer of the Irish Republican Army." And he said that was no profession. Being English, he could not understand why a man should have a profession when he was not working for money. And I said, "You have an army, and you have officers." And then I think he understood, quite. Of course I told him that my husband did not wish to die. And the specialist who had seen him, Sir Norman Moore, had said so too. I was glad that we called him in. I told them that as soon as my husband got out, he would take food and get better. He was only on hunger strike, as you know, as a protest for being arrested illegally; arrested by the forces of England in Ireland. It was illegal for them to arrest the Lord Mayor, the chief magistrate of the city of Cork. It was against the laws of the Irish Republic that they should do such a thing.

HUSBAND'S BODY SECURED WITH DIFFICULTY

When the inquest was over our solicitor asked the Crown solicitor for my husband's body. And he said, "Where is the funeral to take place?" And my brother-in-law said, "In Cork, of course." Then the chief solicitor said, "You cannot do that. You must get a permit to take his body out of England." And he said we should ask the governor. And we asked the governor and he referred us to the Home Office. And so Mr. O'Brien and Mr. MacDonald and I all went to the Home Office. We saw Mr. Shortt, and he hemmed and hawed and all that, but tried to evade telling us anything definite. I never met a man who was a greater brute. He was not a gentleman, anyway not in his outside manner. He was just jesting

¹ John MacSwiney.

and laughing all the time. I said, "I understand that there was a technical difficulty about my husband's body coming with us, but I suppose there would be no difficulty." He said, "I know nothing at all about it." They all say that over there. And I said, "I suppose I can go and take my husband's body." And he then got afraid, and he said, "Oh, you cannot do that. There may be some law against it." And I said, "Will you find out what the law is? How long will it take you to do it?" He said, "I cannot tell you how long it may take—an hour or more. I don't know." I said, "Do you refuse to give me my husband's body?" And he said, "Oh, no; I cannot say that."

One of Mr. Shortt's secretaries came out with us. I must say that he was a contrast to Mr. Shortt. He gave me a chair and asked me if I wanted to sit down. He said that if we would come back in an hour, he would see about it. He said they would make arrangements and perhaps give us a special boat to go to Dublin. Of course our arrangements had been made. When Mr. MacDonald saw him a little later, Mr. Shortt said it would be all right, and he was sorry there had been any delay, and of course it had absolutely nothing to do with him, and that we could take the body. My sister-in-law will tell you what happened afterwards and how they broke their word.

THE SPIRIT OF THE WOMEN OF IRELAND

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Senator Walsh would like to ask you a few questions.

Senator Walsh: I would like to ask you what the spirit of the Irish women in Ireland is about the establishment of the Irish Republic.

A. Just what mine is and what my husband's was. Of course we all want our Republic and we want England gone, and there will not be peace in the world until we get it.

Q. To what extent have the women organized and taken action?

A. They have a society called the *Cumann na m'Ban*. That is a society of women like the Red Cross. But I think my sister-in-law can tell you more about that than I can. Especially after the baby came, I minded the baby myself.

PRESENT SUFFERINGS OF PEOPLE: NEED FOR RELIEF

Q. Do you know anything about the present sufferings of the people, especially among the women and children in Ireland?

A. Yes, indeed I do. The Black-and-Tans—one of the things they did was to prevent the people going into the shops and buying food. Also, they are destroying creameries, and that means no milk distributed in the towns for the children. And of course there has always been a great deal of poverty in Ireland, as I told you; and they are making things a hundred times worse.

Q. Is it your opinion that relief is needed in Ireland?

A. It is absolutely essential or all the people will die.

Q. To what extent was the policy of starvation being carried out when you left Ireland?

A. Well, I left Ireland three months ago, you see, and it is since then that all that has come in force. I was ill, of course, and did not go back for my husband's funeral, but my sister-in-law did, and she can tell you.

Q. You did not go to your husband's funeral?

A. No, I was ill. My sister-in-law was there. I was only in Ireland for a few days before I came on. The day I was there they shot into a football match and killed several people.

Q. Were you there at the game?

A. No. But then in Cork it was very much the same. They threw a bomb into a crowd and killed four people. One young man whom I knew, they took both his legs off, and he did not die until the next day. And of course ever so many people were injured. My sister-in-law can tell you ever so much more about that.

But even before I left for England there were motor lorries and armored cars going through the streets so close that often one could scarcely pass between them. One day while I was on the tram they fired. Nobody in the tram was hurt, but we all saw them fire. And these lorries full of soldiers have terrorized the countryside. There was a Mrs. Quinn, a younger woman than I am. She was sitting on a lonely country road, as I often did when I was in the country with the baby. She was sitting by the road with one baby, and was going to have another soon. And the Black-and-Tans came along the road in a lorry and shot her.¹

Q. Had she committed any offense?

A. Oh, no; none whatever. To prove that there was no one with her, it was some time before a priest came. It was a very out-of-the-way place. I felt that that case might have been mine.

Q. Some one has related that the women of Ireland have steeled themselves to such an extent that weeping is unknown among them.

A. Well, I never cry.

Q. Is that the general feeling—that they must steel themselves for any emergency?

¹ The case of Mrs. Ellen Quinn of Gort, County Galway.

A. Yes, it is. Weeping is almost unknown. But there is just one thing: you know I did not go back to my own country except for two or three days, but I never cried all through, not even at the end. But since I have been here I feel that there is so much sympathy—I am not speaking of sympathy in letters and what people say to me, but it is what I feel from everyone. But that sympathy has almost made me cry here, and it did yesterday, and I felt that I might not be able to go through this hearing today.

PURPOSE OF HUSBAND IN SACRIFICING HIS LIFE

Q. Did your husband ever say what he felt his sacrifice would do for Ireland? A. He hoped that it would strengthen them still further in their struggle for independence.

Q. That was one of his considerations?

A. That was, of course, the main consideration of his life. He never thought of anything else.

Q. Where is your baby now? A. In Cork.

Q. Is she well? A. Very well. Would you like to see her photo? I've just got it from home.

The Commission: Very, very much.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Your husband's hunger strike lasted seventy-four days? A. Yes.

Q. You saw your husband the last time how many days before his death? A. I saw him on Saturday. I was not allowed in at all on Sunday. And he died on Monday.

Q. On Monday? A. I was not called at all when he died. He died at six, and I did not hear about it until eight o'clock.

Q. Did the doctor persist in feeding him when he was unconscious until the very end? A. Oh, yes, and I think that that really killed him. It was terrible to see him when he was more helpless than our baby was when she was born.

Q. That feeding continued from Wednesday, then, until Monday?

A. Oh, yes. And I know that he was in pain, because I could see it on his face. Another time when I saw him in great pain was on the tenth day. He said to me that it was not so that people never desired food after the tenth day. He suffered right to the end.

Q. He wanted food right to the end? A. Yes, indeed.

HOPE FOR RECOGNITION OF REPUBLIC BY AMERICA

I hope you will all help us win our Republic, because that was what my husband lived and died for. And we look on you in America very much as our own people, because you have been all so very kind to us. I looked upon this hearing as an ordeal, but it has not been at all. So I hope you will all do what you can for us. Also in the relief which I think has been started for Ireland. But of course the chief thing is for Ireland to get her freedom.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do you think the relief work is the greatest thing that can be done for the Irish people?

A. Yes, I do; but I think recognizing our Republic is the most immediate. The people who have suffered and are suffering most from hunger would choose that, too. It is the most immediate.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

SECOND HEARINGS

Session Two, Continued

Before the Commission, sitting in Odd Fellows' Hall, Washington, D. C., December 9, 1920. 2:15 P. M.

CONTINUATION OF TESTIMONY OF MISS MARY MACSWINEY

Chairman Howe: The hearings will proceed now if you will quiet down and take your seats.

Mr. Frank P. Walsh: Now, Miss MacSwiney, I believe you said that you had not finished your remarks on some phases last evening that you would like to begin now with. I think Miss MacSwiney has a number of details that her sister-in-law was not familiar with.

The Witness: What do you want me to begin with?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I think perhaps it might be well to tell the story of the taking of your brother to London, and what took place at Holyhead, and all that.

The Witness: Then I am to tell my part in my brother's arrest and imprisonment?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Yes, it would be well to tell that, and about his martyrdom.

MRS. MACSWINEY'S HEALTH SHATTERED BY PERSECUTION OF HUSBAND

The Witness: I think it might be well for me to emphasize something in my sister-in-law's story, something that she did not emphasize very much. She is very young, and she was never used to fighting things out as we were, and the constant strain of her husband's being on the run, as we call it in Ireland—that is, avoiding arrest, especially that terrible time when she had to take a little baby of six weeks old from the south to the north of Ireland to see her father in prison, because we knew he would be arrested upon his release; and the result was that for months before my brother's final arrest she really was in a very precarious state of health. And that added very much to his troubles. From Christmas last until Easter she was so ill that she was unable to have her little baby with her, and the baby was with us all the time. Her husband went constantly to see her when he could. He occasionally spent a night with her. She was very ill indeed, but she did the best she could to

keep up. At Easter time she was better. That was just before he was made Lord Mayor. You asked her to state what he said to her about that. I imagine he said very little, because he knew and we all knew that it would mean his death. And naturally he did not want to distress her by talking about that.

At Easter time, that is, very shortly after he was made Lord Mayor, she got very much better, and the baby was taken up to see her just on the Saturday before Easter. At that time my sister and I had to go to Dublin on business, and we would have been very puzzled to know what to do about baby if her mother had not got better. She went up to her mother then, and was with her until she went to England. But all that time my brother was on the run—you know that on the run means evading arrest.

VICISSITUDES OF MEN "ON THE RUN"

Q. Senator Walsh: May I interrupt to ask you what per cent. of young men are on the run?

A. I would say about ninety-nine per cent.,—perhaps a hundred per cent. of the young men and some of the old men.

Q. So that every young man of military age is, under present conditions, unable to live in his own home?

A. Yes. Some of them do live there, but they take their chances. My oldest brother, who is an American citizen, is not sleeping at home with us simply because my sister will not have my brother in the house. Generally one looks upon one's brother as a protection. But when you have a house full of women, you can sometimes escape from the visits of the Black-and-Tans, who say that they are not shooting down women and children. They are doing it secretly, but they have not done it openly so far. But if they come to your house at night, they would shoot down any man they found there. My brothers have been staying with friends. My oldest brother said some time ago, "What is the use of sending me to So-and-So's house, for they are all on the run too, and it seems to me that all the men in Ireland are sleeping in one another's houses." But it saves them, because when the Black-and-Tans come to a house and find a man and ask him his name, and he does not happen to be the man they are looking for, they often do not take that man, and go away quite satisfied.

Another point is why we are not afraid during the day. My sister explained that. My brother always had a bodyguard during the day, and they did not arrest him, and would not ordinarily arrest any other man during the day because they would not want to

be recognized. That is one reason. Another is that deeds of darkness are always done in the dark. We never fear arrest during the day. It is always at night that they come.

I can also tell you that a couple of nights when the searching seemed to slacken a little, my brother was in a very great need of rest, and he said he would sleep at home. I would like to emphasize that "at home" always means our home, because, although they had two houses after they were married, he was never able to sleep at home. On a couple of occasions he was very tired and said, "I must absolutely have a night's rest, and I must risk it." One night when he decided to risk it, at half-past eleven there was a knock at the door. You can imagine our state of mind when at that hour there was a knock at the door, and we thought it was the military. That particular night it happened not to be the military. It was one of his Volunteers who came to tell him that the enemy were on his track and he would have to go. And he had to get up and go at that time of night. Another night when he and his bodyguard ventured to stay in the house, a similar message came. We were sure it was the military, and they got ready to defend themselves. They were not going to be taken alive. We went to the door, and we discovered it was another Volunteer soldier with the message that they were after him. But the two, my brother and his bodyguard, the two of them were there; and if they had come and trapped them, they would have sold their lives dearly.

The result of it was that he got no rest. He did not try to stay at home a third time. That was the kind of a life they were living. He always went about guarded. All his meals were taken at our house. We are quite near, not more than six minutes' walk from the city hall. He was able to come over the bridges of the north and south channels quietly and take his meals. His last meal there was for tea at half-past five on the afternoon of his arrest. And then he went to the city hall and was arrested.

Senator Walsh: When I interrupted you, you were speaking about the health of your sister-in-law, and you were talking about your brother being on the run.

The Witness: I don't think I need to say any more about my sister-in-law's health, except just that. She really did have a very hard time of it, and she broke down also just after the inquest. She broke down and was obliged to stay in London, as I said. There is a limit to human endurance, and some of us have had to go quite close to it. She could not do anything more for him, and I think she was too ill to go back to Cork and face things there.

SYMPATHY HARDER TO BEAR THAN CRUELTY

There is another thing. It is harder to face sympathy sometimes than to face brutality. One of the senators asked if it is true that the women of Ireland have steeled themselves against tears. While we were in England it was a point of honor to us that the enemy should never see us cry. It does not mean that the women of Ireland do not have to cry sometimes in secret. And what my sister-in-law told you is true. We have been nearer to tears since we came to America than any time since we have been in England. That is why I say that sympathy is often harder to bear than cruelty.

Our tormentors in England gave us the very great privilege of being with him from early morning to night, and my youngest brother stayed with him all night. That was a very great privilege, but we knew that it was not given to us for kindness. It was given to us because they thought that no body of women could go through that without breaking down, and if we would break down, it might cause my brother to break down. That was the reason for allowing us to see my brother. And it was very, very trying to see him dying by inches.

In telling you my brother's story, I would like to confine myself to his prison experiences from the point of view of Ireland and not the personal point of view. I want to deal with the English propaganda to discredit him and to discredit Ireland's cause. And I will ask you to allow me to leave the personal side of it out of the question.

LORD MAYOR ARRESTED WITHOUT CHARGE; EVIDENCE MANUFACTURED LATER

When my brother was arrested, he was arrested on no particular charge.

Q. Senator Walsh: This was his last arrest?

A. This was his last arrest. The charge was manufactured after the arrest. That was quite usual. They always manufacture the evidence. But I will come back to that later on. Perhaps there is one particular thing I had better tell you now. They have very often manufactured evidence in this way: they have sent anonymous letters to the houses of people which they were going to raid, addressed to the person they wanted to implicate. These anonymous letters were very often incitements to shoot policemen, and various things like that. If these letters were found, then they

were immediately brought up as evidence. Now, this has happened in several instances. On one particular morning the Countess de Markievicz got by the first post a letter with the copy of a police document which was of very great importance. She was clever enough,—we all have to keep our wits about us,—to put it straight in the fire. A half hour later the house was raided, and every letter—every bit of paper was examined. They were looking for that document which they themselves had sent.

On Thursday my brother was arrested, on Thursday night at seven o'clock. On that afternoon, by the afternoon post, which comes between half-past four and five, a letter came addressed to The Lord Mayor of Cork, care of Miss Mary MacSwiney, Belgrave Place, Cork. There was also an indication that I might open it. O yes, it was addressed to the Lord Mayor or to Miss Mary MacSwiney, Belgrave Place, Cork. That came about a half hour before my brother came home to tea. I opened it. It was in a disguised handwriting, and purported to be from a Volunteer in Tipperary saying that the Volunteers in Tipperary were very lax in the people they allowed to go about, giving details about a certain policeman named Quinn, whom this letter said was causing a great deal of trouble, and urging that without further delay this man should be shot. I read the letter twice over. It was an anonymous letter. I tore it up and burnt it. When my brother came in, I told him what had happened. These things are so much matters of course that there was not much more comment made about it.

They arrested him at seven o'clock. At midnight that night two military officers and a large body of men came to our house to raid it. They were sent for that letter. They wanted it for evidence against my brother. That is the sort of thing that we have to put up with. That is the sort of wicked propaganda—they manufacture that propaganda. If that letter had been found in my house—because they knew his letters always went there—if that letter had been found he would have been charged, not with the charges that were preferred against him, but on being the leader of a conspiracy to murder policemen. And they searched my house very thoroughly indeed that night to get evidence of his complicity in the murder of policemen. They did their best to manufacture it beforehand. And I would like to emphasize to you how we have to keep our wits sharpened to counter such propaganda. All through my brother's hunger strike, we have had to keep, as it were, two sides of us alive: we have had the personal sorrow, on which I am not going to touch,—I don't want to

mention that; we have also had to fight day and night the English propoganda that was carried on to discredit him with the world. And I want, if you will have patience with me, to stress that in detail.

BEGINNING OF HUNGER STRIKE

He was arrested on the twelfth of August, and kept in Cork jail. My sister-in-law told you that I went down to see her on Saturday. I saw him in Cork jail that morning, and that was the first intimation I had that he was hunger striking. He looked very bad then, although it was only his third day. On Saturday I went down to see her and to look after the baby. She decided she would not go until Monday morning. On Sunday morning I was awakened by a great friend of ours, a gentleman who lives across the water, who came down to tell us that he had information that my brother was to be court-martialed at eleven o'clock the next morning. That information was not given to us officially, but we found it out. She decided to go up at once, and I stayed below.

SPEECH OF LORD MAYOR AT TRIAL

Therefore I was not present at the trial, but I know that the speech he made at the trial stressed some points that were not brought out in the speech she read to you. He used practically the same terms that he used in his speech upon his inauguration as Lord Mayor. But he said that he was really the person who should be trying them, and he told those military officers, with respect to the charge that they emphasized particularly, the charge that he had a police code, that he was the only person in that city who should have a police code, and anybody else in that city who had a police code without his permission was guilty of an illegal act, and it was his business to try them. They said they found the code in his desk. That was a lie. That was an absolute lie. The code at the time of his arrest was in the possession of somebody else. That person did not have time to destroy it, and he stuck it in a place that he thought might escape the attention of the military. It did not escape their attention. They captured it. They captured it outside the city hall in the yard. They did not capture it in the city hall at all. But they took it at once and put it in the Lord Mayor's desk, and said they found it there. That was a lie. However, that made no difference. The attitude my brother took was, as he said, "I accept absolute responsibility for that code, and I am the only one in the city who is entitled to have it."

The other two charges, that he had a uniform of the Irish Republican Army and that he was the presiding officer of a body that had sworn allegiance to Dail Eireann, were due, of course, to the English attitude toward their authority in Ireland. And their right to assume that authority he denied absolutely.

TOLERANT ATTITUDE OF LORD MAYOR TOWARD POLITICAL OPPONENTS

I do not think there is anything more I want to say about that, but I want to read one sentence of his speech upon his inauguration as Lord Mayor. He says, in speaking of his comrade who had just been murdered¹ (he speaks of a meeting that was held immediately after the election), "I would recall some of my words at our first meeting after his election as Lord Mayor. I realize that most of us in the minority here were loyal citizens of the Irish Republic." (By the minority he means those who are Unionists and Nationalists in the Corporation.) "I realize," he said, "that most of us in the minority here were loyal citizens of the Irish Republic, if the English occupation did not threaten your lives. But you lacked the spirit and the hope to join with us in the fight to complete the work already so well begun." That is our attitude toward the minority. We know they would be with us if some of them were not so much afraid of their lives. We also know that many Unionists are now coming over to us in large numbers. There is an old saying that nothing succeeds like success. And we have been so successful that those who used to be Unionists are now coming over to support the Republic.

And another sentence he said: "The shining hope of our time is that the great majority of our people is now strong in that faith." (The faith that will endure to the end is what he means.) "To you, gentlemen of the minority, I would address a word. You seem to be hypnotized by that evil—the usurpation which calls itself self-government. I ask you again to take courage and hope. It seems to me, and I do not say it to hurt you, that you have a very lively faith in the power of the devil, and very little faith in the power of God."

I quote these few sentences to show you what our spirit is toward the dwindling minority who uphold British rule in Ireland. They do not uphold it because they love it. They uphold it because they fear it. But they will learn what we have long known,

¹His friend and predecessor, Lord Mayor Thomas MacCurtain. See index.

that the only thing one should be afraid of in Ireland today is to be afraid of being afraid.

LAST VISIT WITH BROTHER BEFORE HIS DEPORTATION

When my sister-in-law came up to Cork on Monday, after my brother's arrest, I remained in Youghal. I did not know then she was coming down, but I got a telegram to catch the four o'clock train up to Cork. The gentleman who brought the telegram also offered to stay there and look after baby until my sister-in-law got back. She met me at the station and told me that the trial was over, and probably he would be deported that night, and that I had better go up at once, and that a special permission had been given for me to see him. I went up to Cork, arriving there about six o'clock. My sister had by that time received the letter from General Strickland, commander of the British forces, that I and my younger brother, who had not seen him during the day, might see my brother. We went up to the barracks. He was sitting in one of the large rooms,—evidently an officer's bedroom, and he was sitting there wrapped up in a big coat and evidently feeling very badly. I asked when he was to be sent away. The military officers said they did not know. Of course, they knew, but they had orders not to tell us. I said, "This thing is rather important to us. My brother has only the clothes he has on. If you are going to send him out of the country, we want to send him a suitcase with clothes." They said they did not know; they could not tell us; but they thought it would be wiser to send him the suitcase. My sister went down there then and had a suitcase of clothes and some things sent him. We tried hard to find where he was to be sent, but we could not find out. But the officers there tried to be as nice to us as they could, and we stayed there until half-past eight o'clock. That meant we could not see him again. So we stayed there until half-past eight and then we went away.

The next thing was, as I told you, that at midnight the military searched our house, and I think they got very tired of it before long, because our house happens to be a school, and all the documents of the school for the past four years were there, and I told them they had better take up their lodgings there for a fortnight if they expected to search all these things. They searched all the correspondence, however, but they did not find the letter that I had received that evening and had burned. That letter, of course, was sent by the British secret service department.

NECESSITY OF SCRUPULOUS ACCURACY IN STATEMENTS

On Friday we learned that he was at the military barracks, but we did not know what they were going to do with him. On Saturday he was sent to the Cork jail. On Tuesday he was sent over to England. I am going to tell you he did not go in a submarine, but in a British destroyer. My sister-in-law said a submarine. I am going to correct it, because if I did not mention that it was a destroyer and not a submarine, you would have all the pro-British papers in Britain and America crying out—they would take that one slip and would say that it was all a lie—that every word of the statement we have given here is a lie. That is why I want to be absolutely exact. That is why I want to make this small correction, because from one small slip that is a small inaccuracy, they would seek to discredit everything that we have said here, and would try to destroy what might be very important for Ireland. It was not a submarine. It was a British destroyer. But, as Archbishop Mannix has told us, they are not very comfortable things to travel on. They are not ocean liners meant for the comfort and convenience of their passengers. They are designed for the maximum of use.

Chairman Howe: Miss MacSwiney, if you will, just stop there. We are required to give up this hall at one o'clock, unfortunately. The meeting will be adjourned, and the hearings will be continued at two-fifteen this afternoon at the Hotel LaFayette.

(Adjournment 12:57 P. M.)

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Hotel LaFayette, 2:28 P. M.

Chairman Howe: The hearings will begin now.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Will you please continue, Miss MacSwiney? I think you were telling us about taking your brother over to England in a destroyer.

THE VIGIL IN BRIXTON PRISON

The Witness: That was on the night of Monday or Tuesday morning. I think he left Cork about four o'clock Tuesday morning. At least he was taken away during the curfew hours. And then we wired the authorities to know where he was, and we did not get any information. Meanwhile we wired friends in England to learn where he was. Mr. Arthur O'Brien put his machinery to work to know where he was. And he wired us that he was at

Brixton. That was Thursday morning. The authorities also found out that he was over at Brixton. But I was half-way over when they wired. I left Cork immediately and arrived in London Friday morning, the twentieth of August, and I saw my brother that day. My sister-in-law arrived Saturday, and it was arranged that as soon as the situation got so dangerous that my brother was on the point of death, that I should send word to my sister and younger brother to come at once. We sent telegrams regularly twice a day home, and also telegrams were sent to the City Hall to tell how he was. When I saw my brother then on Friday, the twentieth, I did not think he could live a week. Dr. Higson, the doctor of the prison who was then in charge, told me he would give me word when my brother was at the point of death. He told me he would send me word in time to advise my sister. On the following Tuesday he had a very bad time, and he was so seriously ill that I did not wait any longer, but wired my brother and sister to come, too, and not wait any longer. When they did come he collapsed quite. It was a very bad time. As you were told in the beginning, about the tenth day is a very bad time.

Then he seemed to remain stationary. Then when it was about half over he got very great pains, a kind of neuritis. And then at the end time, there was nothing but very great weakness. You can understand what his sufferings were, and therefore I do not want to linger on that point.

ENGLISH PROPAGANDISTS MISCALCULATE THE EFFECTS OF LORD MAYOR'S IMPRISONMENT

I want to speak of the English anti-Irish propaganda on the whole situation. We were allowed, as I said this morning, unlimited access to my brother, even to the extent of allowing my youngest brother to remain in the prison all night long. That seemed very kind, but I believe it was done not so much to be kind to us as to break my brother down. England, from the point of view of getting a victim, got a very bad one in the case of my brother. The doctors were obliged to report that forcible feeding would not do in his case. They sometimes try forcible feeding so the prisoner will not starve himself to death. Forcible feeding in my brother's case would only have accelerated his death. On account of an attack of pleurisy in his infancy he had a weak spot in his lungs, and therefore forcible feeding would only have hastened his death.

The second mistake England made was the bringing of him

from Cork to London. They dare not forcibly feed a man in Cork now, but they thought they could do it in London. If they had kept him in Cork I am quite sure they would have kept the knowledge of what was going on from the world; and probably you would never have heard of it, and we would not have received your invitation to come and testify about the wrongs of Ireland. By taking him to London, he was in the spot where newspaper reporters from all quarters of the world are. And the result was that the reasons of that hunger strike were heralded all over the world, and did more good for Ireland than anything that has happened for a hundred and fifty years. It did far more good for Ireland than Easter Week did, for this reason: many people said it was not an opportune time for us to strike at England. We were stabbing England in the back, we were told. France was very angry with us, and France has always been a friend of ours. And France to this day has not forgiven us. We are very sorry, for France has always been a friend of ours, but we cannot help it. France would take care of herself in the same way. That is one reason why Easter week did not help us so much with the outside world. It was not so good a propaganda for us as my brother's death was.

And then again, it would not have done so much good for Ireland if they had not taken him to London and his family had not moved over there and settled there with him. England was very much surprised at the great wave of sympathy beginning to go throughout the whole world, and then she began to try to counter that propaganda in every way she could. The papers began to say that the doctors were feeding him; that they were giving him proteids in his medicine. I called the doctors' attention to it, and they pooh-poohed it and said, "Who cares what the newspapers say? Who pays any attention to it?" Those are the words of the English doctors, gentlemen of the press, and not mine.

ATTITUDE OF PRISON DOCTORS TOWARD LORD MAYOR

When we arrived there the only doctor in charge was Dr. Higson, the second doctor. A little later Dr. Griffiths, the senior doctor, came on. A little later on the junior doctor came on, and our little contact with him showed him the worst of the three. Dr. Griffiths was a very capable man, and the willing tool—I say it deliberately—the willing tool of the Home Office in everything they did. Dr. Higson was a very humane man, whose attitude showed

that he sympathized with my brother, but he was helpless. One day in talking with him and he was pointing out his helplessness, I told him one position he might take, although I knew he would not. He could have come out and condemned his government and resigned his position for its inhumanity. Of course he would not do it. That was asking an Englishman to be heroic. Of Dr. Higson I have nothing to say but good. He made our time at Brixton as comfortable as he could, and I do not blame him for anything that happened. His only fault was that his courage was not equal to his heart.

The third doctor I have nothing to say about. I had very little conversation with him. The only real question I think I ever put to him was on the day when my sister and I were locked out of the prison, and the Home Office said it was by the doctor's orders. I spoke to each doctor individually. I said, "Doctor, the Home Office says that the doctors are responsible for our being denied permission to see my brother," and I asked him, "Are you the responsible one?" And he answered, "Am I? Perhaps." That was all, but it was given with a sneer and a toss of the head that showed him to be the most contemptible creature on the face of the earth.

SECRET ANALYSIS OF MEDICINE FOILS PROPAGANDA THAT BROTHER RECEIVED LIQUID FOOD

I want to deal now with propaganda. I asked the doctors to make a statement that they were not putting food in my brother's medicine, and they refused. That was getting such world-wide publicity—the newspaper reporters from all over the world were coming to us to know if that was possible, and the belief was getting so general that it was being done that we had to counteract it somehow.

I am going to give you now a piece of information that is given for the first time to anybody. We stole some of the medicine. We abstracted a dose of the medicine from under the very eyes of the jailer, and we had it analyzed. The analysis proved that there was absolutely nothing in the medicine but just what the doctors had told us it was,—a purgative medicine to keep the body functioning in an orderly way and to act simply as any ordinary medicine. There was absolutely no trace of food. The analysis was given. There was only one thing in the analysis that seemed to puzzle the analyst. That was that he detected the traces of

alcohol, as if there had been perfume in the bottle. That was exactly what it was. It was a small eau-de-cologne bottle in which we took the sample of medicine from the prison. This is the first time that this is given to anybody, even to our own intimate friends. Only my brother knew of it, and my sister and myself. For a long time even my sister-in-law did not know about it, because we wanted to keep it very secret. Now, you will ask, if it was so secret as all that, what use was it to us? As it was, we could not let it be known that we had analyzed the medicine, or we would have been all turned out of the prison. So having satisfied ourselves that they were not playing any tricks, we set about satisfying the public. We got the most eminent doctor that we could. We asked permission from the Home Office to have a physician of our own go in and see my brother. And we got that specialist to go in and see him. We did not tell him anything about that analysis, needless to say. We told him to examine the medicine, that we wanted to be satisfied that the doctors were not putting proteids in the medicine they were giving my brother. We asked that doctor to go there for another reason. There was a rumor that my brother, being on the point of death, was to be moved to a nursing home; that the authorities were afraid to have him die in the prison, and wanted him to be moved outside. We wanted independent medical testimony that he was not able to be moved. They gave us that permission. I think their idea was that they wanted to represent to the outside world that they wished to be as nice as they possibly could to us and they did not want to refuse us anything that they could possibly grant. Our purpose in having the doctor was to make a public statement that my brother was not getting any food in his medicine. We knew from the analysis, but we wanted a specialist to make the statement. The doctor making the examination was very nervous indeed when he went in, but on coming out the first thing that he said to all of us was, "The Lord Mayor does not want to die. He has no intention of committing suicide." Of course we knew he did not want to die. What he wanted was freedom. The doctor came away from his interview with my brother evidently with a very high opinion of his character and principles. And I told him straight out that we wanted the assurance that the doctors were not feeding him secretly, and he gave us that assurance and said we might trust the doctors because they were all honorable men. And, of course, we had attained our object as far as the newspapers were concerned; and from that day on there was not a hint in any of the English papers that the doctors were feeding him secretly.

INSINUATION THAT RELATIVES SECRETLY FED HIM

That disposed of that, but they next said that his relatives were feeding him secretly. Of course, they could not say openly that we were doing so. They said—of course, even the doctors said, “The food is always there, and he can eat at any time.” And the curious thing was that they changed the food to meet his condition. At first there was chicken and eggs and the like. And as he got weaker afterwards they brought him chicken broth, meat essence, milk with brandy, and the things he would naturally get if he would take food. And we were invited to give them to him. Then began the insinuations in the papers that we were giving him food secretly. We never gave him food, but we were giving him water whenever he asked for it. Sometimes he would say, “Give me some water,” and we would go and get him some water, even when the nurse was in the room. But from the day that this propaganda began that we were feeding him secretly, we would not give him the water; we would let the nurse get him the water. We had to watch like lynxes from beginning to end. Every step held a trap for us. And all that was to counteract the deed that was creating so much sympathy for Ireland all over the world.

INSIDIOUS APPEALS TO GET BROTHER TO TAKE FOOD

And then there were the constant appeals not to let such a good man die, that his life would be so much better for Ireland than his death. Some of these appeals pretended to be from friends of Ireland who told us what a great mistake we were making in letting him starve to death; others were from people who abused us shamefully for letting him die. Such was their propaganda,—which I know you will not ask me to elaborate. My brother was told that it was hard for his wife and sisters to see him suffer, and for their sake would he not take a little food. And we were told that it was terrible to have such a noble man die, and would not we coax him to have a little food. One day, in answer to the pleas like that that the doctors made to him, he said, “Doctors, my wife and sisters are with me in this. They would not ask me to stop. They would think me a coward if I did.” That was verily the one great consolation that he had,—that we were whole-heartedly with him in his fight. But the doctor came in the afternoon and suggested to us in another way: that my brother was

anxious to discontinue, only he was afraid to do it, thinking that we would think him a coward and give him a hard time afterwards. I am telling that only to show you the insidious way that they went about trying to discredit us, and to give you another instance why I corrected that small slip this morning where a submarine was mentioned instead of a torpedo destroyer. Of course, my brother did not say that. He told us afterwards what he had said. And he told us over and over again how much we strengthened and supported him because we were with him. And he often said to us individually that he knew that our part in the suffering was ever so much harder than his, because it is always harder to see one you love suffer than to suffer yourself. None of you have ever had to endure that sort of thing,—that incessant torture of appeal day after day. I suppose the doctors thought they were doing their duty. Most of these appeals were made to me and my sister,—chiefly to me. They had the grace to leave his wife alone. I think her youth and her grace appealed to them. Perhaps they thought we were not feeling it so much. But we got the brunt of it to bear, and it was not easy.

ANONYMOUS LETTERS OF ABUSE

Then there came with all that shoals and shoals of anonymous letters. I suppose we have had thousands of anonymous letters from all parts of the country abusing us. A great many of them came from America, but then they did not come from Americans, but from the English propagandists in America. But we, of course, cast all these aside. We did not read them. One day an anonymous correspondent sent us a phial of poison to give to him and "finish him off quickly, and not make so much fuss about it, if we wanted him dead." I'm telling you that particular incident for this reason: religious friends had been sending him religious emblems from all parts of the world, and we had been getting roses and flowers and things like that in little parcels. And up to that time we had been taking them upstairs and opening them at his bedside. The day this came we had taken this little parcel up and opened it and glanced at it before we showed it to him, and my sister, who had it in her hand, tried to hide it away. But he noticed it and wanted to know what it was. It was impossible to hide it, so we showed it to him. And he laughed and said, "You surely do not think I would mind a thing like that." All that sort of thing went on. We did not read anonymous letters, yet still they had their share in the things we had to endure while we were over there.

ENGLISH HOPED BROTHER'S DEATH WOULD PROVOKE UPRISING OF VOLUNTEERS

Another thing I would like you to know about the English attitude toward us is that we found out that they were counting very strongly on the effect my brother's death might have on the Irish Volunteers. They had tried in every way to provoke the Volunteers until they would come out in the open so that they might crush them, but they had not succeeded in doing it. They had come to the conclusion that they could not defeat the Volunteer organization in that way, but they still thought that if they could get hold of the leaders and get them killed in large numbers, they would be able to conquer the rest of the country. They counted, I think, that my brother's death would create such an uproar in Cork that the Republican soldiers there would lose their heads, and their leaders would, too. You see, my brother was a very cool and very calm man. He was not one of the hot-headed, rash young people that the English Government talks about such a lot. And they thought that because he was so much loved and so calm, that his death would enrage the Volunteers and they would come out in the open, and the Volunteers could then he shot down lawfully, as it were. The rumors were brought to me from Ireland that the Volunteers were in a very great state of tension. And some people whose advice could not be set aside, some people who were not scaremongers, were very much concerned lest his death would cause just such an uprising in Cork as would give the English their chance. And so, when the opportunity came, I said to my brother, "Do you think the Volunteers will be out of hand? Would you not like to send them a message?" His answer to me was, "Certainly not. The Volunteers are soldiers who are effectively officered, and it would be an insult to both officers and men if I sent them such a message. They are a disciplined body, and they know their duty and they will do it." When the end was very close and the tension was very high, I sent a message to Cork myself, and this message was that I had heard these reports and had mentioned them to my brother and asked him if he would like to send a message; and I gave them his message just as I got it. I think it was the most effective message that could have been sent.

LLOYD GEORGE AND HOME OFFICE REFUSE TO SAVE BROTHER'S LIFE

While we were all perfectly satisfied that my brother should carry his sacrifice to the end, and while we did not begrudge him to Ireland, we felt it our duty to do every single thing we could to save him, everything we could consistently do with his principles and with ours. We would not be guilty of any compromise any more than he would. But short of a compromise, we felt bound to try to save his life and make the English release him. I went the day after my arrival in London to the Home Office. That was on Friday—the first day I arrived in London. I went to the Home Office. I saw some of the under secretaries. They told me that the Government's decision was unalterable; that my brother's death would be on his own head; and that they would not release him on account of the hunger strike. I asked to see Mr. Shortt, and I was told that Mr. Shortt was busy. I wrote to Mr. Shortt and told him that this was a very serious matter, and asked for an interview. He wrote back that no good purpose was to be served by an interview, since the government's decision was unalterable. Lloyd George was then in Lucerne or Geneva, Lucerne I think, and I asked him who was responsible in this matter. He sent back a message, which probably appeared in the American papers at the time, which was a deliberate insult to a woman to whom he was already causing as much suffering as was at all necessary. He said that he had received my appeal on behalf of my brother's life. (I made none.) He said that he regretted that my brother was causing such suffering to his family by his deliberate suicide. I call that a scoundrel's answer, a scoundrel's insult. I wired back and told him that his answer was an insult; that I made no appeal to him, but I wanted to know on whom to place the responsibility for my brother's death. He accepted that responsibility, and he is responsible before God and the world for that murder. For no law, English or any other law, justifies him in doing what he did. He was as responsible for my brother's death as he was when he was declared guilty by a coroner's jury of the City of Cork for the death of my brother's predecessor, Lord Mayor MacCurtain. The Irish people know where to put the responsibility of my brother's death, and it is no use for Lloyd George to try to put it on the shoulders of any individual Black-and-Tan.

BRITISH LABOR FAILS TO SUPPORT SYMPATHY WITH EFFECTIVE ACTION

I found, then, that the Home Office was quite determined to let him die, and I was quite convinced of that after my interview there. The English press was quite sympathetic. Even the anti-Irish press said it was a mistake to let my brother die. And the labor people were passing resolutions about the matter. I told my brother one day that the labor people were very sympathetic, and his answer was, "If English labor really wanted to get me out, they could do it in twenty-four hours if they liked."

Then I went to interview the Council of Action. The Council of Action—I do not know whether you know of it or not—was a council of the labor people formed by the working classes to prevent Poland being supplied with arms to fight the Russians. They were very interested in the crisis between Russia and Poland, but the injustice that was being done at their own door did not affect them. I went to see them so that if they did not take action, they could not plead ignorance as an excuse. So I told them what was going on. They were very sympathetic, very, and there were some very honest men among them. But no man was sufficiently courageous to take action. They were very courageous about Russia, but the particular thing they were doing about Russia was not against the wishes of their own Government.

DUPLICITY OF MR. THOMAS PREVENTS APPEAL TO PORTSMOUTH LABOR CONGRESS

There was a big labor congress held this summer at Portsmouth. Some of our friends had come from different parts of England, and they said that the feeling was intense about letting my brother die. And they said that if the Labor Council called a strike, that strike would be effective. The whole Merthyr division and the whole Newcastle division would go on strike and get my brother released. And they said that as the labor congress was meeting in Portsmouth, that I should go down there and try to get them to act. The labor congress represented six and one-half million people; and if the labor congress could be got to act, that even the government would be forced to release my brother.

I went down to Portsmouth and sent in my card to the chairman, Mr. Thomas, who is general secretary of the Railroad Union, I believe. Mr. Thomas is rather like Mr. Lloyd George, I am told,

in character and action, and he has acted and talked very much like Mr. George. He sent out word that the congress already had passed a resolution about my brother's case, and nothing more could be done. I sent back word that I was sorry, but I wanted my request to be put to the members of the congress, and I would take their answer. He sent out word that he could not do it. Meanwhile I got word that the standing orders committee of the Council of Action was meeting upstairs, and that the standing orders could only be interfered with if the standing orders committee approved of it. So I went upstairs for an interview with the standing orders committee. They were all intensely sympathetic. Every man and woman I talked with was intensely sympathetic. But it was not their business. They were not responsible. That was their attitude. I asked the standing orders committee to be allowed to speak to the congress for five minutes. They said it could not be done. I said that I understood that in any congress in a matter of sufficient importance the standing orders could be set aside for a particular case. I asked them if that was not so, and they said yes, but in this case it could not be done. I asked them if they would not let me make an appeal to the representatives of six and a half million people, and find out if they would let my brother die without doing anything to stop it. They were very reluctant to do it. They were equally reluctant to say no. And so they sent one of the lady members to talk to me and convince me that it would be unwise. I said, "Unwise for whom?" And she said unwise for me. And I said, "I am at the very end, and no action they could take would be unwise for me." She said it would be a mistake. I wanted to get the mistake proved, and she could not prove it. What she really meant was that it would be a mistake for English labor people to press this matter. But I wanted deeds, not words. And then finally she said it could only be done by the parliamentary committee. And I said, "Does the parliamentary committee meet to-day?" And she said yes, at five o'clock. And I said, "I can get a train back to London later than that." And I saw a great expression of relief on her face. And I asked her if the congress would meet after that time, and she said no. And I said, "I cannot wait that long." And I said, "Are the parliamentary committee in the house now?" And she said yes. And I said, "I would like to see them now." She did not have the courage to say no. And so they sent down a deputation of the standing orders committee to confer with the members of the parliamentary committee on the platform, including Mr. Thomas. They did not tell me

beforehand that they were going to do that. If they had I would have known perfectly well the result. But they sent down the deputation before I was informed of it. And they came back after a time and said that they had gone down and they had presented my request to the parliamentary committee that was on the platform, and the parliamentary committee had said that it was impossible to grant my request.

Q. Senator Walsh: Is it necessary to go into all these details?

A. Not entirely, but perhaps I am tiring you?

Senator Walsh: I think it is very important to know the steps you took to get your brother released, but the details of the movement I am afraid will tire you out to give in detail.

The Witness: The only reason I was giving those details was this: because they were a very good example of the kind of hypocritical sympathy that we met with, and the fact that, doing the meanest things they could do, that our enemies tried to do them as if they wanted to do everything they possibly could to please us. And I only ask your permission to say this: I found out by dint of questioning that my request was conveyed to the congress in this manner: Mr. Thomas got up and said that Miss Mac-Swiney, the Lord Mayor's sister, had asked to speak to them, and that he need not tell the congress what a harrowing time that lady had been through for the past month, and that although the lady would be quite willing to talk to them, that he was quite sure that they would not ask that poor harrowed lady to speak to them that day. And so out of sheer sympathy they were fooled into denying my request. And so I turned around and said, "I simply want a straight answer to a straight question. If I came here to speak, was it not because I wanted to come?" I only give you that so that you will understand. They will not openly deny what is fair and just, but they will try to escape giving a definite no. I gave that as an example of the evil propaganda that we had to fight for the whole two and a half months while we were there.

DOCTORS THREATEN FORCIBLE FEEDING

And now I come to our own particular treatment. On the Monday before my brother's death, exactly a week before he died, there was a consultation of doctors, and when they came out they called me aside and they said that my brother had developed symptoms of scurvy, and that it was necessary for him to take lime juice, but he had refused, and when they had asked him he said that he only wanted to be left alone and to die in peace. And the doctor said

(this was the special doctor who came to see him once a week), "I assure you, Miss MacSwiney, that your brother will not die in peace if he gets scurvy. He will die with the most terrible tortures. And you had better urge him to take lime juice now." And I told him that I was afraid I could not. And then he continued and tried to tell me what a terrible death dying by scurvy was. And I turned to him and said, "It would be a terrible thing to die with tortures. The matter is in God's hands, and we can only ask that He does not let him suffer too much." And he turned to me and said, "God has nothing to do with it. The case is in our hands—your hands and my hands. And we shall see that he will have to take lime juice." I said that I would not urge my brother to take lime juice, and that was all there was about it.

There were a couple of friends from Cork who came to see him, and he teased them a little because he was always very fond of tea, and the first thing he always said was to ask people to have a cup of tea with him. And he said to them in Irish, "I am sorry I cannot offer you a cup of tea." And they said, "Well, never mind, we will have a cup of tea together yet."

The next morning the doctor of the prison, Dr. Griffiths, said he was going to force him to take lime juice. My brother sent for the governor and said he objected to being forced to take anything in his weak state. All that day, Tuesday, my brother was very excited, because he did not have the energy to resist—not the energy of mind, but the energy of body. He was so weak he could not resist physically in case they tried to feed him forcibly. I think that he felt very sad that after seventy-four days, they could get the better of him and make him take something. That excited him, and on Wednesday morning he was very excited. Early in the morning, when the chaplain visited him, he was very excited.

LAPSING CONSCIOUSNESS AND DELIRIUM

But for two or three days his power of concentration was going from him. If he wanted to say something, he would say, "You will have to wait a minute until I get my thoughts clear." On that morning when my sister visited him, he said that that hammering was the doctor coming with a new treatment. I will not go over the details of the next few days. I want to come to Friday morning. During the period of delirium he recognized me three times. He recognized my other sister once. After Thursday morning he did not recognize either his wife or my brothers. I want you to think of that when his people were not allowed in the prison. On

that Wednesday, the day of his first delirium, he turned to her and said, "Muriel, you have always stuck by me." And a little afterwards he turned to me and said, "Min (that was my pet name at home), you are always loyal to Ireland. Stay by me and see what they do to me." That showed how hard his mind was working and how he was trying to cling to his consciousness.

He was wildly delirious all that day, and at night time he was very uneasy. I am not given to asking favors of the doctors, but I did beg them very hard that night to let me stay in the prison with my brother. I think it was through Dr. Higson—he was always very humane—that Father Dominick was also allowed to stay in the prison.

WHILE UNCONSCIOUS, PRISON DOCTORS FEED HIM

Although I was not allowed on the landing, I took occasional peeps to see what was going on, and they fed him all through Wednesday night. They did not begin to feed him until Wednesday night, when he was quite unconscious. When he got quiet again he was conscious for a few minutes, and he saw me in the room and he beckoned me and said, "I am afraid they have tricked me. Have they?" And I said, "I am afraid they have." And he said, "What did they give me?" And I said, "Meat juice." And he said, "Wait a minute. We will have to keep cool now." And the nurse came over and said I was not to talk to him. And then he got very angry. In that delirium he got very angry a couple of times before he entirely lost consciousness. And he said, "Go away, nurse; I must speak to my sister." And the nurse said, "You must not speak to her." And he said, "Go away. Go away. Go away. Go away." Again and again he said it. And then he lapsed back into unconsciousness. And I said, "Nurse, please go away for a minute." And I said to him, "It is all right now." And he said, "Wait a minute. Wait a minute. Wait. Wait." He repeated "wait" about a half dozen times. He was clinging on to his consciousness as long as he could, and then he went off into delirium again. That was the result of the nurse's interference.

EXCLUDED FROM PRISON FOR EXPOSING HOME SECRETARY'S LIE

I got permission to stay there all that night. The next thing I want to call your attention to is that in Friday morning's papers appeared a remark by the Home Secretary. He had been questioned

in the House of Commons by an honest man, Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy, about forcibly feeding my brother in his weak state. And he answered that the Lord Mayor was not being forcibly fed, but that a cup was held to his lips and he was swallowing it voluntarily. Now, you will see how thoughtless people could look at that, and I knew it was more propaganda. And that morning I tried to get hold of Dr. Higson—and if I got him before Dr. Griffiths was there, I usually succeeded in getting the truth out of him before he was coached. And I said to him, “You know very well that that action of swallowing is a reflex action; that it is not a voluntary action.” And he said that my brother was quite unconscious that he was swallowing, and that it was a reflex action. And I said, “Have I your permission to quote that in public?” And he said, “Yes.” And I went away and immediately made it public. I sent it to the House of Commons and to Mr. Shortt, and asked Mr. Shortt to retract the lie he had stated the night before. I sent it over home, and I also gave it to the newspaper correspondents of the whole world, that statement of the doctor’s with his name attached to it. The result was my expulsion from the prison. I am quite sure that that was why I was forbidden to enter the prison after Friday.

On Saturday morning, as it unfortunately happened, I was the first person on that day. We used to change about, taking turns. It was my turn to visit first that day. I arrived at the prison at half-past eight. My brother had been on duty all night, and I was to relieve him. I got to the prison gate—there are two gates; there is a large wooden gate, and then about ten feet inside of that there is a big iron gate.

Q. Senator Norris: Now, Miss MacSwiney, so that there will not be any misapprehension about your testimony, you said that that was your first day there?

A. No, it was my turn to pay the early morning visit that day. One of us would come on at eight-thirty, another at noon, and another at night, and so on. This morning it happened to be my turn to go on first, and I stepped up to the gate and started to go in. And the warder said, “What is your name, please?” It was quite extraordinary to be asked your name after you have been going there every day for over two months. And I said, “MacSwiney.” And he said, “Your Christian name, please?” And I said, “Miss Mary MacSwiney.” And he said, “I cannot admit you.” And I said, “On whose orders?” And he said, “On the governor’s.” And I said, “May I see the governor?” And he said, “The governor is not here.” And he ordered me to step outside the prison gate.

I would not go, and stepped into the waiting room there and stayed there. As the officials came in I questioned each one of them and asked them on whose orders I was kept from seeing my brother. And they said, "Home Office orders." And I asked them if it would apply to anybody but myself, and they said no, I was the only one.

In that day's papers there was a statement that on the day before there was a moment when my brother had recognized my sister, and he had asked her what we were all here for and what we were doing in London. And she did not want to upset that moment of consciousness, and she simply said, "Nothing. You are all right." That appeared in the morning's papers, and the order to exclude her came at one o'clock that day. The order to exclude me came from my publishing Dr. Higson's statement that my brother was not voluntarily swallowing. And she was expelled because my brother recognized her.

They all tried to get me out of the prison, but they did not succeed. They did not use force. My sister-in-law came along then, and she could get through the gate, but was only allowed to see her husband for a few minutes, and then he was not conscious.

FORCIBLY EJECTED FROM PRISON GATE

We stayed there until half-past ten that night. I do not want to stress it, but I had had breakfast at half-past seven, and did not have any food until twelve that night. I would have gone on a hunger strike of my own and stayed in that waiting room if they had not used force to get us out. At ten o'clock the deputy governor came along and said, "Miss MacSwiney, it is time to lock up." And I said, "Very well, lock up." And he said, "I am afraid you must go out." And I said, "I will not go out until I see my brother." And he said, "You must, for it is time to lock up the prison." And I said, "It is strange to be locking up a place that is always locked up." And I said, "If you will let me see my brother for five minutes, I will go away, but not before." Then he said, "The local police have orders to put you out by force." I said, "Very well; if the local police—enough of them—come in and use force to put two women out, they can do so. But I will not go voluntarily."

I can only tell you this: they started in at ten o'clock, and it was five minutes to eleven before they got us out. The police inspector came and tried to get us out by "moral suasion," and I said there was no morality about anything they were doing. He argued with

my sister and did no better. They finally technically arrested us. That is, in England if a policeman puts his hand on your shoulder and says you are under arrest, you are arrested. Then they led us out of the prison, and a taxi was waiting for us, and took us home. And then when I got home, about twelve o'clock, I got the first thing I had had to eat since early that morning.

INHUMANLY KEPT FROM BROTHER'S DEATH BED

Sunday was just a repetition of Saturday for my sister and myself, except that we were both compelled to stay outside the outer gate of the prison. On Saturday we were allowed to wait down in the little waiting room, and on Sunday we had to stand in the street. And if I have given you that in a lot of detail, it was not to draw your attention to our personal suffering. But if that had happened in Germany, if two women had been kept from their brother's death bed and made to stand on the street during the long, cold day, you would have heard a great deal about it as a German atrocity. I mention it simply because it was a British atrocity. I do not want to draw attention to our personality in any way. Sunday was simply a repetition of Saturday. And on Monday my brother died.

CROWN SEEKS VERDICT OF SUICIDE AT INQUEST

I simply want to say something about the inquest that my sister-in-law did not mention this morning, and that is this: that they did everything—every single thing they could—to bring in a verdict of suicide. I do not know anything about the law about it, but I heard it quite late on Tuesday evening that if my brother was found to be a suicide, they could hold his body. I have mentioned earlier that we had summoned this specialist, Sir Norman Moore, whom we called to see my brother and to examine his medicine. We did not summon him to the inquest, because we did not think it necessary, and you must give twenty-four hours' notice to summon witnesses. On Tuesday evening, when we heard that they were trying to bring in a verdict of suicide, we immediately called up Dr. Norman Moore and told him the circumstances and asked him to come and tell the jury that the one thing my brother did not want to do was to die. I talked with him myself over the telephone, and he did not want to come. The jury was asked to bring in a verdict of suicide, and they did not do it. They brought in an open verdict.

BODY BRUTALLY SEIZED FROM RELATIVES BY ENGLISH AUTHORITIES

Our solicitor asked them for the body, and the crown solicitor jumped up and said, "Where is he to be buried?" And our solicitor said, "In Cork, of course." And they said, "You cannot have the body to be buried any place outside of England without a permit." My sister-in-law has told you how we finally got permission from the Home Office to take the body.

Q. Senator Walsh: I would like to ask if there is anything else between that and the Holyhead incident?

A. No, there is nothing.

At Crewe we were told that when we got to Holyhead we were to go on a boat and go straight to Cork. My brother was sent for by the police inspector. I do not know that you are aware that a large body of police traveled on the train from Euston to Holyhead. They tried to play a trick on us, and tried to send the train off without the friends knowing it. And then my sister and myself went into the van where my brother's remains were, and said we would not go away. Then they started the train and sent us away to get us outside of London. We were then informed by the police that the remains were to be put on the steamship *Rathmore* and taken to Dublin, and that not more than twenty of my brother's friends were to be allowed to travel with my brother's remains. A consultation was held with my sister, and we decided unanimously that we would not one of us go on that ship. If they took my brother's remains away from us by force, and then we went on the ship, it would be a tacit consent to their action. Some people have seemed to think that we were very hard-hearted to let my brother's remains travel like that without any of his friends. We did what we knew he would have liked us to do—what would be for Ireland's good first.

When Holyhead was reached we went and stood by the van where my brother's remains were. My younger brother went and interviewed the station master, and we were told finally that the body was to be taken by force, and they came into the van to take it. I asked the station master if he was not going to fulfil the contract for which he was paid—the contract to deliver my brother's remains in Dublin. He said no; that he had government orders, and they must be obeyed. And I said that no man had a right to obey an order like that. Then we were asked to go outside, and we refused. And we decided that this time technical arrest, like the laying of an officer's hand on your shoulder, was not sufficient, and

that this time we ought to resent by bodily resistance the second arrest of the body of a dead man. I might add that when we got on the platform at Holyhead there were about one hundred fifty Black-and-Tans there, and their faces as they sneered and jeered through the window at my brother's body was the most evil thing I believe I have ever seen.

Finally all the friends gathered around the coffin, and they refused to move. I would rather be spared the details of what followed. There were some men first: I can only say that I was the first woman to be picked up like a bale of goods and thrown out—thrown out literally—onto the platform. My brother jumped to try to save me, and he was nearly choked by four policemen. And a military officer jumped over a wagon—a small cart—and took him by the back of the neck and tried to choke him. He had his arms around me, and I threw my arms around him to try to save him from being choked to death. The incident was a very painful one. And I thought every instant that my younger brother would drop dead before my eyes, because the treatment he received by the Canadian authorities in a Canadian prison during the war has injured his heart; and a doctor in America has told him that any excitement is apt to cause him to drop dead. And I was afraid he was going to drop dead that night.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: What time of day was that?

A. Eleven o'clock at night; between eleven and twelve.

Q. What was done then after that?

A. They took the body, and increased the number that could travel with it from twenty to seventy-five; and when we refused to go, the police inspector asked Mr. O'Brien to point out to the relatives the sacredness of the remains and what respect was due them. As if we needed to be pointed out the sacredness of his body!

The body was taken by the *Rathmore* to Dublin. We proceeded to Dublin, where the funeral was carried out, and then we went on to Cork by special train. In the evening I got a letter that my brother's body was at the customs house and we might have it. It was quarter past nine when I got that word. They tried to get everybody in the city to take that body before they communicated with us. I am glad to say that the citizens of Cork did exactly what we would have had them do, and refused to touch his remains because they had no authority.

INTERMENT OF LORD MAYOR'S BODY IN MARTYRS' PLOT

Q. Mr. Frank P. Walsh: And his remains were interred where?

A. In what is called the Martyrs' Plot.

Q. And that plot is where?

A. It is devoted to those who have been the victims of the recent outrages in Cork. Lord Mayor MacCurtain was the first to be buried there. The fallen members of the Irish Republican Army are also there, and the other deceased hunger strikers have been buried there since. It is fast filling up; and at the rate that England is killing people there, it seems that they would like it to take in the whole country.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: There are a couple of matters the Commission would like to ask you about.

MILITARY TRIBUNALS REPLACE CIVIL COURTS

Q. Chairman Howe: Could you tell us something more, Miss MacSwiney, about the extent to which the present Republican courts in Ireland are functioning?

A. Yes. I would like to refer first to what I said yesterday—that the courts, the English courts, were sitting in state behind barbed wire and sand bags. That was true until a couple of months ago, when they brought in the Coercion Act, so that these judges do not sit any longer, because they have military courts now.

JUDGMENTS OF REPUBLICAN COURTS PROVE IRISH FIT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

Another point that I would like to emphasize is that the English say that we Irish will never be fit for self-government. But there is one instance I would like to tell that I am sure a good many here have never heard of. It happened while we were at Brixton. It was related in all of the papers, and in some it was called a judgment of Solomon. There were two brothers who for many years had been fighting about the division of the large farm where they lived. One brother was married, and he wanted a settlement. They had been into English courts three or four times, and they wanted a decision. The fight between the brothers was getting to be very bitter. The case was finally taken into a Sinn Fein court, and the decision was very interesting. It was this: the elder brother was to make the division of the farm as he considered it fair, and the younger brother was to take his choice of the halves. I do not think that since the time of Solomon you have had a more fair judgment than that.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I ask if you would attribute that to the Irish character or to the absence of lawyers from the courts?

A. Perhaps to both, Mr. Thomas.

SHOOTING OF ENGLISH SPIES AN UNAVOIDABLE NECESSITY JUSTIFIED BY CODE OF WAR

Another matter to which I would like to refer was the shooting of the fourteen military officers in Dublin. Of course I was not there and do not know all of the details of the case. And yet I would know from my own confidence in the Irish Government that that was just. And I can tell you that those fourteen officers who were shot were fourteen absolutely expert men who were sent over to get the whole threads of our organization into their hands; that they had captured vital documents of ours which they were about to use; and death was absolutely necessary by the laws of the Republic. They had been infringing on our rights. They were military officers doing secret service work for their government. That I know. And I know perfectly well that they were not shot without good reason, and that they were a very great danger to our men, whose lives we value. Also, a very good point is made of the fact that one man was shot in the presence of his wife. But many of our men have been shot in the presence of their wives; and in the case of the British government it is not necessary, because they could get our men at any time. I know that it is not a nice thing to happen, but in this case it was unavoidable.

Q. Senator Walsh: What is the nature of the notice that is given by the Irish Republic to British officers who are going to be killed?

A. I do not know that definitely, but it has been publicly stated that certain things are forbidden by the Irish Government; that they are crimes, and that any man who does those things will be shot. In addition, I think there is a notice sent to every man who is going to be shot, and he is warned. Some of them are captured and tried before a court in person before they are condemned to be shot.

Q. But if the British officer is known to commit an act of treason to the Irish Government, is there some communication sent to him warning him that if he does not leave the country he will be shot?

A. I understand that there is. I have no personal knowledge of that.

Q. But you understand that a warning is given to cease some kind of activity that is considered harmful by the Irish Government, and that if they do not do so they will be killed?

A. Yes, I understand that.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: There are two points that I understand you to make: first, that your general confidence in the Irish Republic is such that the shooting, you think, is justified according

to the code of war. Do I also understand you to say that these fourteen men were military spies?

A. I do not know personally that these fourteen men were military intelligence men, but I am quite sure if they were not they would not have been shot.

Q. I understood these fourteen men were connected with courts-martial; but you claim now they were connected with the military intelligence service?

A. Yes, but you must understand that I was in the midst of the affairs of my brother's death, and since then I have been so occupied with his papers that I have not given great attention to the matter. But I heard that this was the case; that they were secret service men.

Q. Do you think that you and Mr. Frank Walsh could gather further evidence on that point?

A. Yes, I think I could gather it.

Mr. Frank P. Walsh: I will undertake to get it.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: You think these men were spies?

A. Yes, that was my understanding.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: As I understand it, there is a distinction between men living in barracks who have a definite military duty to perform, and those who come into the country as spies to trace down men, and who often go about in civilian clothes to conceal their identity.

A. Yes, that is it.

Q. But you understood that these fourteen men were not connected with open military leaders, but had come to Ireland to spy there and seek the lives of your men?

A. Yes, that is it.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC

Q. I believe you told me, Miss MacSwiney, that as you had told something of the educational system that had existed heretofore, that you would like briefly to state what is being done now by your nation for the education of your children.

A. Yes.

Q. Senator Walsh: And I would like in that connection for you to state what you have observed since this movement began in the way of giving stamina and strength and character to the future of your country—what effect this movement has had upon the character of the people.

A. Yes, I would like to speak of that, but I shall not dwell at

great length upon it. Yesterday I explained to you the method of education of what I reluctantly called the "better class" of the country—that it anglicized them; it made them think that everything English was good and that everything Irish was something to be ashamed of. Thus people sometimes claimed to be Irish, but they were proud to be known as West Britons. Once when I spoke of the Irish element, one of these persons said to me, "Yes, that is the rowdy element."

Q. Chairman Howe: Have you any connection with the new school system in Ireland?

A. Well, I was the founder of a school for girls. I founded it in connection with my dismissal in 1916. When I found the secondary schools of the country were so anglicized that one could not teach in them and be Irish, I took things into my own hands and opened up a school in our home, and it has grown very rapidly.

Q. How many pupils have you now?

A. About one hundred.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Is there another school of that same kind in Dublin?

A. Yes, founded afterwards by Miss Gavan Duffy in Dublin. It has been very successful, too.

Q. Senator Walsh: Does your Republic make provision for schools?

A. Not financially yet, but there is a minister of education that will take charge later on. But these two schools had this advantage: that we who started them had the confidence of our fellow citizens; that we were able to teach, in the first place, and that we were also able to give, from the standpoint of general culture and refinement, anything that the pro-British schools could give. That is the spirit of the school: we give the best that any school around us could give of the culture and refinement of the world generally. We do not confine ourselves to our own country, but our own country is the center from which everything starts—the same as in American schools America is the center from which things start. You learn your own history first. France learns her own history first. And I know that England does.

We were the first girls' school in Ireland—of course, Padraic Pearse did it at his school—but we were the first in Ireland to start in with Irish culture. We taught them, when they said they were proud of being Irish, we taught them what that meant. We taught Irish history from the Irish point of view; and when the books did not agree with that—because I have told you that the books were written in England for Ireland—then the books had to

go to the wall, and the truth was told. But the people who sent their children to our schools were not all Irish Republicans. One man was reproved for sending his children to us, and he said, "I will take my political orders from my party, but I will not take orders from it as to where to send my children to school." We have done what we could in Cork to destroy anglicization, and so has St. Brigid's school in Dublin.

This year we had no government grant to speak of, and we were afraid we would have to close down for lack of funds; and a committee of Irish friends in both Cork and Dublin decided that it would be a national calamity to close our schools, so they got together a committee and asked people to take shares to finance both schools until *An Dail*¹ was prepared to take over control. And the result was that the committee took over the financing of the school and left the management of the school to us.

SCHOOLS NOT USED BY REPUBLICANS AS PROPAGANDA AGENCIES

Q. Commissioner Addams: As an educator who has to teach history to children, you would regret very much, would you not, that these British officers had a secret trial and were condemned to death in their absence?

A. Yes, I certainly would say that it is regrettable that such things have to be done. I dare say that in your Revolutionary War you had to do a great many things that you regret having had to do. And I dare say in teaching your children their history, you touch as lightly as possible on the things you had to do.

Q. The children are very much educated by current events, by what is happening at the moment. Do you do anything to counteract what is being done all around them?

A. With regard to those things, the children we have at school come from all sorts of parents; and we have decided for the present that we will not teach them directly the Irish Republican point of view any more than any other point of view. But they get it insensibly. The atmosphere of the school is Irish. It is the first girls' school of the better class where the atmosphere is Irish.

THE NEW SPIRIT OF THE IRISH PEOPLE

I would like to stress another point. Up to the time the Volunteer movement started, there was an atmosphere of—I do not like

¹ *An Dail*—the national parliament.

to call it slavery—but a very unpleasant atmosphere in Ireland. People were ashamed to hold up their heads. There was a time when people went about with what you would call a hang-dog expression. But now the young men and women go about holding up their heads, knowing perfectly well that they are acting in a way that future generations will be proud of them. There is not a man or woman today who is not interested in the Irish Republic—who is not proud to be Irish.

And you must remember that we have in Ireland today a Republican army that is both large and victorious. And if England succeeds in shooting down the men, the women will take their places. And if she shoots down the women, the children will take their places. And if they shoot down the children, the blades of grass will spring up into armed men and take their places.

Q. Commissioner Addams: That is all very easy to understand. But how do you teach the children about affairs where men are shot down in their hotel rooms and in their homes, and things like that?

A. Yes, we have been asked questions like that in school. We were asked one day in school in a religious lesson what the ethics of shooting policemen were. And the answer I gave the child was this: We are at war at present. During the period that we are passing through, many things have to be done that we may think are regrettable; that those things have to be done by the Council that is directing our affairs; and until we can get a knowledge of the facts on which our Supreme Council's actions are based, that we cannot judge; and that therefore we must suspend judgment for the time. But that if we find our government guilty of cruelty, we must blame our government as well as any other government. But until we have all the facts, we should not pass judgment. This was the answer I gave to a class of senior girls. But I may say to you that I think we are born politicians in Ireland; and we do not have to explain things to the children. As soon as they are out of the cradle they know about as much about these things as we do.

Now, Mr. Walsh, I think that is about all.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

Q. Commissioner Maurer: I would like to ask you about the arrangements for financing your government. Have you a plan of finance at work?

A. The government floated a loan in Ireland some time ago,

and they asked for a quarter of a million, and that quarter of a million was oversubscribed. The people are incredibly generous. When money is needed, it will come.

JUSTICE AND FAIR PLAY ASKED OF AMERICANS

There are one or two things I would like to say while we are closing up at the end of these two days, and they are this (I would ask the Chairman's permission to stand in telling them): I want, in leaving you, to ask you to keep in mind one or two points. The long story I have been telling you is to show you how all the time English propoganda is being used to discredit us before all the world and among the nations. And I want you, whenever you are told anything about Ireland from any English source, to remember what I have told you today, and to say, "We will not judge until we have heard the other side." You have been told lies and lies and lies about us. And one of the manufactured lies I want to scotch is that you are told day after day that this co-called Separatist Movement in Ireland is only the work of the extremist section, which the English people call the "murder gang"; and that the majority of the Irish people, who are not Sinn Feiners, are moderate people who are sighing for peace. There is no such division in Ireland at all. And please stress that. And I ask the newspaper men to state that fairly before the American public. I want to speak to the American people. I know the Irish in America are with us, and to talk to them is like taking coals to Newcastle. I don't want—I was most uncomplimentary to some of my Irish-American sympathizers this morning, and I told them I didn't want to talk to them. I want to talk to the people who call themselves "one hundred per cent. Americans"—although I should think I would have to go to the Cherokee Indians to do that! But I want to talk to the Americans who are anti-Irish. And I want to ask them, in the name of humanity, in the name of civilization and of the freedom they said they fought for, to be fair to us. We are not a divided people. We are one. There is a little corner in Ireland of English settlers, but they are Irish now, although they have kept some of the English characteristics up in the north of Ireland. That is one of our domestic problems. But we Irish are not a problem of England: we are an international problem, and the world will have to recognize it. And there will be no peace for England and there will be no peace for the world until it is settled. And I know that you American people have recognized that, and that this American Commission has done its best to try and settle that problem in the interests of world peace.

NOT A FEW EXTREMISTS BUT INDIVISIBLE IRISH PEOPLE DEMAND INDEPENDENCE

I would ask you, when you are told lies about the extremist section that will accept no reconciliation, and the moderate Sinn Fein element, to remember that I have told you that there is no such thing; that the whole movement in Ireland today is one and indivisible; that we are out for an Irish republic; that we are out for complete separation from our oppressor; that there is no government in Ireland today supported by the people except the government with the ideals President de Valera stands for and the ideals Arthur Griffith stands for, and the rest of those men, and the weakest woman and child among us. We want our Republic, and we will have it with or without the help of the world. For when men and women and children are willing to die for a cause, that cause must triumph in the end. And all we ask from the American people is this, that they should give us justice and fair play; that Americans should not listen to England when she says that a small body of extremists is the cause of all this trouble. That is not true. I would like to have you remember what I have said today: that the cause of Ireland is an Irish Republic, and that men, women, and children are united on that point.

ENGLAND'S EFFORTS TO CRUSH IRELAND IN- FLICTS SUFFERING ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The second point I wish to leave with you is, as I stated yesterday, that Mr. Arthur Griffith said that today is the Valley Forge of Ireland, and tomorrow will be our Yorktown—our day of victory. I do not need to tell you what a bad time you had at Valley Forge. But there is this difference: then it was your men who were suffering; but now it is our women and children. It is bad enough for the women, but in any case it is very hard to see the children suffer.

You must also remember that by constant and unremitting hardship, hunger, and cold you can break the spirit of any people, if you keep it up long enough. And that is what England is trying to do today—what she tried to do four hundred years ago under Mountjoy and Carewe she is trying to do today under the Black-and-Tans—to break down the people by destroying the sources from which the people get their food, and thus starve them into submission.

AMERICA CAN RELIEVE SUFFERING OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

I do not like to ask favors for anything they need. But I would like to remind you that the first ship that reached America bearing food in your dire extremity came from Ireland. And I should like to ask Americans to take care that during the coming winter, which is apt to be very hard in Ireland—to see to it that the women and children do not suffer. The men can suffer. And the women can suffer. But it is hard to see the children suffer. And we do not want our people to be so oppressed by hunger and cold that their spirit can be broken and they can be forced to surrender.

And remember that there is no religious difference in Ireland dividing the people, and never will be. There is no division in our ranks.

I ask you, when you hear England's lies about us, not to believe her until you have heard our side of it. Let us tell you the truth. I have told you the truth and nothing but the truth, and all that I have said can be verified from papers and state documents. I have not told the whole of the truth, because it would take many weeks to tell you all that we have had to suffer. But I ask you to send us relief now, and I ask the Americans, the anti-Irish American citizens, not to believe all the lies England tells about us until they hear our side of the question.

CRITICAL SUFFERING CAUSED BY DESTRUCTION OF CROPS, BURNING OF CREAMERIES, AND CLOSING OF SHOPS

Q. Senator Walsh: Miss MacSwiney, may I ask you a question or two?

A. Certainly.

Q. Miss MacSwiney, do you know of any specific case of suffering in Ireland, and of denial of food or destruction of crops, by English authorities?

A. Oh, well, in every town they have devastated they have destroyed food, and the crops on the farms all around the county of Cork. And they have, as I think you have heard this morning, they have destroyed the town of Tralee.

Q. We want to be accurate. Just what do you know about that?

A. At Tralee there was someone shot, and the police were boycotted—the police were not spoken to. Decent people no longer

speak to them any more, anyway. And the Black-and-Tans closed all the shops.

Q. All the shops?

A. Yes, the bakeries and the milk shops, so that milk could not be got for the little babies. The shops were not allowed to be opened, and the Black-and-Tans stood there and refused point blank to allow the women and children to get the food that was waiting for them. They eventually found they were carrying it too far, and on the fourth day they allowed certain women to buy milk and bread—and nothing else. And I know this: that the excuse they gave was a shortage of food in the town, and that what was there was necessary for them, and they came and got the food, and the women and children had to do without it. That was their excuse—that they needed the food and the rebels had to do without.

Q. Senator Norris: How do they destroy the crops?

A. They burn them. They burn the hay and the corn, and they set fire to everything that is growing. They set fire to the creameries, and of course the creameries are a tremendous loss throughout the country. Hundreds and thousands of men have been thrown out of employment by the burning of the creameries. And now those men have no employment.

Q. Can you give us any idea of the total number of creameries that were burned?

A. I do not know the total number, but in the week before I left Ireland there were nine creameries and one hundred one farms burned.

Q. How many all told all over Ireland?

Chairman Howe: It was reported last week that thirty creameries had been burned.

The Witness: Thirty creameries. That would be most of the large creameries in the country. You can get the exact number. The Irish authorities issue the figures every week, and you can get them there, I am sure.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: We have them. We can give them to you.

Q. Senator Walsh: So the destruction of homes and the burning of farms and creameries and mills has caused a condition of unemployment and a shortage of food that has reached a critical state?

ENGLISH AUTHORITIES PREVENT TRANSPORT OF FOOD TO CITIES

A. Yes, absolutely. Another thing that I would like to stress is this: that when the railroads began to be stopped, we made provisions for the transportation of food into the cities so that there

would be no shortage, for with the exception of flour, we have plenty of food in the country. We had arranged for the transportation of food by motor car. And they made a new law that no motor car could travel more than twenty miles from the home of its owner, and no motor car could be out other than between the hours of eight o'clock and six in the evening, and no motor car over a certain weight could be owned by anybody except the British Government. Of course the British Government would not say, "We will make laws to prevent your rationing food, so that you will starve in the cities." But they prevented it by this law. Of course, anybody can see that you cannot bring food from within twenty miles of a great city. All these things are done to keep up starvation. And we do need America's help to keep off starvation from our people. And I think, on the mere ground of humanity, that surely in the interests of humanity you should take care that no people like ours should be allowed to starve during the coming winter. And certainly our people will be starved, absolutely starved during the coming winter, without your help.

AMERICA NOT ASKED TO GO TO WAR FOR IRELAND BUT TO PREVENT STARVATION

I want to say again, that when I said yesterday that you should not have sheathed your sword until all of the small nations, including Ireland, had their independence, do not think that from anything I said I mean that you should go to war on account of Ireland. England is your ally. She would be your natural ally if she would behave with justice. But what I ask of you is this: you have your Red Cross work; you have your charitable hearts; you have money enough, even among the anti-Irish population in this country; and I ask you to keep our women and children from starving to death. We know perfectly well that you will not go to war over Ireland, unless there is some other issue between you and England.

I thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me for the past two days—for a day and a half—as you have done; and I thank the American Commission for what you have done for Ireland in the interests of humanity and in the interests of truth. I thank you very much.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

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Mr. F. P. Walsh: There are four or five witnesses who have come in now on this late train. And I was going to suggest that if you

would want to adjourn now, that we could finish up their testimony tomorrow.

(The Commissioners confer.)

Chairman Howe: The hearings will reconvene at this place tomorrow morning at nine-thirty.

Senator Walsh: Are you able to produce any evidence as to who the murderers of Lord Mayor MacCurtain were, the circumstances of his murder, and in what way, if at all, the British authorities were connected with that murder?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I think I see what you want. I think it is important enough to do it in a direct way. And we will undertake to do it.

FIRST-HAND EVIDENCE AND NOT HEARSAY DESIRED BY COMMISSION

At this hearing I want to say this: We are in communication with your secretary and chairman, and they said they wanted to hear Mrs. MacSwiney and Miss MacSwiney first; and we notified your secretary that we thought that some of these ex-R. I. C. men are here in this country and could be produced before you. From what your chairman said, I take it that you do not want anything long and detailed; so we have sought to find only witnesses who have actual personal experiences to tell. And we will have these witnesses from time to time, and after consultation with you we can present them.

Commissioner Thomas: While Mr. Frank Walsh is here, I would like to raise a point for his advice on the matter. We have got some very remarkable testimony from Mrs. and Miss MacSwiney. Would it be in any degree unfair to further witnesses to ask that they confine themselves to those matters of which they have fairly first-hand knowledge of the facts? I say fairly first-hand, because I know the impossibility of making that absolute. You see, we have got a very vivid picture now of the situation as a whole, but what we need are specific instances of actual deeds.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I understand that from this Committee's first hearings, that they would not carry on these hearings according to strict rules of evidence, as that would be followed in court; that they wished, first, to have first-hand testimony; and, secondly, testimony from persons who were so close to events that they would have similar to first-hand testimony, and put the Commission on the track of what actually occurred. Of course, the idea was to avoid

hearsay testimony; and the witnesses we are going to put on will, I think, reach that result very easily.

Senator Norris: Will your witnesses tomorrow know about the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I think that I can find such witnesses.

Senator Walsh: Perhaps Miss MacSwiney could do that, or Mrs. MacSwiney, because her husband followed him.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: This afternoon I was asked to limit her testimony to certain things.

Senator Norris: But if she was present at the coroner's inquest, she can testify with first-hand knowledge.

Adjournment 4:45 p. m.

SECOND HEARINGS ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Session Three

Before the Commission, sitting at the Hotel La Fayette, Friday, December 10, 1920, 9:50 a. m.

Chairman Howe: At the suggestion of Senator Norris, we have asked Miss MacSwiney to come back this morning to make a statement relative to the Mayor MacCurtain matter. Miss MacSwiney was at the inquest, we understand.

Mr. Malone, some of the Commission have to leave this afternoon at three o'clock, and if you will, arrange your witnesses so that we can get through today.

Mr. D. F. Malone (of counsel): Will the Commission sit tomorrow, Mr. Howe?

Chairman Howe: We very much want to get through today if possible.

TESTIMONY ON RECALL OF MISS MARY MACSWINEY CONCERNING THE MURDER OF LORD MAYOR THOMAS MAC- CURTAIN OF CORK

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: How long have you known Mayor MacCurtain?

A. I have known him intimately from the beginning of the Volunteer Movement.

Q. Did you know him in a personal as well as a political way?

A. Yes. Very much more politically at first, but I was afterwards very closely associated with his family.

Q. How old was he when he died?

A. I think he was thirty-six.

Q. And he was a friend of your brother's?

A. Yes, very. They were very intimate friends and very devoted to each other. My brother had a very great admiration for him, and I know that he had a great admiration for my brother.

AN OFFICER IN THE REPUBLICAN ARMY

Q. What was the position of Mayor MacCurtain in the Republican forces?

A. He was brigade commandant; that is what would correspond to a brigadier general.

Q. And your brother was next in command?

A. Right. My brother became chief commandant when Mayor MacCurtain was murdered, as he also succeeded him as Lord Mayor of the city.

THE MACCURTAIN FAMILY

Q. I think it will facilitate matters before the Commission very much if you will describe the conditions leading up to this murder, and the situation of his family, and state briefly the testimony you heard given at the inquest.

A. As I said, Lord Mayor MacCurtain was a man of about thirty-six at the time of his death. He had a wife and five children at the time. The eldest was ten years of age when he was murdered. I may say that five months after his death, his wife gave birth to two other children, twins, who were dead when they were born.

CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH LORD MAYOR MAC-SWINEY IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND IMPRISONMENTS

He was a man of very sweet disposition, always a pleasant laugh and kind word, even to those with whom he differed most politically. He was also a very good, shrewd business man. He did his best to smooth over matters in Cork when Mr. Redmond, as I explained the other day, caused a sort of split in the Volunteer movement. He, of course, remained on the right side, and he did a great deal to avoid any bitterness. He was a particular friend of my brother for years. They had been associated in the Gaelic League movement and in the industrial movement. But whereas my brother never joined the Sinn Fein group, as I explained the first day of my evidence, Mr. MacCurtain did. He joined the Arthur Griffith movement. But of course there is no such thing now as the constitutional Sinn Fein. But when in 1905 the movement was first started, it was a constitutional movement, and Mr. MacCurtain did belong to it. I did not know him then. But my brother never belonged to it.

In the troubled times in Ireland, from 1916 onward, they were very closely associated. All through that week of the rising they were together at what we called the Volunteer Hall, the headquarters of the Irish Volunteer Army in the city. They were through all of the troubles up to that time together, and they both received a certain amount of condemnation from a certain section of the people who thought that they should have had a rising in the city, even though every individual man was shot down. Of course their attitude was that the thing that was best for Ireland was the thing to be thought of, and not the individual glory of losing your life, which is a comparatively easy thing to do.

Then Mayor MacCurtain, like my brother, had spent most of his time in prison. He was not in prison so much or so long; but in 1916 he was in prison with him until Christmas; and in 1917 he was deported, and they returned home to Cork at the same time. I do not think he was arrested in October, 1917, the time of my brother's first hunger strike. I am not quite certain, but I do not think so. But he was arrested in 1917, in February, and they were in and out of prison like that. It is a sort of natural thing to be spending half of your time in prison. And he was continually on the run. Mr. MacCurtain had a flour and mill business. He dealt on the wholesale scale. And that business was injured by his frequent imprisonments. But when he came out of prison in 1918 he started his factory. Of course they were always interested in the development everywhere of Irish industries. And he started an industry and got some machines together, and employed a number of people for the manufacture of underclothing. That was going ahead splendidly when he was made Lord Mayor. And of course he was only inaugurated a very short time when he was murdered.

ELECTION OF THOMAS MACCURTAIN AS LORD MAYOR OF CORK

Now, Mr. MacCurtain was made Lord Mayor in January, after the municipal elections, which resulted in large Sinn Fein majorities all over the country.

Q. Senator Norris: January of what year?

A. January, 1920. The councillors were elected to the corporation, and then the new corporation elected the Lord Mayor. He was unanimously chosen. The first thing that the new corporation did was to declare allegiance to Dail Eireann. The keeping of that resolution declaring allegiance to Dail Eireann, which is the Irish Parliament, was one of the charges brought against my brother when he was tried in the August following.

HIS EXCEPTIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY

I alluded to the genial disposition of Mr. MacCurtain. And at the same time he was a very competent and capable business man. When he was elected Lord Mayor, he won golden opinions from his opponents immediately for the masterly way he grasped the affairs of the corporation, and the businesslike attitude he took toward it. And the attitude not only of the Lord Mayor, but of the whole corporation, that the business of the city should be carried on in an efficient way without any corruption whatever. They were determined that economy should be practiced in the city. Wherever you have a society like ours, a social system where you have an alien people imposing its will on the people, you have a great deal of inefficiency,—worthless people pressing you for jobs. I am quite sure that the American people know the meaning of the word job. And these inefficient people are put into positions, and a great deal of money is squandered. The new Republican organization made up its mind that this inefficiency should be destroyed forever. The salary of the Lord Mayor was six hundred pounds a year. That is not a very large amount, and it is not as big as it looks, because I think about one-half of it had to go to certain charities. Indeed, so much had to be spent in this way that, although the salary was originally only five hundred pounds a year, one hundred pounds was added on to it, because there were two additional charities to which the Lord Mayor was expected to contribute fifty pounds a year each. But the new council decided that that should go, as the first step in the direction of economy. The Lord Mayor also did a great deal in the way of entertainment, and always began the year with what was known as the Lord Mayor's banquet. It was decided that that should go, and there should be no extravagance whatever. Everything necessary for the life of the citizens should be done. But it was not thought necessary for the Lord Mayor and his friends to sit around a table eating their fill and drinking. That was not considered necessary for the good of Ireland. They also gave pleasing proof that they meant what they said, and that they were not out to make things easy for themselves financially. Another rule that they made was that the members of the corporation were expected to attend to their duties, and above all the Lord Mayor was expected to attend to his duties. Some Lord Mayors had gone to the city hall to perform their duties perhaps three or four hours out of the week. The new Lord Mayor undertook to do differently. It was rather destructive of the Lord Mayor's business, but they determined that was what had to be done.

Q. Senator Norris: So that they cut down his salary and increased his work?

A. Yes, exactly, that is what they did.

WINS AFFECTION OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS BY HIS FAIRNESS AND ABILITY

I should like to stress the wonderfully good influence that Lord Mayor MacCurtain had on the Unionist members of the corporation. They expected to have a very bad time of it. They found that they got just as good treatment as his colleagues. There were two representatives of the Federation of Discharged Soldiers and Sailors. Owing to the very large number of men that Cork had in the English army before and during the war, these men were able under the proportional representation system to send two members to the corporation. It did not follow as a matter of fact that they were anti-Irish,—as a fact they were not; but they wanted to get what they wanted for the former soldiers and sailors from the Republican Government. They expected to have a very bad time from the Government that was opposed to the English army. As a matter of fact they did not. They found out that they were accepted as good citizens, and expected to cooperate for the good of the whole population. All these classes of the population were greatly touched by the attitude of the Lord Mayor and the other members of the corporation towards them. And they showed it, and I don't believe there could have been a better example of that than the way that the whole of Cork rallied around the Lord Mayor at the time of his death. Everyone in Cork was of the same mind. There was a special meeting of the corporation called on the day of his death, and every Unionist member spoke; and I may as well tell you that at that meeting, at which I was present, one of the bitterest anti-Irish and pro-Unionist people in the corporation actually cried when he was seconding the vote of sympathy to Mrs. MacCurtain and the condemnation of the cruel action. At that time, of course, there was no question as to who had committed the murder. There was a general outburst of feeling on the part of the whole city. And I could read you many examples of the nice things that were said about him by the Unionists. Some of us had the idea that it was because of the rapidity with which he was winning over the hearts of the Unionists and impressing upon them the fact that they were all Irishmen together and should work for Ireland's good, and the fact that he was such a thoroughly practical business man,—you see, I am stressing that because we are called and have been called for years im-

practical idealists; we have lovely theories, but we have no practical conception of business matters at all; that we have no idea of how to run a state or run a city, and that we are always up in the moon. But Lord Mayor MacCurtain showed that he had such a practical grasp of business matters that he opened the eyes of a great many people who had never come into personal contact with Irish Republican people before. And he had practically within a month converted the whole corporation into Republicans. Even the resolution of the corporation pledging allegiance to Dail Eireann got practically no opposition.

One of the things the corporation had to do was to send up the name of someone for sheriff to the High Commissioner. The corporation was considering whether they should send up the name of a man who had been in prison for one and a half years on a false charge. They had never succeeded in getting a jury to convict him. The most they could do was to get a jury that would disagree,—they got enough Unionists on the jury for that. Of course he did not defend himself. You understand that we Republicans do not defend ourselves in the English courts. We do not recognize their courts. This matter of the appointment of McMurray, who was in prison on a false charge, was a question of sending his name up to the Lord Lieutenant as high sheriff. That would, of course, have been a kind of act of contempt towards them. We would send up as the man who would control the prisons the man whom they were keeping in prison falsely. But we decided that that would be an act below us. The Republican members of the corporation decided that they would not even in contempt of England and English law send up the name of a man who, if he was elected, would have to take the oath of allegiance to the English Government, and so they did not send up any name. One of the members of the corporation suggested that they should not let go by default the privilege that they had not long ago gained, the privilege of nominating the man for high sheriff. But they ignored that member and refused to make any appointment. Sir John Scott, who was the Unionist who proposed that they should send up three names, did not even get among the Unionists of the group a second to his motion.

Q. Miss MacSwiney, you started to say something about the belief that Mayor MacCurtain's efficiency and his popularity and his ability to win over the Unionists of the opposition was a significant reason for his death?

Chairman Howe: Can you begin right there, so that we can get through the principal facts right down to the inquest, please?

MURDERED BY MIDNIGHT RAIDERS IN PRESENCE OF WIFE

A. That, of course, couldn't be proved, but it is very reasonable to suppose. But he, of course, had been on the run, although he had been sleeping at home,—a great deal more than some of the others like my brother. He was there, I think, because he had a great deal of business to attend to, and he had a small family, and his wife was not well. He happened to be home on the night of the nineteenth of March, 1920. A knock came at the door. It was between one and a quarter-past, or one and half-past, anyway, in the morning. As usual, they came to the conclusion that it was the military or the police, and he wanted to go down, but his wife would not let him. She put her head out of the window and asked, "Who is there?" and the answer came back, "Come down quick." The plan is, of course, not to let the men go down and open the door, for they would be shot on the spot; so usually the women go down and open the door to let the man escape if possible. Before she got downstairs, the door was smashed in. About six men smashed their way in, and two of them gripped her and pushed her up against the wall, and one of them said, "Hold that woman!" And the others rushed upstairs.

I want you to know this thing: they went immediately to Mr. MacCurtain's room. There was no hesitation at all. And that is remarkable in a house like MacCurtain's, where the steps are very peculiarly placed. You would have to know the house very well to know where you were going. You had to enter through the porch. The stairs were on a side passage to the left. There was a very funny twist in them towards the top, and you could not possibly find your way about the house unless you knew it well. They made no hesitation. They went straight to his room and called, "Come out, Curtain." Mrs. MacCurtain, who was downstairs, heard the baby cry and she begged to go upstairs and bring the baby down. They would not let her. She pleaded with them. She said they had mothers and babies themselves; and they would not let her go. Then the shots rang out, as soon as they had yelled out, "Come out, Curtain." He came to the door and they shot him. He was killed by three revolver shots. The baby then ceased to cry,—perhaps it was taken by its aunt; and the poor mother thought that the baby was shot too. She was in a fainting condition. Meanwhile the six men came downstairs and went out. The sister upstairs had run to the rescue of the Lord Mayor, only to find out that he was bleeding

and in a dying condition. Mrs. MacCurtain ran out of the house crying, "For God's sake, a priest and a doctor!"

Q. Chairman Howe: One minute: you are testifying as to facts that you heard brought out at the inquest?

A. No, these are the facts that I heard at the house when I visited them.

Q. Were these facts brought out at the inquest?

A. Yes, all these facts were brought out at the inquest. If I am going too much into detail, tell me.

The main thing brought out at the inquest is that Lord Mayor MacCurtain was murdered at quarter past one; that there were shots fired from outside the house when the brother put his head out and called for help; that there is a police barracks within fifty yards from the house; that nobody in those barracks could possibly help from hearing those shots, but not a policeman appeared from those barracks until eight o'clock in the morning.

STREETS APPROACHING HOUSE HELD UP BY ARMED PATROLS

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Was it brought out at the inquest that there had been a zone around the house?

A. Yes, there were four roads leading to that particular street. Those roads were held by parties of armed men. One of those roads was held by men who were in police uniform. Two men testified that they wanted to get to their homes through those streets, but that they were not allowed by policemen in uniform to proceed. All the other men were not in uniform. All the men who entered Mr. MacCurtain's house that night had their faces blackened. They were not in uniform.

Q. When was this zone established?

A. This zone was established about a quarter past one.

Q. Was that established at the inquest?

A. Yes, by railroad men who were going home and watchmen who were leaving their homes. It was established that this zone was established, that a half-dozen men were stopped and put with their backs to the wall until the murder was completed, and then they were told to stay where they were for half an hour or they would be shot.

POLICE RECORDS JUGGLED

Q. Is it not also true that it was brought out at the inquest that the records of the goings and comings of police had not been kept for a week or two before and after the shooting?

A. Yes, on the night of the tenth of March there had been shots fired at a policeman. We had a night of terror in the city. The police shot people, shot people of the city. They went looking for men on the run, who would have been shot like Mr. MacCurtain if they had been found. They ran amuck, as we say. And then they went back to their barracks. Of course, the rules of the barracks are that every time that ammunition is taken or a gun is taken off the racks in the barracks, it must be put down in the books. No account whatever was put down for the taking of guns and ammunition on the tenth of March. It was acknowledged that the police did go out that night and did shootings, and it is acknowledged that no record whatever was kept.

Q. This was the week before the shooting of the Lord Mayor?

A. Yes, it was the tenth, a week before. The night of the tenth of March the police went amuck through the streets looking for Volunteers to shoot, and breaking windows and shooting several civilians.

Q. Commissioner Addams: That was after an attempt to shoot a policeman. Was any of them killed?

A. No, one was wounded, but no one killed.

Q. Was the shooting of the Lord Mayor a reprisal for the shooting of that policeman?

A. I think the police were anxious to make it appear so, but of course they never acknowledged that it was done by them; they tried to pretend that it was not done by the police, but the evidence was irrefutable.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Miss MacSwiney, you were at the inquest?

A. Yes.

LORD MAYOR'S HOUSEHOLD ABSOLUTELY UNARMED

Q. Senator Norris: This idea has come to me, not only in the case of the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain, but in other cases where Black-and-Tans had broken into houses in the night. Why is it that these people whom they come to kill do not defend themselves? They certainly would have a good opportunity to shoot people coming into their homes. For instance, why did not the Lord Mayor, coming out of his room as he did, shoot them?

A. Because they do not have any arms in the house.

Q. Why do not they have? The Lord Mayor could have, could he not?

A. I suppose that he could. But a married man like that who ventures to sleep at home with his family would not have arms. If he slept at home with his family he would take the risk of escaping arrest that night. If they found a revolver in the house, of course he would be imprisoned for two years. You are simply placing yourself in their hands if you are found with a revolver, because that is a charge that they punish with two years' imprisonment at least.¹

Q. No, but the Lord Mayor knew he was going to be killed, and the idea occurs to me that he might have had a revolver there and sold his life as dearly as possible. He might have killed three or four of those people before they got him.

A. No, but at that time they had not begun to shoot down unarmed men. It was the first time. To be exact, the shooting of two unarmed men the week before on the tenth of March was the first event of that kind. From that time on no man ventured to sleep in his house without arms, as I have told you that when my brother did sleep at home with his guard, both were armed, and on the two occasions when we had an alarm at the door, they were prepared to sell their lives dearly. But that was after the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain.

IRISH PURSUE PACIFIC POLICY UNTIL ENGLISH AGGRESSION COMPELS RESISTANCE

Q. Senator Walsh: Excuse me a moment. You said at the time of Lord Mayor MacCurtain's death you had reached the stage of armed warfare. Do you mean that up to that time the campaign was one of passive resistance and not of open warfare?

A. No, we do not make the claim of passive resistance after 1916. Up to 1916 it was passive resistance. After that time it was not. What I mean is that while the Volunteers carried arms and were compelled to defend themselves against open force, we had not reached the stage where the British Government was ordering shootings and raids and the killing of unarmed men at sight. Therefore, the men staying at home did not carry arms.

Q. My impression of the Irish situation is that you had an open revolution in 1916, and then you later proceeded to hold elections and get an evidence of the unmistakable desire of the people of Ireland to have applied to them the principle of self-determination; and

¹ Under martial law regulations recently imposed upon the principal counties of southern Ireland, the death penalty is inflicted on those found with firearms or ammunition in their possession.

the evidence of the election proved that you wanted that principle applied to you as well as to any other country. And that you then proceeded to do all of the things necessary to set up a republican form of government without bloodshed, without any war, without murders, and without any policy of destruction of human life; and that that policy was rigidly carried out until such time as the English Government began to send soldiers and Black-and-Tans into Ireland and began to interfere with the functioning of that government which you had previously established. Is my idea right or wrong?

A. It is absolutely right, Senator, with our true policy; if you take it that we have never said that we would have nothing but passive resistance. Up to the time that the campaign of the enemy began, and became so hot against us, there never was any offensive, never any shooting, on our part. You are quite right that we wanted to get our government going. If our courts had been allowed to meet in peace, and we had been allowed to carry on the municipal government of the country, we would have been quite willing to do that and build our country up, and then have turned our attention to clearing the enemy out, peaceably if possible. We would always have done it pacifically if possible.

Q. Up to that time you had what we in this country call a bloodless revolution. You had by the ballot box and by talk and discussion brought about the revolution about as effectively as if there had been bloodshed. You had established a form of government, and had done everything you could to drive off the old government without the shedding of blood. So that so far there was no force and no armed activity. Is that true?

A. Now, I want to be exact. As I told you yesterday about the little incident of the submarine and the torpedo boat destroyer—

Q. But did any Irish Volunteers or anybody else murder any policemen or anybody else up to the time of the murder of Mayor MacCurtain?

A. Oh, we destroyed police barracks and things like that.

Q. When?

A. In 1916.

Q. I am asking you if there came a time when you had without bloodshed and without force and arms established a functioning government, and whether that was by peaceful methods. .

A. From the beginning of 1916 to 1919 the Irish Republican Army was in existence and strengthening itself wherever it could.

Q. What was it doing?

A. Drilling itself, largely in secret. Gathering arms whenever it could.

Q. Anticipating what?

A. Anticipating exactly what happened: that as soon as we showed that we could govern our country without them, the English would take very good care that we did not. But we never have been guilty of an act of aggression and never would have been if England had cleared out and let us alone. We do not want war if we can possibly get out of it.

Q. What your American friends want to know, my opinion is, at least those who have extreme pacifist views, is how long you were patient, how long you were resisting the temptation to meet murder with murder and go into open warfare.

Mr. D. F. Malone: Wait just a moment.

Senator Walsh: Just a moment, please. Some of the best articles that have been written in America on the Irish question, and some of the things that interested the American people most, were about the new order that had been brought about as to the things accomplished by a bloodless revolution and passive resistance. Now, if it was not passive resistance, if there was warfare and bloodshed, it is a different thing. Do you get my idea?

A. Yes. There was no warfare at all until after 1916, when they began to interfere with our government.

Q. Commissioner Addams: When did the open warfare begin, after the Easter revolution of 1916?

A. Well, you see for a long time our men were in prison. There was a period of inactivity.

Q. What provoked it again? What started it up?

A. The absolute determination of England to prevent us doing anything. There was no more open warfare until after 1918. After that we started our government functioning. For twelve months I do not think she realized that we were building up an extraordinarily stable government in the country, in spite of the fact that she had an army of occupation there.

Q. That was the same election that elected Lloyd George in England? And for awhile after that there was comparative peace and quiet?

A. Yes, as long as we were let alone to build up our own government there was peace and quiet.

Q. What overt act started things up?

A. The extraordinary activity of the English secret service, when they started to get information about our people and running them down and gathering information about our courts. I cannot

say the exact date. I want to be scrupulously exact, and do not want to make a mistake. With us the whole question was what was best for the movement. We had no scruples, and I would not influence my pacifist friends for a moment. We had no scruples against open warfare if it was necessary to get independence for Ireland. But we did not want war. We put it off as long as possible. It may have been 1919 before the warfare began. I am inclined to think it was before the burning of police barracks. But if you understood how fast we are living in Ireland, you would realize that during the last four years we have lived through a generation. Before a Commission like this I want to be very exact on details, and I cannot tell you the exact date on which we began to burn police barracks.

Commissioner Addams: I did not mean the exact date. I think you have answered what I want.

The Witness: I would like to stress that we have been living through a whole generation recently,—what would have been a whole remarkable epoch in an ordinary nation's life; that we have forgotten one thing when the other comes on.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I ask you one statement, something that has been made to me many times by friends. I have friends who have said (of course we are not pacifists in the extreme sense, but the history of the recent war shows that going to war is the last thing that you want to do),—some of them say, "The Irish were making good progress. They had a government and courts functioning. They had put the British in an extremely difficult position in the eyes of the world." They say, "We are not philosophical pacifists, but we think they made a blunder for their own cause when they gave Lloyd George a chance to say to the world that these horrible things were being done, not only when police barracks were burned, because that was only the loss of property, but police were shot and law and order broken." In other words—we are talking in a family way here—I think you will find not only the philosophical argument but the practical argument that you had made such enormous strides,—you had not won everything but you had made enormous strides; that it was a mistake to give Lloyd George a chance to say there was open aggression which he had to suppress, and which the Irish brought about. What I want is to get actual instances where there was actual aggression by the British before Irish violence began.

A. Yes, that is what I am trying to bring out. Before any trouble started—

SPECIFIC ACTS OF ENGLISH AGGRESSION PROVOKING IRISH TO FORCIBLE RESISTANCE

Commissioner Thomas: Yes, I know that argument, but I am trying to get you to state specific instances.

The Witness: Well, first of all there was the arrest of the Sinn Fein members.

Q. Senator Walsh: Of Parliament?

A. Yes, of Parliament. They put all the Sinn Fein members in jail, but that did not matter, because the remainder were Republicans, and they were able to carry on. But in one case—take the Galway County Council—they arrested all the Sinn Feiners, and with the rest they could do what they liked, and called it the Galway County Council. And again, they hampered the courts. They know the courts gave a greater impression in England than anything else. You know the daily papers gave case after case where before you had the police courts, you now have the Sinn Fein courts giving judgments that the people eagerly accept.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Did they begin to obliterate these courts before the violence began?

A. They did it not openly at first, but secretly.

Q. Senator Norris: It is important to inquire about the time. Did the British Government begin its methods of obstruction by arrest or otherwise of the Sinn Fein leaders before there was anything done by the Irish against British officials?

A. Oh, yes. I think I can say that it was, but I cannot give you exact dates. I think I must have said something about 1918, when it was in 1919. I honestly tell you, I would have to go to the papers and look it up. We are living at a great rate, and I would have to ask your consideration on that point of view.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Miss MacSwiney, I think perhaps,—if the Chairman and the others think this is a correct procedure,—it seems to me that this is so important that we should know the facts accurately. I am wondering if you would collaborate with Mr. Malone and other counsel so that there could be given to the Commission an exact statement of the course of events, of acts of violence by the British government before there was trouble.

A. Yes, I would like to do that. But you see, if I make one misstatement I would be put down in English papers as telling lies.

Commissioner Thomas: Yes, I quite appreciate that.

Q. Senator Walsh: You were enumerating the things, when you were interrupted, the things that you said provoked the Irish people to give up in part or surrender in part their policy of passive re-

sistance. And you named the arrest of the leaders and the breaking up of the courts. Now, what other things?

A. The system of espionage which made it impossible for our civic leaders to carry out any work for the good of the country without being spied on by the English police, and being arrested or shot in consequence. The system of spying that was carried on, and the fact that it was impossible for our people to carry on the government for the good of the country, brought the first trouble about. All that I would like to look up,—dates and facts, and give them in writing to the Commission.

Commissioner Addams: That would be very kind of you, Miss MacSwiney.

Commissioner Thomas: Thank you very much.

The Witness: I would be glad to do that.¹

Q. Senator Norris: I hope in doing that you will not think that the American people consider that the Irish people have to wait until they are obliterated and put in prison before they are justified in putting up a resistance and fighting. Personally I am called a great pacifist, and I have suffered a great deal of abuse on the subject. I asked you the question about Lord Mayor MacCurtain. It seems to me that if I had been him, I would have shot those men. I would have tried to see how many of the other fellows I could have laid out first, before they got me.

A. Perhaps that is the best answer I can give to your question: up to the time that Lord Mayor MacCurtain was shot, there had been none of our unarmed leaders shot in their homes.

Q. But there was a policeman shot nine days before?

A. Yes, but he was not unarmed. You understand, please, Miss Addams, that all the policemen are fully armed.

Mr. D. F. Malone: They were not all shot by Republican sympathizers, either.

The Witness: No, indeed they were not.

Senator Norris: It happens occasionally in America that a policeman is shot here.

The Witness: Well, you see, you have criminals in America. But there are no criminals in Ireland who would be shooting policemen. I dare say we would have our share of them if we had not been so heart and soul devoted to the salvation of our country that we had no time. And I may as well tell you that the petty criminals

¹The facts in question are contained in a memorandum, The Development of the English Military Campaign Against the Irish People, submitted to the Commission pursuant to this request, and incorporated in the evidence as Exhibit I. See Index.

we had,—the drunks and disorderlies and petty larcenies, they had all gone into the army,—all the rascals went into the English army to fight the war.

May I just take that suggestion you made, Senator Norris, and say this about it. There is no question whatever that our people had never expected to be shot in their beds like that before the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain, and therefore they did not carry their arms to bed with them. From the time of the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain, no Volunteer went to bed unarmed, but was well prepared for what might happen.

Q. Senator Walsh: But what we want to know is this: how long and to what extent the Irish people resisted the attempts of the British Government to provoke them into answering back by force of arms.

A. Yes, but you will let me get exact facts and dates.

Senator Walsh: We all appreciate the provocation, and the patience of the Irish people in meeting that provocation. But we want to know how long the Irish people held back.

NO FACTIONAL DIVISION AMONG REPUBLICAN LEADERS

Commissioner Thomas: It has been repeatedly charged,—to give you one specific instance, the editorial in the *New York Times* this morning,—it has been often charged that within the leaders of the Republican Army there have been two minds on the right and expediency of certain of these shootings. Have you any first-hand evidence, or can you put us in the way of any evidence, on this point?

A. I cannot. May I ask you a question in return, Mr. Thomas? Have you ever had a cabinet that did not have divisions on questions of policy?

Commissioner Thomas: I would reply that it is often a pity that there is so little division in opinion among members of cabinets in America.

The Witness: Then you agree that a certain division of opinion is wise?

Commissioner Thomas: Yes.

The Witness: I think that a division of opinion in the Republican cabinet is sometimes quite possible. The men in our cabinet are all men of strong character. You never find men of strong character who are always of the same mind.

Commissioner Thomas: I think that is a hopeful symptom.

The Witness: It is so in our case.

Mr. D. F. Malone: But you see, Miss MacSwiney, the *New York Times* is only of one mind, and thinks that we will all be stupid enough to be of the same mind.

The Witness: That sounds like Lloyd George. Every cabinet in which there are strong men of character will discuss things openly and frankly, and then come to a decision which holds. Lloyd George has tried to impress your people with the fact that we are all at sixes and sevens. I begged you yesterday not to believe Lloyd George when he says that the members of the Irish Republic are continuously fighting among themselves.

Q. Commissioner Addams: What we want to know is how unanimous the opinion of the cabinet is in matters like the killing of these fourteen policemen.

A. I am not in the cabinet, and the cabinet keeps its mind to itself. But they had discussed that question and had come to a decision.

Q. But we meant, there was no great disagreement in the cabinet?

A. There may have been one or two timid minds,—I do not know. But the majority certainly favored that policy.

WITNESSES AT INQUEST PROVE COMPLICITY OF POLICE IN MURDER OF MACCURTAIN

Chairman Howe: Now, we will go back to the inquest.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Will you discuss what the chief witnesses said at the inquest?

Chairman Howe: We would like to get through in eight or ten minutes if we could.

The Witness: I think the knowledge that the police were responsible for the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain was pretty generally known among Republicans on the morning of his death, but it had not got to be generally accepted as the opinion of the whole city until the inquest began. The inquest took a very long time. The principal witnesses were those who testified to the holding up of civilians from entering the zone that was formed by the police around the Lord Mayor's house. A lamplighter testified to the fact that he was held up on a road which leads from King Street to the Hill road,—that is the road on which we live. That particular band was supposed to be waiting for my brother. They did not know that he was home that night, and they were not searching the house. But it was thought that as soon as Mrs. MacCurtain knew that her husband was murdered, she would send instantly for my brother, and perhaps one or two others, and they would have the

opportunity of shooting them too. However, this lamplighter was stopped on York Hill and they sent him back another road. Another man named Desmond, a lamplighter also, had parted from the first lamplighter named Thompson. He had a brother who was also a lamplighter, and their general plan was to wait for each other on the corner of King Street (since then, I can tell you, called MacCurtain Street), so that they could go home together to the south side of the city. He got there first that night, and stood on the porch of the Coliseum Theater, exactly opposite the police barracks. He had been standing there for a quarter of an hour when he saw this band of armed men coming down York Hill,—the foot of York Hill, to be precise, eight or ten yards from the door of the King Street police barracks. They came down York Hill in single file. They walked very quietly. They must have had rubber soles on their shoes. Each man was dressed as the murderers were dressed, with rain coats mostly, some dark and some drab. He could not say what they had on their heads. But they came down the hill in single file. They went up the steps of the police barracks. They carried revolvers down by their sides. They walked with the steps of soldiers, for policemen in Ireland are always drilled like soldiers. They tapped lightly on the door of the police barracks, and the door was opened instantly, and they went inside immediately. No light was shown.

He thought that something was up, and he went home without waiting for his brother, as fast as he could. He came forward very bravely and gave evidence at the inquest. And an attempt was made on his life during the inquest, but did not succeed. That was about twenty minutes to two.

Another man, a postman, saw that same body of men file down from the police barracks about one o'clock.

Q. Mr. Malone: What time was Mayor MacCurtain killed?

A. About quarter-past or half-past one; I cannot say exactly.

Q. So that a file of men were seen to leave the police barracks about a quarter of an hour previously?

A. Yes. But they did not come back all together at the same time. With the number who held up the roads and so forth, there must have been a large number of men engaged.

Q. Was there evidence that roads were held up?

A. Yes.

Q. How many roads?

A. On one road six men were held up and stood with their backs to the wall. And on another road another man was stood up by these same men with long coats and soft, dark hats. And the third

road was held up by policemen in uniform. They prevented men from passing Lord Mayor MacCurtain's house.

Q. Senator Walsh: What reason did they give for holding up these men?

A. They asked them what business they had on the streets then.

Q. Was this before or after the mayor was murdered?

A. While he was being murdered. One man who was held up by the policemen in uniform was prevented from passing Lord Mayor MacCurtain's house, and was sent down a road which led out by a church beyond Lord Mayor MacCurtain's house. He looked back, and the police shouted, "Go on and keep your eyes before you." The first time he looked back he saw four policemen standing at Lord Mayor MacCurtain's house. His house was only a few doors beyond, and just as he got there he heard three shots ring out.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Was all this evidence at the inquest?

A. Yes, every bit of it was sworn evidence at the inquest. I don't know whether you think it relevant, but at half-past two that morning officers and soldiers came to raid the Lord Mayor's house. There were policemen outside. But this night the policemen refused to enter the house. The rule was that the policemen searched the house while the military remained on guard. This night the officers searched the house and saw the dead man lying there and the women weeping. A question was asked in the House of Commons the day after the murder. Mr. Ian MacPherson, who was Chief Secretary at that time, was asked why they so cruelly sent a military party to search a house where a man was lying dead. And the answer Mr. MacPherson gave was that the military party had been sent to Mayor MacCurtain's house to find out clues to the murder. General Strickland, the military commander who had sent that military party, said the next day that when the officers had come to the house, they had no idea of the murder, and he did not know of it until the officers got back and reported.

Q. Senator Walsh: So that the claim of the Irish Republic sympathizers is that the police sent this military party to show that they had no knowledge of the murder?

A. Well, my theory is—

Q. Is that the general opinion?

A. My personal opinion is that the military did not know it.

Q. But the police?

A. The police and the military at that time were separate bodies. They are together now, but they were not then.

Q. Senator Norris: Your theory is that both the police and the military were after him the same night?

A. Yes, and acted independently.

Q. And that the going of the military in there afterwards was not for the purpose of deceiving the population as to who committed the murder?

A. No, I do not believe it was. The police, who got the order from the military at five o'clock that afternoon to have three policemen ready to conduct the party on the raid, hoped to use it as a cover. But I do not really think that the military knew what was going on that night.

Q. Who ordered his killing that night?

A. O, I suppose the orders came from Dublin Castle.

Q. Why did they not use the military rather than the police?

A. O, the military were really decent up to that time. They were rather decent, and were not consciously out for murder up to that time. Now they are quite different. The military believed that they were there quite largely because Ireland was their country. Some of them think it still.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Did that practically conclude the testimony offered at the inquest about the connection of the police with the murder?

A. No, there was another significant thing. A doctor who lives on the Hill saw a body of armed men stop at the corner, and three or four of them go further up the hill. A nurse who lives farther up that way saw them enter District Inspector Swanzy's house.

Q. Saw who going in?

A. The men.

Chairman Howe: Mr. Malone, this detailed evidence is interesting, but it is something that we will never pass upon. Can we not get at the other facts?

Mr. D. F. Malone: Senator Norris wanted to hear about this data.

VERDICT INDICTS BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND POLICE FOR MURDER

Q. What was the verdict, Miss MacSwiney?

Senator Walsh: Of course we want details as to just why he was murdered.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: I want to ask you first if the coroner who presided at the inquest was an officer of the British Government?

A. Yes.

Q. Is he appointed by the British Government?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there a jury?

A. Yes, the jury was impaneled by the police.

Q. And this is the verdict of the jury?

A. Yes, of course. The police gave evidence at the inquest, and tried to prove by their books that they were all in their beds. But the evidence proved that the books were unreliable. The books at the time were not properly kept. They were obliged to admit that under oath.

Q. What was the verdict?

A. The verdict is this:

"We find that the late Alderman Thomas MacCurtain, Lord Mayor of Cork, died from shock and hemorrhage caused by bullet wounds; that he was wilfully murdered under circumstances of the most callous brutality; that the murder was organized and carried out by the Royal Irish Constabulary, officially directed by the British Government; and we return a verdict of wilful murder against David Lloyd George, prime minister of England; Lord French, lord lieutenant of Ireland; Ian MacPherson, late chief secretary for Ireland; Acting Inspector General Smith of the Royal Irish Constabulary; Divisional Inspector Clayton of the Royal Irish Constabulary; District Inspector Swanzy, and some unknown members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. We strongly condemn the system now in vogue of carrying out raids at unseasonable hours. We tender to Mrs. MacCurtain and her family our sympathy in their bereavement. This sympathy we extend to the city of Cork in the loss they have sustained of one so capable of carrying out their city administration."

Q. Senator Norris: How many were on the jury?

A. Fourteen.

Q. The coroner is a crown officer?

A. Yes.

POLICE IMPANEL JURY WHICH CONDEMNS THEM

Q. Who selected the men who sat on the jury?

A. The police always impanel the jury. There are certain names, the names of the list of burgesses, you see, and they take these names at haphazard. Coroners' juries are not like criminal juries. People do not object to going and serving.

Q. Who puts these names on the jury?

A. The coroner directs the police officer to summon the jury. The police, I believe, summon sixteen or eighteen. The coroner's jury is not like an ordinary jury. You may have twelve men, or you may have more.

Q. The police were charged with the crime. Then why did they select the jury?

A. There was no one else to select the jury at this time. When the first men were summoned, only seven of them showed up. Then the coroner called upon several citizens who offered themselves as willing to act. One or two were members of the corporation, and one of them suggested that as a member of the corporation he might not be considered eligible. The coroner at first said, "I don't see what difference that would make." And finally he thought better not to ask them to serve. The solicitor for the King asked what each man's occupation was, because, he said, that on account of the evidence he was about to submit, no policeman could sit on that jury. So on that ground several of them withdrew.

Q. Senator Walsh: I would like to know if the British Crown was represented at that inquest?

A. O yes.

Q. And that all the formalities had been complied with that had been complied with in the days of peace?

A. Yes.

Q. And that they, by the presence of their authorities, recognized it as an official procedure?

A. O, yes, it was an absolutely official court in that case.

CROWN COUNSEL DROPS DEFENSE OF POLICE

I would like to say, in addition, that at first they had only the Crown solicitor to represent them; they later brought in the most eminent K. C.—King's Counsel—in the country to represent them. I would like to say of that man, Mr. Wiley, a very eminent man: it was easy for us to see that all through the inquest he was acting honorably, and that he got a complete shock when the evidence showed so conclusively that the police had committed this murder. Before the evidence was half-way through, he withdrew on the plea of business elsewhere. He had to go somewhere else. Before he went away he said that, perhaps, from his position he might not be believed, but that he spoke from his heart in sympathizing with Mrs. MacCurtain and her family. And it was quite easy to see that he spoke from his heart. A short time after that Mr. Wiley, who was a very young man, and who could have risen very high in his profession, resigned from his position and cut off all connection with his party, the Unionist Party, which could have helped him to reach as high a position as Sir Edward Carson.

POLICE BULLETS AND BUTTON FOUND

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Was there any evidence that the bullets found in the body of Lord Mayor MacCurtain were police bullets?

A. Yes, there was. But I would not like to make a point of it, because their counsel said that many police revolvers and bullets had been captured by Sinn Feiners. And that was true. So although there were police bullets found there, that would not be absolute identification because the Sinn Feiners have about as many police revolvers as the police themselves. But there was a police button found.

Q. Where?

A. At the door, where Mrs. MacSwiney was.

Q. Senator Walsh: Had there been a struggle there?

A. I don't think so. He did not stress that as a matter of very great importance. But the button was found. I am perfectly honest in telling you that I would not myself consider the fact that the bullets found were police bullets was conclusive evidence, because we have captured a good many of their rifles and revolvers, and we are capturing more.

LORD FRENCH IGNORES JURY SUMMONS TO PRODUCE EVIDENCE

Q. But there was no reason why Lord Mayor MacCurtain would be killed by Republicans?

A. I would like to say that Lord French gave an interview to a newspaper man, I think it was the *Dublin Express*; and in that interview he said that there was conclusive evidence that Lord Mayor MacCurtain had been murdered by extremists in the Sinn Fein ranks, who were not satisfied with Lord Mayor MacCurtain because he was a moderate man. The jury heard of that and sent a summons to Sir John Taylor, under secretary of Dublin Castle, requesting Lord French to bring in this evidence. They sent that summons to Dublin Castle, and it was never answered—for, of course, Lord French did not have such evidence, and he knew he could not manufacture enough evidence to bolster up his statement in that way.

Chairman Howe: Are there any other questions?

Mr. D. F. Malone: No other questions.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF P. J. GUILFOIL

- Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: What is your full name, Mr. Guilfoil?
 A. P. J. Guilfoil.
 Q. Are you an American citizen?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Where do you reside?
 A. In Pittsburgh.
 Q. What is the date of your last visit to Ireland?
 A. I landed on the twenty-fifth of May last.
 Q. Whom did you visit there?
 A. Just relatives.
 Q. Where did you live there?
 A. With my sister-in-law in Feakle in County Clare. She is a dressmaker and has a little cottage there. I was there for five months.
 Q. Was your family there?
 A. Yes, sir; my wife and two children.
 Q. How old are the children?
 A. One nine, the other seven.
 Q. And you were living in the house of your sister?
 A. Yes.
 Q. How long?
 A. From the twenty-fifth of May to the fifteenth of October. I wasn't there all of the time, for I was in Cork for a few days before I sailed.

HOME BURNED BECAUSE POLICEMEN SHOT BY PARTIES UNKNOWN

- Q. I understand that the home in which you were living was burned.
 A. Right.
 Q. Were you there at the time?
 A. Yes.
 Q. Just relate briefly for the commission the circumstances of that burning. What date was that?
 A. On the morning of October seventh. The postoffice is about a quarter of a mile out from this little town, and there were six of the Royal Irish Constabulary went out to this post office, and two of them got shot just as they reached the postoffice at ten-thirty in the morning.
 Q. The Commission: Did you see this or just hear about it?

A. I saw the whole thing. I went out there about eleven or eleven-thirty to send a wire to Thomas Cook & Sons of Dublin about my return to the States. I knew about the happening before I left the town to go out there, and being an American citizen and having my passport there, and being of good courage, I went out there after this happened.

Q. The Commission: After what happened?

A. After the two policemen were shot.

Q. But you saw them shot?

A. No, I saw them lying there. I was in the town then. When I got there there was a young priest, Father O'Reilly, the only priest in the parish, with the dead men. I viewed the remains by the roadside. Word had been sent to the military at Ennis, a town about eighteen miles from there. I questioned the priest about the matter, and he said that all he knew about it was that he was called there about a half hour before by a young girl who told him there were two men at the postoffice in a dying condition. The town physician had been there also, Dr. O'Halloran, but he had left before I arrived. I asked the priest if he did not run great danger of reprisals for remaining there. But he said, what could he do? He could not leave two dead bodies by the road, because there were pigs and dogs around there, and what could he do? I told him that if he felt that way about it, I would remain with him, which I did.

About two o'clock the military arrived. There were about fifty of them arrived on horseback. They got the priest to provide a horse and cart to carry the remains into the town.

Q. They asked the priest to do that?

A. Yes, they did. They carried the bodies into the town, and some of the military remained there with the horses, and the others went on with the bodies.

SOLDIERS LOOT SHOP FOR LIQUOR

I remained there where the police were shot for about half an hour, and then I walked into the town. As I got into the town there was a man named Considine,—he has got a public house, which is what they call a saloon here,—and he is a carpenter by trade. He has three young sons who, it seems, are connected with the Sinn Fein movement. The military had taken possession of his house when I arrived. They were standing out in front with their bayonets fixed, standing on guard. They were plainly partaking of the liquids in the house. I saw that as I passed by.

I walked on up the street. About fifty or sixty yards up is where my sister-in-law lives, on the other side of the street. I had no more than entered when an officer comes in and asks, "Where is the civilian who just entered?" I was the only man living in the cottage. He wanted to know where I belonged. I explained who I was, showed him my passport, and told him I was an American tourist. He examined the passport very closely, and asked me if I had a pencil, and I told him no, I had a fountain pen. And he said he was going to put me on the black list, and he took the number of my passport and also my name. I said that was very nice. He left there, but soon returned and had six soldiers come back with him. They stood on guard outside the house and remained there until five that evening. Some of the men were visibly under the influence of liquor coming on towards evening.

PRIEST BRUTALLY BEATEN BY OFFICER'S ORDER

At six-thirty that evening there was a military officer and a district inspector come down from Tulla, about eight miles away. They came down with six soldiers directly across from where I was living to where this priest was living, this Father O'Reilly. There is a stone coping about three feet high around the house, where there is a garden and flowers inside. The six soldiers remained outside and the officer went in and knocked at the door. And I stood directly across the street taking it all in. The officer said to the priest when he answered the door, "Are you O'Reilly?" The priest answered, "Yes." Then he grabbed him by the collar and said, "Come here, you. You saw this horrible murder committed this morning. I will give you just five minutes to confess. Who committed this horrible murder?" The priest said, "I am innocent. I had nothing to do with it." The officer said, "Attention, men." The six soldiers were standing outside the wall on the road. The six soldiers then went in and grabbed hold of the priest. Three of them had him by the head and three by the feet. They carried him out, the three in the lead carrying him out of the gate, and the three on the inside laid him down on the wall, face down. The two officers remained inside in the garden, and one of them said he would give him just one minute to confess to the horrible murder. The priest said he was innocent. One of the officers said, "Let him have it." And the sight of it was too horrible for me to witness, and I pulled my cap

down so I would not see the flash. Instead of that, one of the soldiers stepped forward and with the butt of his rifle hit him three horrible blows across the hips. The officer said, "Now will you confess to this horrible crime?" He said, "I am innocent." The one officer spoke and said, "We will show you we are more humane than you are. And now get up and get into the house." The priest got up and started to go into the house, and as he did so, the officer gave him a kick and called him some terrible names as he went into the house. The six soldiers went on up to the barracks.

Mr. D. F. Malone: If the Commission wants to know what sort of terrible language these soldiers used, I suppose we can ask for it.

The Commission: No, it is not necessary.

The Witness: The officer and soldiers went up to the barracks and got into a big motor lorry and went away. I went across the street and knocked at the door of the priest's house, and he let me into the house, and I said, "My God, are you able to stand up?" And he said, "I got some awful wallops and am suffering some great pain, but what am I going to do?" And I said, "I don't suppose your feet can carry you very far, but as far as they can carry you, I would advise you to get out of the town. There will be reprisals tonight." He said, "Well, if there are reprisals there will be people dying, and they will need a priest." I said, "You would not abandon that place out there this morning, and I will not urge you to leave. Use your own judgment, Father O'Reilly."

SOLDIERS AT BARRACKS "WILD DRUNK"

As I went across the street—it was getting dark—and as I crossed the street Dr. O'Halloran, the town physician, came down, and I said, "Where have you been?" And he said, "Up to the barracks. The conditions up there are terrible. They are all wild drunk." He said Finnelly, a sergeant up there, got a terrible cut in his wrist. He stuck his first through a plate glass window down at Considine's. He said, "P. J., I would advise you to get in and stay in off the streets tonight, for there is going to be trouble." I told my wife and sister-in-law about the conversation.

A NIGHT OF SHOOTING, SHOUTING AND BURNING

I had not been in three minutes when the shooting began. The police and the military came on down the street banging and shooting and throwing hand grenades in all directions. We had just been drinking some tea that was standing there, and I said, "We had better get out of the way. Here they come." I got the two little children, and we went upstairs. And I said to the children, "You had better lie next to the walls." I do not need to tell you how nervous those children were. They were shaking so that I got to shaking myself. After they got on down the street I went downstairs and got some souvenirs. (Takes object from pocket.)

Q. Senator Walsh: What is it, for the sake of the record?

A. A steel bullet. (Exhibits bullet to Commission.)

After they passed down the street—this Considine place, as I have stated, is about fifty or sixty yards from us on the left-hand side of the street, a thatched house,—they took a big long candle and they lit it. I got up and looked out of the window as they passed. They just took this candle and held it under the roof of the house until it was all afire. They went on down the street, firing and shooting and shouting, until about twelve-thirty or one.

Q. Senator Walsh: From when?

A. From seven o'clock until about one.

ESCAPE UNCLAD FROM BURNING HOUSE

At one o'clock—in the other half of the cottage there is a family named O'Briens. They vacated at some part of the evening, the time I do not know. The military went in and searched the house. I understand that one of the young O'Briens was in sympathy with the Sinn Fein movement. The cottages are only divided by partitions. I was in the part of the upstairs near the O'Briens' cottage. My Missus told me that the soldiers were on the roof. I said, "They are on the roof taking observations, the same as ourselves." She said she smelled rags burning. I said it was the Considine house, because the wind was westerly and we were getting the smell of their burning. The Missus said it was not. At one or one-twenty the Missus got up and pulled the blinds back, and the flames were coming up to the window. She said, "My God, I told you the house was on fire!" I got out of bed and told her to get the children out, and ran down with an armful of clothes for the children, and threw them over the wall

that divides the field from the house, and told her to bring the children down there. I looked up at the cottage, and there was a hole just about as big as that skylight (indicating skylight in room) burning in the roof. I ran back and said, "We have no time to fool around here. Take what you have and get out of here. I prefer to be shot than to be burned to death." They were still shooting down the street. So they got out of there and went back in the field. The Missus got dressed and dressed the children.

After that a bit they ceased shooting for a time. Some kind neighbors came to our assistance, and we said that if we had a ladder and some buckets we could save part of the cottage. Mr. Maloney, who lives across the street, got a ladder, and some of the men got some buckets, and we succeeded in saving the biggest part of the cottage. At six o'clock that morning I got hold of a car to convey my baggage and the children out of town, and about ten o'clock I left myself. Then I went to a place where my wife's people live.

Q. Senator Walsh: In another town?

A. It is in the country.

Q. How many houses were burned?

A. Two that night, Senator.

Q. Anybody shot?

A. Nobody shot, Senator. The only thing was the beating that that priest got that evening.

PRIEST'S PROPERTY WANTONLY BURNED

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Did they injure his property?

A. Well, that happened next day. They came down the next day and asked Mrs. MacDonald, the woman who owns the property, if any of the furniture belonged to her. She said no. They took the entire furniture, with the exception of a wardrobe that was too heavy to pack downstairs, and packed it out to the middle of the street and set fire to it. And they said they were only sorry that they did not have that bloody bastard, as they called the priest, to put him on top of it.

The following night—that would be October eighth—they went out to the postoffice, and the postoffice and the house next to it, they set fire to both of those, and burned a lot of hay that was in the field back of it. And about two hundred yards in the field there was a man named MacCullough (?), and they burned his house and all the outhouses and two big stacks of oats. They

burned everything he had but a little house covered with galvanized iron, which I dare say they could not burn.

Q. How large a town is this, Mr. Guilfoil?

A. Two or three hundred.

Q. When did you leave Ireland?

A. I left Ireland the twenty-first of October on the steamer *Celtic*.

Q. What is your home town, Mr. Guilfoil?

A. Pittsburgh.

POLICEMEN SHOT AS AN ACT OF WAR

Q. Commissioner Addams: I would like to ask you about the killing of the policemen at the postoffice. There were two killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you get any information about why they had been killed?

A. The only information I received as to that was that it must have been done by the Irish Republican Army. There were six of those policemen. The two that they killed they took all their arms and ammunition from them. The papers there brought it out about the unscrupulous way in which they robbed the bodies. I was there when they put the bodies into carts, and the officer took the men's watches and pocketbooks, and gave Stanley's to his wife, who was there. The other one was a sergeant, Sergeant Dougherty. They did not rob them of these.

Q. Chairman Howe: What statement did they give as to why they were killed?

A. The statement was made that they were shot and robbed.

Q. Senator Walsh: But he asked you what made these men marked men,—why were they killed?

A. There was one of them, Stanley, he came up to Mrs. McDonough's public house and pulled out a forty-four revolver, and he said, "If I only had a few more like these I would damn soon finish the Republican Army." His wife said after he was dead that life was miserable anyway with him, for all he talked about was murder for the last four or five months.

Q. Senator Walsh: I would like to have you develop any facts or evidence that you have as to what these men had done to interfere with the happiness and peace and good order of these people before they were shot.

The Witness: These policemen?

Senator Walsh: Yes.

A. Nothing that I know of further.

Q. Did you hear anything as to why the members of the Republican Army were going to shoot them, or did shoot them?

A. The only thing I heard around there was that the Sinn Fein, the Republican Army, was trying to take those barracks just a week before I arrived in that town. That was one of their moves, as Miss MacSwiney said. They had tried to take those barracks a week before I came, but did not succeed in doing so. There is a little town about six miles from there, Scariff; they started on that barracks on Saturday, the eighteenth of September, I think. There was about three hundred of the Irish Republican Army came there that night, but they did not succeed in taking that barracks. The second or third day after that the military or police evacuated and went to a town named Killaloe, about eight miles away. And the day after that the Irish Republican Army came there and tore the barracks down.

ENGLISH SHOOT HANDCUFFED PRISONERS

"TRYING TO ESCAPE"

There were some young fellows, Rogers, a cousin of mine, MacMahan, Eagan, and Gildan (?), these four young fellows were on the run. They were down at a town named Whitegate about eight miles from Scariff. The town of Killaloe is about eight or nine miles below Scariff. The River Shannon comes in between and divides those towns. They make an angle like this (indicating an acute angle). The military went across the river in a boat and arrested all four of these young fellows, and two others who owned the house in which they were living. They took them across the river, and not through their own town, and the four of them were shot on the Killaloe Bridge. There is quite a depth of water there, and right in the middle of the bridge is where they were shot.

Q. Senator Walsh: What date?

A. I have the papers here.

Q. Did this happen before you left Ireland?

A. No, these men were shot since.

Q. Were these men shot before or after the shooting of the police?

A. After. This happened about the fifteenth or sixteenth. The paper is dated the nineteenth. The military tried to make it out that these men were shot trying to escape, but the paper brings it

out that these men could not have tried to escape in the middle of the bridge, because the channel is too deep there, and they were handcuffed.

Q. Were the bodies found?

A. Yes.

Q. Handcuffed when they were found?

A. No, the military took their bodies to their barracks and would not let the people of the village see them after they had them in there.

Q. How long had they been pursuing them?

A. These young fellows who were arrested had been on the run since September, 1918.

Q. Mr. Malone: Mr. Guilfoil, with a Republican Army of three hundred around there, there must be a state of war.

A. O, yes.

Q. Were these young men armed?

A. Yes.

REPRISALS AGAINST UNARMED CIVILIANS

Q. Were the civilians in the village armed?

A. O, no.

Q. Commissioner Addams: But no one was killed in the town?

A. Five were later injured, I understand since leaving there. I got some literature from there since I left, and practically the entire section of the country has been wiped out, their homes and corn stacks and hay burned. Any persons who proclaim any sympathy with the Irish Republic have their homes and property burned.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Where did this bullet (indicating exhibit) enter your home?

A. Right by the window down the hallway.

Q. So that if you had been down there, you might have been hit?

A. Yes, if I happened to be sitting at the table, it would have been the perfect range, the perfect range for hitting me.

FUNERAL DOMINATED BY ARMED MILITARY

There's one thing more. I was in Cork on the seventeenth, the eighteenth, and nineteenth of October. I went from there to Queenstown to sail on the *Celtic* on the twenty-first. There was one of the hunger strikers there named Fitzgerald, and he died

there in prison. And at his funeral my little boys were walking up the streets, and they wanted two little American flags to pin on their coats. And I went into a store there and got them some. At the funeral there was the coffin coming up the street, and the military on both sides of the coffin, which was covered with wreaths of green, white, and gold, the Sinn Fein colors, and the Sinn Fein flag. And as they passed the Windsor Hotel, where I was staying at—(It is on what street, Miss MacSwiney?)

Miss MacSwiney: On MacCurtain Street.

The Witness: As they passed the hotel the military took their bayonets and threw these wreaths off the hearse. Anything more horrible I never want to see than an armed military body following a coffin. The friends wanted to have a hundred march after the coffin, but the authorities said that any formation would not be tolerated by the British officials. They followed that coffin with rifles and machine guns all the way out to the cemetery.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did they interfere with the boys with the American flags?

A. No. There was a piece in one of the Cork papers about American flags being displayed at the funeral. The distance that the boys walked along there was about fifty or sixty yards. As soon as I saw the military coming along, I took the boys and got away from there, for I thought there might be trouble.

Q. But they did not interfere with the funeral?

A. No. They followed the coffin out to the cemetery and stood around there until it was over.

PEOPLE SUPPORT REPUBLICAN ARMY DESPITE REPRISALS

Q. Commissioner Addams: I would like to go back to this village. There were barracks there attacked by three hundred of the Republican Army?

A. Yes, that was on September eighteenth.

Q. A week later—a few weeks later, these reprisals were made and these young men were taken out and shot?

A. Yes, ma'am.

Q. What was the attitude of the countryside? Were they hostile to the Irish Army coming in and stirring up the British to make trouble, or did they sympathize with them?

A. The attitude of the people was that since the British had placed the military there—they are bringing them in by the thousands—the people had a right to rise against him.

Q. But the people of the countryside, did they feel that the Irish Army was right in taking the barracks when it brought reprisals on civilians?

A. O yes, indeed. The whole countryside was with them.

Q. Senator Walsh: That is, that they are with the Republican form of government, and they are standing behind what they do in the way of warfare?

A. Yes, O, yes.

The Commission: That is all. Thank you very much.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

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TESTIMONY OF DANIEL FRANCIS CROWLEY

Chairman Howe: Proceed, Mr. Malone, please.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: What is your full name please?

A. Daniel Francis Crowley.

Q. Where were you born?

A. I was born at Bohocoglin, County Kerry, Ireland.

Q. How old are you? A. Twenty-three years.

Q. When did you enlist in the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. I enlisted in March, 1916. I presented my name for appointment in March, 1916, and I was called out on the third of July, 1917.

THE TRAINING OF A POLICE RECRUIT

Q. And after you were called out, where did you go for training?

A. To the Phoenix Park Barracks in Dublin.

Q. How long did you remain there?

A. I remained there until the eighteenth of January, 1918.

Q. Senator Walsh: Why not bring out how long he has been connected with the Royal Irish Constabulary? When did he resign?

Mr. D. F. Malone: O yes. How long were you connected with the R. I. C.?

A. I tendered my resignation on the first day of June last.

Senator Walsh: Very good. Now go back to the training.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: While at this Phoenix Park Training Camp, what training did you receive?

A. Training in infantry drill, gymnastics, and ordinary police duties.

Q. Did you have bayonet practice? A. Just a little.

Q. How much?

A. Something about five or six days' practice altogether.

Q. Were you trained in the use of hand grenades and bombs?

A. That was in March, 1919. It was in March of this year that I was trained in the use of bombs.

Q. So that training you got at a later period?

A. Yes.

Q. The training you got at the Phoenix Park Camp was training for a policeman? Is that correct?

A. Yes, training for a policeman.

Q. What were the instructions given you, very generally and very briefly, with regard to the use of firearms?

A. The instructions I was given when I was trained in Dublin was that a policeman should never resort to the use of firearms at all, except in case he was attacked.

Q. Except in self-defense? A. Yes.

Q. What firearms were you equipped with?

A. A carbine, like what is called a revolver.

Q. A carbine or revolver, and what else? A. A sword.

Q. A sword? A. Yes.

POLICE ARMED FOR AGGRESSIVE WAR IN 1919

Q. Was that equipment added to later on?

A. I beg your pardon.

Q. Were you given any additional equipment later, during those three years?

A. Well, later on we were supplied with bombs and hand grenades and rockets.

Q. And you said you were trained in the use of these bombs and hand grenades in March, 1919?

A. Yes.

Q. And you had been in the service then for three years?

A. Two years.

Q. What was your home? A. County Clare.

Q. When you were assigned to police duty, you were assigned to police duties there?

A. No, I was sent to County Tipperary.

Q. Is there a rule in the Royal Irish Constabulary with regard to the assignment of men for service in their own counties?

- A. No, you cannot serve in your native county.
- Q. Can you serve in counties neighboring your own county?
- A. Well, on some occasions you can.
- Q. It depends upon the circumstances? A. Yes.
- Q. What was your first post?
- A. My first post was Clogheen, County Tipperary.
- Q. Did you serve there throughout your three years?
- A. Yes, I served in this district while I was there.
- Q. When you say that district, what do you mean?
- A. I mean that I was stationed about three miles from there in a place called Ballylooby.
- Q. And you were stationed in this town?
- A. Yes, and in Clogheen.
- Q. So that you were always within a short radius?
- A. Yes, a short radius.
- Q. Was Clogheen a peaceful city? A. Yes, sir, very.

COMPLETE ABSENCE OF SERIOUS CRIMES

Q. Throughout your service as a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, did you ever have to make an arrest or serve a warrant there?

A. No, I never arrested a person there during my time, and I never issued a summons against any person.

Q. Chairman Howe: Develop that a little, will you, Mr. Crowley?

Mr. D. F. Malone: Did you ever know of any serious crimes committed by any member of the population while you were there?

A. No, there was no serious crime committed by any member of the population.

Q. Do you remember that incident of petty theft which you told me?

A. O yes. Mr. Talbot, the Protestant minister in Clogheen—his fishing rod was stolen, and he reported the matter to the police sergeant, and the police sergeant could not find his fishing rod for him. And then he reported it to the Irish Volunteers, and the Irish Volunteers got his fishing rod back for him. And the consequence was that he said that the police service in Ireland was useless, and that the Volunteers were far better.

ABSOLUTE RELIGIOUS HARMONY

Q. What was the religious feeling between the people there?

A. The religious peace was very great.

Q. So that you never knew of any disputes between the people on matters of religion? A. O, no.

Q. Chairman Howe: Did they trade with one another freely?

A. O. yes.

Q. Did they go to each other's houses freely?

A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: How many Protestants there?

A. About thirty Protestants.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did they hold any public offices?

A. Clogheen being a small place, sir, there was no public office there for them.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: How many constables were there in the barracks?

A. Five. Four constables and a sergeant.

Q. About how many square miles?

A. About fourteen thousand, covering the district around Clogheen.

Q. Not fourteen thousand square miles?

A. Oh, no. Fourteen thousand acres, I mean.

Q. During the period of three years there were no serious crimes committed? A. No, sir; no serious crimes.

Q. Nothing more serious than the theft of a fishing rod?

A. Nothing more serious. That is all, sir.

Q. Mr. Crowley, you said there were about thirty Protestants, and there was a Protestant clergyman. And was there a Catholic priest for the entire diocese there?

A. Yes, Father O'Donnelly and two curates.

Q. What was the relation between the Protestant minister and the Catholic priest?

A. They lived on very friendly terms.

Q. The population of Clogheen is about six hundred?

A. Yes, the population is about six hundred.

Q. And the general area, inclusive of Clogheen?

A. Including the district of Clogheen, which Clogheen took in, I think about two thousand—that is, the surrounding lands which went with the village in the police district.

GENERAL LUCAS ORDERS SINN FEINERS SUMMARILY SHOT

Q. Do you remember the period of time when Lord Mayor MacCurtain of Cork was shot?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Do you know what the orders issued to police immediately before and continuing for a time after that murder were?

A. Yes. The orders issued where I was stationed in Clogheen by General Lucas, who commanded the military forces of Cork and Tipperary, were that if two police could be spared to go with the military, they were to go on an armored car with a machine gun, and they were to patrol the country night and day, and every man who took a prominent part in the Sinn Fein movement they were to stand up in front of his house and turn the machine gun on it. In this armored car there were put one hundred twenty cans of petrol and also one hundred twenty Mills bombs, and the reason for this was that they were for burning houses. That was the orders which General Lucas, who was afterwards kidnapped at Fermoy, gave in the barracks. If they found a Sinn Feiner, they were to turn the machine gun on him.

Q. Chairman Howe: On him or on his house?

A. On anything that belonged to him.

Q. Did you hear these instructions issued yourself?

A. Yes, I was in the barracks when he issued them.

Q. Were those general orders carried out?

A. The military carried them out. I did not, as did also two other men who protested against it. I remember that on the night of May 21st myself and Constables Kirwan and Galvin—Mr. Galvin will also speak here—we were sent out on a night patrol, and two Black-and-Tans named Richards and Gillett were with us. And about nine o'clock Richards said he wanted us to show him where Maurice Walsh and William Joseph Condon lived; that he was going to shoot them. Condon was chairman of the Clogheen District Council. The only reason for shooting them was that the Sunday before these men had said at a meeting of the Council that Clogheen was such a peaceful district that they could well get on without the military stationed there. There were one hundred of the military stationed there then. It was a peaceful district, and so Walsh and Condon protested against such a lot of military stationed there. The acts of the military were something disgraceful.

DISGRACEFUL ACTS OF MILITARY

Q. Describe what you mean by "the acts of the military were something disgraceful."

A. Well, I have seen them stop two girls of the town coming to the Rosary at half-past six in the evening, and they said to the girls, "Hands up," and knocked them down. And I came to their rescue and said, "Stop; they are innocent girls." And I surely believe that if I had not been there, they would have been brutally assaulted.

Q. What other acts did you witness that make you believe that the acts of the military were something disgraceful?

A. They were so disgraceful that Mr. Talbot, the Protestant minister at Clogheen, wrote to Dublin Castle saying that their acts and deeds in Clogheen were something shameful, this Devonshire regiment, and he got them sent out of the district.

Q. You said that these Black-and-Tans went out to kill this man Walsh and the other man. What did you have to do with it?

A. They did not know where these two men lived. They only wanted me and this man Galvin to show them where these two men lived. They would go and shoot them, they said, and bring back their ears as evidence to the barracks. We would not show them, and turned back to the barracks, and begged Richards to come back to the barracks. Richards got behind a blackthorn fence. We begged him to come on back with us. He said that if we came one step nearer, he would blow our brains out. We went on down the road, and when we were only about two hundred yards away, he fired several shots at us—when we were only two hundred yards away.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Were those men killed afterwards?

A. No. The next day I went into the village and told Walsh and Condon what Richards had done; that he wanted me and Galvin to show them where these men lived so that they could shoot them. It went out publicly then, what these Black-and-Tans, who were the only ones in the barracks, wanted to do. And they heard of it, and Gillett pointed his loaded revolver at me three times and wanted to shoot me. And I guess they would have shot me, but there was an Irish sergeant there, and they were afraid to do it.

Q. How many Black-and-Tans were there in your barracks?

A. Just three of them.

Q. Chairman Howe: And how many of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. There were five, sir.

Q. Senator Walsh: And one hundred military?

A. Yes, one hundred military.

Q. Who controls the Black-and-Tans there?

A. Since March last the Black-and-Tans are under military orders.

Q. So since March last the Black-and-Tans and the military are the same thing?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: You said that Mr. Walsh and Mr. Condon were not killed?

A. No, they are still there.

Q. Did they not go on the run?

A. No, they are still in Clogheen.

Q. Commissioner Addams: I would like to ask about the two girls whom the Black-and-Tans commanded to throw up their hands. What happened to them?

A. Well, on this evening, an English soldier and six Black-and-Tans shouted at the girls, "Hands up!" and they began to search them. And I came on them and said, "Stop, stop. They are innocent girls!"

Q. But you had no proof that they had evil motives. One man like yourself could not stop them if they had.

The Witness: But what right did they have to assault the girls?

Q. Senator Walsh: But there was no attempt to rape? Their clothes were not disheveled?

A. No, there was no rape. But they were searching them, and their clothes were disheveled.

Commissioner Addams: We have had no testimony of that kind, and we want to be positive.

Mr. D. F. Malone: But the girls were knocked down.

Commissioner Addams: He did not say they were knocked down, but that they were told to throw up their hands.

The Witness: No; one of them, a Miss Barrett, had fallen down in the road.

Q. Chairman Howe: You were in uniform?

A. Yes.

Q. And you knew these men?

A. Yes, I knew all of them.

Q. They were stationed in the barracks with you?

A. Yes, in the same barracks.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: What was the reason for stationing so many of the military in a peaceful district like Clogheen?

A. Well, they were trying to stir the people up, it seems to me.

Q. So that as far as your business goes, the military there in this peaceful district only stirred the people up?

A. Yes, sir.

MURDER OF POLICE WHO RESIGN

Q. Did you know of any police murders after police had resigned?

A. Yes, I know of a Constable Fahey stationed at Adare, in County Limerick. The rule of the Government is that a man must give from three to six weeks' notice before he can resign. This man Fahey was out on duty one day after he had sent in his resignation. Three Black-and-Tans were with him, and when they came back they said that they were attacked by Sinn Feiners and Fahey was killed. None of them had been injured, and they had not arrested anybody.

Q. Senator Walsh: By whom was he killed?

A. They said he was attacked by Sinn Feiners.

Q. They were safe themselves?

A. Yes, they were all right.

Q. Did you see this?

A. No, sir.

DESTRUCTION OF HOMES OF REPUBLICAN SYMPATHIZERS

Q. Commissioner Thomas: You said that this general gave orders for the homes and property of Republican sympathizers to be destroyed. How many houses and hay ricks were destroyed where you were?

A. Well, none were destroyed around Clogheen.

Q. None in Clogheen?

A. No, sir. But there were in other parts of Ireland.

Q. Why were none destroyed in Clogheen?

A. Because the people were so quiet there. The people there were in favor of the military and police going out of Ireland. They were not wanted there.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: This General Lucas, who was kidnapped, was treated very well when he was kidnapped, was he not?

A. I do not know.

The Commission: That is beyond his knowledge.

Mr. D. F. Malone: Mr. Chairman, may we get this cleared up to answer Mr. Thomas' question?

Chairman Howe: Yes.

Mr. D. F. Malone (to Commissioner Thomas): Did you understand that the people were not attacked because they were so quiet?

Commissioner Thomas: Yes; that is, because the people were so quiet.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Do you remember the incident of the raid on Mrs. Walsh's home?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Who was Mrs. Walsh?

A. Mrs. Walsh lived about two and a half miles from Clogheen. Her husband died in May last.

Q. Wait a minute, Mr. Crowley. Had Mrs. Walsh any family?

A. Yes, she had three little children, the eldest being about ten years.

Q. Where did she live?

A. At Castlegrace.

Q. What happened?

A. On different occasions the military would raid her house, sometimes at twelve o'clock and sometimes at two. It got so bad that she complained to County Inspector Langhorne, the county police inspector for the South of Ireland, and he said it was too bad, but he could do nothing for her, because the military were not under the control of the police inspector.

Q. The Commissioner: Who carried this on?

A. The military and the Black-and-Tans.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Why did they raid this house?

A. Because they suspected that the Volunteers were training around there. But they never found anything in the house on any of the raids—not anything.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Were you there?

A. I was there on one occasion, and refused to go into the Walsh house.

Q. Did you hear reports about it?

A. Yes, I heard reports in the barracks when they got back, and also heard of it from the Walshs themselves.

REASON FOR RESIGNING FROM CONSTABULARY

Q. Mr. Malone: Do the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Black-and-Tans get along very well together?

A. No, they do not. Inspector General Smith, Deputy Inspector Geddis, Mr. Pierce, and several others, and five hundred men of the ranks, tendered their resignations from the force during April

and May because of the present conditions that are disgracing the service.

Q. Out of how many?

A. Out of nine thousand men.

Q. The Royal Irish Constabulary are not used any more alone now?

A. The R. I. C. are not used to carry out these military orders. The Black-and-Tans do that.

Q. Mr. Crowley, after you resigned, were any attempts made against your life?

A. Yes, after I tendered my resignation, the Black-and-Tans put loaded revolvers up and backed me up there against the walls and threatened to shoot me.

Q. Commissioner Wood: For what reason?

A. Because I had told Mr. Walsh and Condon that they were going to shoot them.

Q. Chairman Howe: Where were these Black-and-Tans from, from England?

A. Yes, from England; most all ex-army men.

Q. Were they officers from the ranks, or of the office class?

A. Most of them were from the ranks, or petty officers.

Q. Mr. Malone: Why did you tender your resignation from the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. I tendered my resignation from the Constabulary because of the misgovernment of the English in Ireland.

POLICE ORDERED TO SHOOT SINN FEINERS AT SIGHT

Q. Do you remember the incident at Listowel Barracks, in County Kerry, when Colonel Smyth made an address to the members of the R. I. C.?

A. Yes, a friend of mine was one of the Constabulary there. Colonel Smyth was there. He had just come over from Germany, from the Army of Occupation. There were eighteen or twenty of the Constabulary there, and Colonel Smyth told them that they were going to get plenty of soldiers from England to crush out Sinn Fein, and that three of them were to remain in the Listowel barracks as guides for the soldiers, and the rest were to go to the outlying barracks and point out Sinn Feiners to the military, and every man who took part in the Sinn Fein movement was to be shot at sight.

Q. Senator Walsh: When was that?

A. That was in April, I think.¹

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: In April, 1920?

A. April, 1920.

Q. Just repeat what he said.

A. Colonel Smyth told the police that they were all going to get every assistance from the Government—soldiers and machine guns and armored cars and everything they needed—and they were to patrol the roads five nights a week; and they were not to confine themselves to the roads, but to go across country, and search homes wherever they thought arms and munitions were hid.

Q. You stated what Colonel Smyth said to do to any man who was suspected of being of Republican sympathies.

A. Yes, any man who was suspected of having Sinn Fein sympathies was to be shot at sight; Colonel Smyth said the more the merrier, and that no man would get into any trouble for shooting them. He said any man who would not carry out these orders had better get off the force. Sergeant Sullivan spoke immediately and said that they could tell Colonel Smyth must be an Englishman by his talk, and that they would not obey such orders; and he took off his coat and cap and belt and laid them on the table. Colonel Smyth and the Inspector, O'Shea, ordered him to be arrested for causing disaffection in the force, but nineteen of them stood up and said if a man touched him, the room would run red with blood. The soldiers whom Colonel Smyth had with him came in, but the constables got their loaded rifles off the racks, and Colonel Smyth and the soldiers went back to Cork. The very next day they all put on civilian clothes and left the barracks.

Q. They all resigned?

A. Yes, they left the very next day.

Q. Senator Walsh: Were you in the barracks?

A. No, but my friend who was there told me about this. That Colonel Smyth went to Cork and was shot five days afterwards.

Q. This Smyth was an officer in the British army?

A. Yes, sir, he was a colonel.

Q. Chairman Howe: Was he in the old army, or was he promoted during the war?

A. He was promoted during the war.

¹ The actual date of the speech was June 19, 1920. See index, and Report of Commission, Appendix "E."

BLACK-AND-TANS PAID HIGHER THAN REGULAR POLICE

Q. I would like to ask you what pay the constables received.

A. The wages were advanced in March, 1919. When I resigned we were offered two shillings a day more if we would remain. The pay then was twenty pounds a month—in American money, at present rates of exchange, about eighty dollars.

Q. And keep?

A. No, no keep. You supply that.

Q. What was the pay of the Black-and-Tans?

A. The Black-and-Tans were getting one and seven a day, I think.

Q. One pound seven shillings a day?

A. Yes; that is twenty-seven shillings a day.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Why do you say you think that?

A. The pay was not made known to the R. I. C. in the barracks.

Q. Chairman Howe: So that the Black-and-Tans are getting about twice what you got?

A. Well, they were getting seven shillings more a day than we would get after the raise.

DESTRUCTION OF CREAMERIES BY MILITARY

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Mr. Crowley, what can you tell us about the destruction of creameries?

A. Well, I remember passing by Kilcommon and Waycross, in Tipperary, the day after the creamery there had been destroyed. There were thirty-six soldiers and officers who had taken crowbars and knocked down the creamery, saying they were looking for arms and ammunition. They didn't find any, but they wrecked the creamery.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: When was that?

A. It was in the end of March or the first of April.¹

SUPPRESSION OF FAIRS, MARKETS, AND RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY

Q. Were fairs and markets prohibited at this time?

A. Fairs and markets in Tipperary were prohibited for about a year, from February, 1919, to the end of March, 1920—for over a year, that is.

¹ The Kilcommon Central Creamery (cooperative) was destroyed April 10, 1920. Direct personal evidence was given before the County Court that the damage was inflicted by military and police.

Q. What was carried on at these fairs?

A. The chief purpose of these fairs was that the Irish farmers could sell their cattle and butter and their foodstuffs in these markets. The government issued a proclamation that fairs and markets were not to be held in County Tipperary.

Q. Senator Walsh: Are they held there now?

A. They are held there now, but they were not until March, 1920.

Q. Is that general throughout Ireland?

A. Well, in some counties. The proclamation is on in Cork and Dublin and Clare.

Q. Senator Walsh: How long have the people been denied the right to assemble and to meet for public meetings and public discussions?

A. Especially since March, 1919, no meetings have been allowed to be held.

Q. Is that still true?

A. Yes. If a man wanted to sell his house or farm, he could not sell it without a permit—an auction would not be allowed to take place. And if he were a Sinn Fein sympathizer, he couldn't get the permit. If a hunting match or a football match took place without a permit, a party of soldiers would come and drive them off the field at the point of the bayonet.

Q. Since what time?

A. Since March, 1919.

NO SHOOTING OF POLICEMEN TO WARRANT SUPPRESSION IN COUNTY CLARE

Q. Now, in the County of Clare were there any murders of police officers or any interference with police officers previous to March, 1919?

A. In the County of Clare?

Q. Yes.

A. No, there was not, sir.

Q. Commissioner Addams: You say, Mr. Crowley, that there had been orders to shoot on sight a Sinn Feiner or Republican. But that was never done in daylight?

A. Most of the cases were at night, yes.

Q. So that they did not carry out that order of shooting with machine guns on sight?

A. Well, they did. The military carried out the order in different places of setting fire to houses.

Q. Yes, but shooting people on sight was not done.

A. Not in Clogheen, but it was done in other parts of Ireland.

Commissioner Addams: We have never had any evidence or hearsay of that being done.

Mr. Malone: We have not produced any testimony about that, but we can produce testimony of many instances of that kind.

WHY SOME IRISH POLICE HAVE NOT RESIGNED

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you belong to any Sinn Fein organization while you were a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. While I was in the R. I. C. I was in favor and sympathy with the Irish movement.

Q. But while you were in the R. I. C. did you belong to any such organization?

A. No, I didn't. But I belonged to one after I left.

Q. Senator Walsh: Miss Addams' other remark prompts this question: Why did you or any Irishmen remain in the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Well, I guess they remain just for their living. That is all.

Q. Does the fact that they are nearing the time for getting a pension, in the case of the older men long in the service—is that a factor?

A. Yes, there are men of long service who are waiting now to get a pension. If they do not wait they will be losing from the English Government about a hundred forty to a hundred fifty pounds a year.

LEFT IRELAND TO PROTECT LIFE FROM BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Mr. Crowley, have you a family?

A. No, sir.

Q. Why did you leave Ireland?

A. I was afraid of the Black-and-Tans, that they would follow me.

Q. You left on account of your health, then?

A. Yes, sir.

Mr. D. F. Malone: That is all.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

Chairman Howe: Have you other witnesses from the Royal Irish Constabulary?

Mr. Malone: Yes, sir; three others.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN TANGNEY

Chairman Howe: Proceed, Mr. Malone.

Q. Mr. Malone: What is your full name, Mr. Tangney?

A. John Tangney.

Q. And where were you born?

A. I was born in Castleisland, County Kerry.

Q. How old are you?

A. I am about twenty-five.

Q. What education have you had?

A. I was educated in the national schools and at the Christian Brothers.

Q. Where are you living now?

A. New York.

Q. How long have you been out of Ireland?

A. Since August.

FIVE YEARS' SERVICE IN CONSTABULARY

Q. When did you join the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. I was appointed in October, 1915.

Q. How long did you remain in the service?

A. From that date until most of July last.

Q. Commissioner Addams: I did not get that date.

A. From the first of October, 1915, to July, 1920.

Q. Mr. Malone: During that time, where were you stationed?

A. I was in the southern part of Tipperary. I was temporarily stationed at Clonmel, but my permanent station was at Ballylooby.

Q. Chairman Howe: Is Ballylooby a Tipperary name?

A. Yes, it is in Tipperary, the southern part of Tipperary.

Q. Mr. Malone: So that your entire service with the Royal Irish Constabulary was in one part of one particular county?

A. Well, I was in various places for a time, for two or three months. I was in Limerick City and Cork City for a time.

Q. That is just what I wanted to know. Where did you serve in different places?

A. I was in Midstone, County Cork, for a short time, and in Cork City for a short while, and in Limerick City; and on two or three occasions I was sent to the north of Ireland for duty; but that lasted only for about a week at a time. After the Ballylooby station was quit, I was at Clogheen.

Q. Did you hear Mr. Crowley's testimony just now?

A. Yes, sir, I heard it.

Q. Where were you trained?

A. In Phoenix Park Depot, Dublin.

Q. Chairman Howe: Is that the general training place?

A. Yes, it was at that time.

Q. Mr. Malone: How long were you there?

A. I was six months at that training school. That was the plan. If you did not qualify for police duties and the other things you were supposed to qualify in at the end of six months—in police duties and physical drill, gymnastics—you would be disqualified. You might have to spend a short term longer, or they could disqualify and suspend you and dismiss you at that time. I qualified with several hundred others at the end of the six months, and I was sent down to Clonmel, in County Tipperary, at that time.

CONSTABULARY CHANGED TO AN AGGRESSIVE ARMED FORCE

Q. What were your instructions regarding the use of firearms?

A. Except there was a personal attack made upon you—that is, in self-defense—you were never under any considerations to use firearms.

Q. And what was the first time thereafter—after you had passed your training and were an accepted member of the R. I. C.—what was the first time or stage at which these orders were changed?

A. There was no definite order for a change to be made. They were changed gradually. Like the members of the force, they were changed gradually in the same way. Of course, the police code that you had to learn in the training school said that you were never under any circumstances to use your firearms except in case of personal attack in self-defense.

Q. What use did the R. I. C. have for firearms in other cases than personal attack and self-defense?

A. For show purposes mainly, until the new orders came.

Q. Were orders to use these arms for purposes of aggression ever issued?

A. Yes, latterly. They were issued latterly.

Q. When were the first orders of that kind issued?

A. The first orders of that kind that came to us from Dublin Castle was in October of last year, October, 1919.

Q. What were those orders?

A. First, this circular came down from the Castle that political

prisoners—a batch of political prisoners had escaped from Lincoln jail. Their names and descriptions were given in this official document, as it is termed, *The Hue and Cry*. Their descriptions and ages were given. The first order was that they were to be arrested if they came within view—within our notice anywhere. That was the wording of the first article. They were to be treated in the first article just the same as a criminal. Following that article there was the receipt of an order they called a confidential article by the sergeant, of the station on November fourth, stating that if these political prisoners were seen and in case they came within the police notice and they offered the slightest resistance, they were to be shot dead.

Q. Chairman Howe: These were political prisoners?

A. Yes. They named one in particular. I did not know what position he held. His name was Mr. Stack.

Q. His name was specifically mentioned?

A. Yes. Since I left the force, I found that he was an Irish M. P. (Member of Parliament) in the Sinn Fein movement. Of course I did not know from *The Hue and Cry* what position he held.

Q. Senator Walsh: Now, let me see. Stack was one of the men elected in the elections of 1918 to the British Parliament?

A. Yes, that is right, sir.

Q. And instead of going to the British Parliament, he went to the Irish Parliament?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he was in prison and escaped?

A. Yes, he was an escaped prisoner.

POPULATION NEVER BETRAYS POLITICAL REFUGEES

Q. Chairman Howe: Why is it that so many men known to be on the run in Ireland—with apparently thousands of men on the run—why are they not easily apprehended?

A. Well, I could not answer that question as regards political prisoners.

Q. Senator Walsh: Is not the reason that the British soldiers do not know them by name, and they would be shooting the first man they met, because they are all on the run?

A. Yes, sir; that is so.

Q. Mr. Malone: Is it not true that the population is largely on the run with them?

A. Yes, certainly.

Q. Chairman Howe: Then it would be right to say that the population of Ireland protects these men on the run?

A. Oh, yes, absolutely. Since the inception of the Sinn Fein movement—as the Irish Government officially puts it, since 1918—never have I heard anyone, even unconnected with the Sinn Fein movement, uttering a word about them in the Sinn Fein movement who are wanted.

Q. Then the people do not give information about them, or give them up?

A. No, no. There was thousands of pounds offered for information for their arrest, but it was all fruitless. None were ever given up, or information forwarded.

Q. It was fruitless?

A. It was fruitless. There was one case in the King's Bench court in Dublin City where a man gave information about the killing of a policeman; and the judge from the bench called the informer a liar in the same breath.

Q. That is the only case you ever heard of?

A. It is the only case I ever heard of. In our own barracks I had to post up notices offering a reward of five to six hundred pounds for anyone who would go into the barracks and give secret information about the location of certain prisoners. But that was fruitless.

Q. Chairman Howe: Is it not true that there are people still in Ireland who will come forward and give information leading to the arrest of these men who are wanted?

A. Well, that is the information I have to offer. Even with these large sums, the people will not give the information.

Q. And that explains the comparative immunity of these men who are on the run—why they can go from house to house with safety?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How about the R. I. C.? Do they help the British Government in apprehending these men?

A. Certainly, they did. They did.

Q. Are their sympathies with their jobs or with Ireland?

A. They haven't very much of their old jobs left to them. The only thing that you had to do as a policeman since 1918 was to lead the military around and point out the men they wanted to get, or to follow up the Sinn Fein prisoners.

Q. But the constables did perform their duties?

A. That is the only duty left for them to do. I said since 1918,

because that was when the orders changing the police code were given me.

Q. But the R. I. C. still do their work?

A. Yes, that is all they can do.

Q. Senator Walsh: The reason that these men avoid arrest is that they can go from one village to another and no one will betray them?

A. There is not one single case where the Irish people have betrayed men on the run.

Q. Chairman Howe: May I ask Miss MacSwiney if that is her experience too?

A. Miss MacSwiney: Oh, yes, certainly; the Irish people will not inform.

Q. No informers? A. No informers.

Q. Mr. Malone: Do you remember the orders issued by General Deasey? A. Yes, sir.

Q. For instance, when did the military first come to police this section in Tipperary when you were a member of the force? When did they begin to come?

A. Not actively until the beginning of this year.

Q. When did they come in large numbers, before or after the murder of the Lord Mayor of Cork?

A. It might coincide that they came exactly then, but they came some time before and about the same date. Of course they were spread throughout the whole southern part of Ireland at that time.

Q. Who was General Deasey?

A. He was a divisional commissioner appointed for the southern province of Munster. He had control of the military and police.

Q. He was a British general?

A. Yes, he was a brigadier general. He held one of the highest ranks in the army, that of a brigadier general.

Q. When did he come to Ireland?

A. In March of last year he was appointed.

Q. In March, 1919?

A. Yes, March, 1919. His business was making occasional tours of the barracks and the instruction and inspection of the men, particularly those of this new force known as the Black-and-Tans. He was on a special conference with them.

BLACK-AND-TANS TRAINED AS MILITARY, IGNORANT AS POLICE

Q. Mr. Malone: Before we get to the orders, when did this new force, the Black-and-Tans, come to Ireland?

A. The first that I saw was in March, and the first that came to the barracks where I was stationed was in April.

Q. Chairman Howe: 1920?

A. 1920, yes. Of course I saw them going through the county, but the first that came to our barracks was in April.

Q. How did they differ from the police? Were they trained?

A. Yes, as regards military work, they were; but as regards police duties, they had nothing like that. They trained them in a special training school in County Kildare, while our training was in Phoenix Park in Dublin. It took us six months, and most of them got through their training in six days.

Q. Were they efficient in their duties?

A. They absolutely knew nothing about police duties. On one occasion there was a county inspector whose duty it was to visit the barracks. He was trying to instruct these fellows, and we were all in the barracks, for we had to go to school to him. And he asked this fellow what was his power of arrest, and he said he didn't know. He tried to make it simpler to him. He said, "If you see a man on the street, and you ask him to give you his name and address, and he refuses, what would you do?" And this Black-and-Tan said, "If I met a man on the street and asked him his name and address, and he refused, I would lift him right under the jaw, and the next thing I would use my bayonet. That is what I would do to the man."

ARMED MILITARY INVADE RELIGIOUS SERVICES

Q. Now tell us about General Deasey. What were his orders?

A. The original orders were issued in May.

Q. 1920? A. 1920.

Q. Just tell us what these orders were.

A. These orders were that all policemen should go to mass—it mentioned Roman Catholics particularly—that they were to go to mass in formation. The two in front were to take revolvers and the last two were to take rifles. The revolvers were to be worn with lanyards. The two with rifles were to keep their rifles at the ready with bullets in the breech until mass was over. And when mass was over they were to march through the crowds the same way. And if there was any hostility shown, they were to shoot. That was the general tenor of the orders. It might not be the exact words.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do I understand that these military officers were up in front of the church standing with drawn rifles?

A. Yes, sir, ready to fire.

Q. Was it for self-protection during the service, or was it to preserve order in the church during divine services?

A. It did not state that it was for self-preservation.

Q. What did it state it was for?

A. Anybody who read the order could see that it was to try and goad the people on. And more than that, it related particularly to the R. C.'s—that is, the Roman Catholics.

Q. Was that for every religious service?

A. Just for the Roman Catholic services.

Q. I know, but was this order for these men to go to every service that way, or was it for them to go only when they went themselves to a service?

A. I do not understand you, sir.

Q. We are trying to find out if this order was framed so that when Catholic members of the Royal Irish Constabulary went to divine services they should go in a certain way as a protection to themselves, or whether it was an order for them to go to divine services whenever they were held, so that the people should see them and know that they were there.

A. That was the order, and anybody reading it would think that that would be what they meant by attending services with drawn rifles. It was to terrify people, it seemed to me.

Q. But if there were two services in the same day, were they to go to both services?

A. Four of them were to go to one service and four to the other. They were, if possible, to attend every service.

Senator Walsh: That is what I was trying to get at.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Did they attend Protestant services also?

A. Oh, no, sir.

Q. Did they stand in front of the church with drawn guns for self-protection?

A. Oh, no, sir. They would have been safer behind. If anybody had wanted to shoot them, they only made targets out of themselves by standing in the front of the church.

Q. Chairman Howe: Whose orders were these?

A. General Deasey's orders.

ORDERED TO BAYONET SINN FEIN SYMPATHIZERS

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Was there another order?

A. Yes, that was in the barracks. There were six Black-and-Tans present when General Deasey came to the barracks, and he was questioning them about what they knew about Sinn Feiners and the movement that was going on in the southern part of the

country. And he said that in case they were able to identify a person with Sinn Fein sympathies passing the barracks or going near the barracks, to bayonet him and not to waste good powder on him, but to just bayonet him.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was that before the raids were made on the barracks?

A. That was in May or June of this year.

Q. But there were many raids made on barracks.

A. They were not raided there then.

Q. In that locality?

A. No, there were no raids in that locality. It was uncalled for in that locality.

Q. Commissioner Wood: There were no raids on the barrack in which you were stationed?

A. No, there were none whatever. It was a most peaceful district.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Now tell us about the feis incident.

Q. Commissioner Addams: I would like to ask you whether, at the time when this order was given about the squads of police going to church under arms, there had been any disturbances in any of the parish churches?

A. No, there had never been. There had never been in any of the churches with which I am acquainted.

Q. There had been no disturbances?

A. None whatever.

Q. Senator Walsh: It was to terrify the people?

A. Yes, anybody who read the order would see that. It was to terrify the people. Redman and Foley were the first Black-and-Tans that came to the Ballyporeen barracks, and they had special instructions given to them in the office apart from the rest of us. None of those fellows used to go to any service, although they were supposed to be Protestants. In fact, on one occasion the sergeant told them that it was in the code—in the police regulations—that they should attend whatever service they belonged to, and one of them said that if he mentioned service again he would send him to a place where he could not go to any service. When the inspector came, he used to take them upstairs to the sergeant's office, apart from us, and have a special conference with them. After this order was issued by General Deasey, I noticed from my own observations that during service, while the four men were at service in the Catholic church, none of them left the barracks or stirred from the inside of it. That was the first Sunday that the order came into effect, and the Roman Catholics had to go to service or else resign. Then

the inspector had the conference with them, and on the next Sunday one of them would go by the Catholic church occasionally to see if there was any trouble. And then they had these bombs—a couple of hundred bombs in the barracks.

Q. So that they held these men at the barracks in reserve?

A. Yes, they held these six men in reserve in the barracks during the service. My idea was that if anything turned up at service, they could pounce upon them with the bombs and rifles loaded.

Q. Tell me this: this order that was issued about attending mass was a secret order? Was it not the order that the sergeant showed you?

A. Yes, yes; this was the one that the sergeant showed me. It was a confidential order, always kept locked up. But the sergeant, who was a Catholic, showed it to me.

Q. Senator Walsh: Were there any orders about interfering with the preacher?

A. No, none at all.

ORDERED TO SUPPRESS POPULAR FESTIVAL BY FORCE

Q. Mr. Malone: Mr. Tangney, will you go on and tell about this feis incident?

A. That happened in June, 1918. I was stationed at Ballylooby at the time. On Saturday night an order came that two men would proceed fully armed and equipped to Tipperary town. We proceeded there, and when we collected there, there were about fifty police. We were put in the military barracks and billeted there for the night. The morning after, we proceeded to the regular police barracks in the town. We were marched. We got no definite orders of what our duties would be after we left the barracks until Sunday morning. Then we were lined up in the barrack square, and there was an inspector there named Lowndes. He was what was known as a special county inspector, sent to Tipperary County to investigate what they call crimes.

Q. A plain-clothes man?

A. Yes, in civilian clothes. This morning he addressed us in the back yard of the barrack square, and said that we had come for duty. We thought it was a declaration of war of some kind. He said there was going to be a feis—that is, a country gathering where there is Irish dancing and Irish music and the like—there was going to be a feis in Lisvarrinaue, some three miles from there. He said, "The military authorities have forbidden this feis to take place, and it is not going to be held; but from information that we have

received, the people are going to hold it anyway. But we are going to put it down. And any man who is not willing to do his duty this day had better drop out of the ranks." No man said anything, so we lined up in military ranks and proceeded out on the streets, and there were five military lorries out there, and we got into the lorries. There were two armored cars—not tanks, but armored cars, with machine guns, that went along too.

We proceeded to Lisvarrinane, this village where the feis was to be held; and the people coming along from mass, at the sight of these lorries and the military and the police and all the other war material, fled in terror like bees. Horses went away from their owners' hands and jumped into side ditches, taking carts, passengers, and all. When finally we arrived in the village there were certain police tolled off to assist the military. Their orders were if they saw anybody going toward the village, they were to turn them back, and fire on them if it was necessary to turn them back.

Q. Mr. Tangney, I think it will hasten matters if you will just tell what you saw happen after you got there—what you had to do.

DRUNKEN OFFICERS IN COMMAND

A. That was one thing. The military were divided up. Well, then, this County Inspector Lowndes had the orders, and he adjourned to an adjoining saloon and had a drink, and two young military officers, who were in charge of the military party, adjourned to the place with him and got stupidly drunk.

Q. So that the three officers in charge of this party were drunk?

A. Yes, sir; all three were drunk. There were some Irish terriers outside the saloon door, and the officers took these dogs and threw them at each other, and tried to get them to fight. "Yes," they said, "we will have to put the dogs to fight, for the Irish dogs will not come out and fight us."

Q. What's that? Will you repeat that whole statement?

A. They said, "We will have to put the dogs to fight, for the Irish dogs will not come out and fight us." Well, we went home, and the military were flashing revolvers and yelling all the way back.

Q. Senator Walsh: What is that, flashing?

A. Firing, firing their revolvers. I myself had to come to a soldier who was stupidly drunk and take a revolver out of his hand. He was stupidly drunk.

Q. Mr. Malone: Was that all there was to that particular incident?

A. Yes, that is all.

Q. Senator Walsh: Now, wait a moment, Mr. Malone. What had taken place in that village previous to that night which could be in any way advanced as a reason or excuse for this military expedition?

Q. Mr. Malone: What was the reason given for this raid?

A. Nothing, except that this feis was advertised to be held.

Q. Was it held?

A. Oh, no, it was not.

Q. Senator Walsh: And this military expedition broke it up?

A. Oh, yes; they would have broken it up if it had been held. But the people did not hold it after the military said they couldn't.

Q. Chairman Howe: Do you know of any other feis or celebrations broken up?

A. Yes, they were broken up. Previous to that it was the common practice all over the country to hold them, and they have been broken up.

Q. This was in 1918?

A. Yes, in 1918.

Q. Was it more or less a general custom to break them up?

A. Yes, in 1918 it was quite general.

Q. Are they being held now?

A. Well, I don't know whether they are being held this summer or not.

DRUNKEN BLACK-AND-TANS FIGHT IN BARRACKS

Q. Mr. Malone: Mr. Witness, did you ever see any fights between the Black-and-Tans?

A. Yes, sir, I did on several occasions. In the barracks where I was stationed there were six of them. On two occasions the whole six of them turned out of the barracks and went up town and—of course they always had plenty of money—and they came back stupidly drunk. They were the lowest type of humanity. The first order they gave when they got back was to “clear the room.” That was the day room. They told the sergeant to get out, and he did get out. I was supposed to be in charge of the barracks that time, and I could not go out. I and another man, Mr. Galvin—

Q. Who is that?

A. Mr. Galvin, who is here. After that they got the shotguns that were in the racks and loaded them. They did not actually fire any shots because I took one of the shotguns away from them and Galvin took the other. And they then got the butts of rifles—they did not have time to load them. And when they got through I had

to mop up the blood from the floor of the room. They were fighting one another like idiots.

Q. Chairman Howe: Like what?

A. Like idiots. They were fighting like wild men, they were that drunk.

Q. Mr. D. F. Malone: Do you know of any fights between Black-and-Tans, or between the Black-and-Tans and the Royal Irish Constabulary, which have resulted in the deaths either of Black-and-Tans or of R. I. C.?

A. Well, I was not a witness to any of them, but I do know of one that was actually true—an occurrence in the city of Dublin, where one of them, on the pretext of cleaning his rifle, shot the sergeant in charge of the station.

Q. The point I wish to make is that there were fights between the R. I. C. and the Black-and-Tans, and fights between the Black-and-Tans themselves.

A. Oh, certainly. The time when the Black-and-Tans came to the barracks, the R. I. C. hardly spoke to them. Of course they wanted to get information from some of the men. They wanted them to point out people and houses and the like.

REASONS FOR RESIGNING FROM CONSTABULARY

Q. Will you state when you resigned, and your reasons for resigning?

A. I resigned the first of July.

Q. When?

A. 1920, the present year. I sent in my resignation on that date, and I was to be discharged on the first of August. I was discharged a few days before, on the twenty-fourth of July.

Q. Why did you resign?

A. I resigned for many reasons. The main reason was that there was nothing left for me to do except to leave the military to butcher.

Q. When you resigned, how long had you been in the service?

A. About five years, from October, 1915, to July, 1920.

Q. When you resigned, that meant that you had to sacrifice your pension?

A. Yes, I had to sacrifice that.

Q. Is there a pension?

A. Yes, certainly; you get three-fourths of the annual pay as a pension.

Mr. D. F. Malone: That is all.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was there a rule or an order in Ireland in

June, 1918, against people assembling together for fairs or public gatherings?

A. In 1918?

Q. Yes.

A. In certain parts there was.

Q. Was there in this place where you and the military authorities went out to break up the meeting?

A. Oh, no; there was no order at that time.

Q. So that there was no apparent violation of law by the people advertising that they were to have this meeting?

A. None whatever.

BLACK-AND-TANS DISLIKED BY CONSTABULARY

Q. Chairman Howe: The R. I. C. were almost wholly Irishmen?

A. Yes, they were, almost all of them.

Q. Wholly recruited from Ireland? A. Yes.

Q. The Black-and-Tans were wholly recruited from England?

A. Yes, every one of them.

Q. Did the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Black-and-Tans fraternize together? Did they associate together in a friendly sort of way?

A. Oh, no; they were roughnecks.

Q. That was generally true—the R. I. C. had nothing to do with the Black-and-Tans?

A. Oh, I would not say that they had nothing to do with them, but that they had no friendship for them, and they had nothing more to do with them than necessary.

Mr. D. F. Malone: That is all.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

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TESTIMONY OF MRS. ANNA MURPHY

Mr. D. F. Malone: Mrs. Murphy, please.

Q. Mrs. Murphy, where were you born?

A. In New Ross, County Wexford, Ireland.

Q. What was your education?

A. In the national schools, sir.

Q. Did you attend any other than the national schools?

A. Yes, sir; I went to a boarding school in County Sligo for two years.

Q. Is your husband alive?

A. Yes, sir.

- Q. Is he an American citizen?
 A. No, sir, he is not, sir.
- Q. When did he first come to this country?
 A. Seven years ago.
- Q. Did you come at that same time?
 A. Four years next February, sir.
- Q. How many children have you?
 A. Just the one, sir.
- Q. Michael?
 A. Yes, Michael.
- Q. Did you visit Ireland during the past year?
 A. Yes, sir, I was a year and three months in Ireland.
- Q. Why did you go to Ireland?
 A. To benefit my health, sir.
- Q. And when you were in Ireland, where did you stay?
 A. At my home in New Ross.
- Q. Are your parents alive?
 A. Yes, sir.
- Q. And did you stay with them?
 A. Yes, sir.
- Q. What kind of a town is New Ross?
 A. A small town.
- Q. An industrial town?
 A. No, sir, a market town.
- Q. A very peaceful and quiet town?
 A. Yes, sir.
- Q. How large is the population?
 A. I don't know.
- Q. When were the troops, the Black-and-Tans, sent to New Ross?
 A. Last Easter, sir.
- Q. That would be 1920?
 A. 1920.

CHILD SHOT BECAUSE OF NEW CURFEW ORDER

- Q. And when was the curfew law put into effect?
 A. Last August in New Ross, sir.
- Q. And you were there at the time?
 A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Do you know whether or not any persons were shot for violations of the curfew order?
 A. No, sir; not that I know of.
- Q. Do you remember about the killing of the little girl?

A. She was not killed; she was shot, sir.

Q. Now, tell the Commission about that.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Senator Walsh: When did this happen?

A. That happened about the eighth of September.

Q. Did you witness it?

A. I did, sir. The little girl was sent out by her mother on—

Q. What was her name?

A. Lillie Furlong.

Q. How old was she?

A. About eight. The little girl did not know about the curfew law, and the mother sent her out on an errand, and the Black-and-Tans called to her to stop. She was so scared that she began to run, and they fired, and she was shot in the back. She has been in the infirmary since.

Q. Senator Walsh: She has been where?

A. In the infirmary.

Q. Did you know the mother of the child?

A. I did, sir.

Q. How did it happen that the mother did not know that there was a curfew law?

A. They were after some boys on the run, but she did not know about that.

Q. But why did she not know about the curfew law? Could she not read?

A. She could, sir. But the curfew law was usually ten o'clock, but on this particular night it was nine o'clock, and the mother did not know it. They had put it on an hour early because they were after these boys on the run.

ROUGHLY SEARCHED WITH BABE IN ARMS BY BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Mr. Malone: What other experiences have you had with the Black-and-Tans?

A. About three nights before I left Ireland, I was saying good-bye to some friends, and it was about half ten; and I met an officer and some Black-and-Tans as I was going home, and they told me to put up my hands, and I said I could not, because I could not lay the baby down, and they said I must; and I told them I could not on account of the baby, but that they could search me, and they did. They tore open my clothes and searched me while I held the baby in my arms. And they got through and did not find anything. It

was about an hour afterwards when I got home. I really don't know how I got home. And I was all wet.

Q. It was raining? A. Yes, it was raining very much.

Q. I suppose that they searched the baby for firearms?

A. Oh, yes, they did. They opened his clothes and searched him.

Q. Were they gentle and considerate about it?

A. No, sir, they were not. They were very rough, sir, and when they got through they pushed me into the door.

Q. Senator Walsh: Were you on the street? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they pushed you into what door?

A. They pushed me into the door of the hardware store.

Q. Chairman Howe: On the street of the village? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Senator Walsh: About that little girl who was shot, that child of eight years: how badly was she injured?

A. The mother said that she was shot in the spine.

Q. It was very serious, then?

A. Yes, sir. The mother said she might be injured for life.

Q. Chairman Howe: Will you please state your full name, Mrs. Murphy? A. Mrs. Anna Murphy.

Q. And your address? A. 348 West 18th Street, New York.

BLACK BREAD AND NO MILK FOR BABIES

Q. Mr. Malone: Mrs. Murphy, can you describe what the conditions are in Ireland today, as you observed them and know them to be, due to the work of the Black-and-Tans and other conditions?

A. Very hard, sir. The people pay very high prices for food, and when they get it they can hardly use it. They can hardly eat the bread because it is so hard and black.

Q. Could you get milk?

A. No, I could not get milk for the baby.

Q. Senator Walsh: Could you when you first went there?

A. No, sir, I could not. At best I could get less than a half a pint of milk at night for the baby, sir.

Q. Is this condition general?

A. Yes, sir; many of the babies cannot get milk, sir.

Q. Are any of them sick on account of it?

A. Yes, many of them are, sir.

Q. Are there not plenty of cattle in Ireland?

A. Yes, lots of them, but the people cannot get milk in the towns.

MILK FAMINE IN TOWNS DUE TO DESTRUCTION OF CREAMERIES

Q. Do you know anything about the burning of creameries in Ireland?

A. Yes, sir, I do, sir. There were two burned near us, sir.

Q. Where? Near your town?

A. Yes, sir. There was one burned about two and a half miles from our town. It was a very fine creamery, built in 1914.

Q. Senator Walsh: When was it burned?

A. In Easter of this year.

Q. Do you know why that creamery was burned?

A. No, sir; except that they said there was barracks burned down near there, and they burned the creamery down.

Q. As a reprisal? A. Yes, sir, as a reprisal.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Of course, even if the creamery is gone, the milk would still be there.

A. But the milk cannot be got.

Q. Of course, I can understand why there should be no butter and cheese, but there should be milk.

Q. Mr. Malone: How was the milk delivered there?

A. It was delivered from the creamery into the town.

Q. The creamery would be the distributing point?

A. Yes, sir.

Commissioner Addams: But the creamery takes the milk and makes it into butter and cheese.

Mr. D. F. Malone: But the creamery does more than that in Ireland. It is a milk distributing center as well.

Q. There is no doubt that you and the people in the town could not get the milk? A. No, sir, we could not get any, sir.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF JOHN JOSEPH CADDAN

- Q. Mr. Malone: Mr. Caddan, what is your full name?
 A. John Joseph Caddan.
 Q. What is your age?
 A. Nineteen.
 Q. Nineteen now?
 A. I was nineteen on the seventeenth of June.
 Q. Where were you born?
 A. Adare, County Limerick.
 Q. Where are you living now?
 A. I am living in New York at present.
 Q. Where?
 A. At 63 West Seventh Avenue.
 Q. Mr. Malone: Are you working in New York now?
 A. No.

POLICE NOW TRAINED FOR WAR RATHER THAN POLICE DUTIES

- Q. What was the date of your enlistment in the R. I. C.?
 A. On the third of February, 1920.
 Q. And where did you go to take your training?
 A. In Phoenix Park Depot, Dublin.
 Q. And what did your training consist of?
 A. Bomb practice, rifle practice, revolver firing—all the latest patents in revolvers, automatic and regular.
 Q. Bomb practice?
 A. Bomb practice.
 Q. Rifle practice?
 A. Yes, sir, rifle practice.
 Q. Were you given any police training?
 A. Yes, but the police training was not much. You were not compelled to study very much. I was only three months in the depot.
 Q. Where were you assigned first?
 A. To Galway.
 Q. What part of Galway?
 A. Galway City.
 Q. When were you assigned to Galway City?
 A. On the twentieth of May, 1920.

THE SACKING OF TUAM

Q. What were the conditions in Galway?

A. Galway City was very quiet until the end of August. The first affair that started things was the sacking of Tuam. Galway City being the headquarters of the County of Galway, troops had to be sent from Galway to the country outside. And then this Tuam affair—

Q. What affair?

A. The Tuam affair, sir. The men had to go out in motor lorries for sacking the town. Two policemen had been shot out there. I was not with them.

Q. Why were you not with them?

A. I was on light duty at the time. I had a severe cold, and stayed in the barracks. But when they came back, they told all about what they had burned. They said they burned public houses, and burned the town hall, and made a general wreck of the place.

Q. Senator Walsh: How large is the town of Tuam?

A. It is a fairly large size town. There is a cathedral there, and the Archbishop of Galway—about three thousand population, I think.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you see it afterwards—the day afterwards?

A. Not the next day, but a few days afterwards.

Q. Describe what you first saw when you visited it afterwards.

A. When I entered Tuam I saw three frame buildings—big buildings—public houses, I think they were—nothing standing but the walls. The town hall,—the clock was broken out of its place, and the town hall was wrecked in general.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was there glass broken in the shops?

A. Oh, yes, indeed.

Q. About how many houses were destroyed?

A. About a dozen on the whole street.

Q. Chairman Howe: The main street?

A. The main street, yes. That is what I saw there.

Q. Were any people killed at this sacking of Tuam?

A. No, but there was a man dragged out of bed and threatened to be shot, and only for the intervention of the head constable in Tuam he would have been shot.

Q. Mr. Malone: The head constable is a member of the R. I. C.?

A. Yes, he is a member of the R. I. C.

Q. Senator Walsh: Why did he stop them?

A. Well, he didn't want to see the man murdered.

Q. He was still a policeman to preserve law and order?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he announce that the man had done no wrong?

A. He did.

Q. Mr. Malone: Do you remember the case of the man Krumm?

A. Yes, Krumm was in Galway.

TUAM WRECKED AS REPRISAL FOR AMBUSH TEN MILES DISTANT

Q. Senator Walsh: Wait a moment. You say that this was due to two policemen being shot?

A. Yes, ambushed.

Q. Now, how long before this night were these policemen ambushed?

A. They were ambushed about eleven o'clock at night.

Q. Eleven o'clock the same night?

A. Yes. And at about three o'clock the next morning the sacking began.

Q. Now, where were these men ambushed?

A. About ten miles outside of Tuam. I could not say definitely.

Q. Were these men members of the Royal Irish Constabulary or Black-and-Tans?

A. Members of the R. I. C.

Q. Did you know them?

A. No.

Q. Were they connected with your station?

A. No, sir.

Q. Were they in Tuam?

A. Yes, in Tuam?

Q. Why were these men murdered, and by whom?

A. I could not say.

Q. Did you learn since?

A. No.

Q. Had they been offensive to the inhabitants of the town?

A. I was not stationed in that town and could not say.

Q. You do not know?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Except the fact that there were two killed?

A. Yes, sir; only that there were two killed.

Q. Chairman Howe: Was there a coroner's inquest?

A. No.

Q. Senator Walsh: They had been done away with at that time?

A. Yes, they had.

DRUNKEN BLACK-AND-TAN CAUSES MURDER, ARSON AND TERROR IN GALWAY

Q. Mr. Malone: Tell us about this man Krumm, the Black-and-Tan.

A. Krumm was a Black-and-Tan. The Black-and-Tans are something like soldiers. They wear a soldier's uniform with a black cap and belt, and that is why they are called Black-and-Tans. This man Krumm was one of the Black-and-Tans. He was a motor driver stationed in Dunmore, about ten miles outside of Galway. He was in town about two weeks getting his motor repaired.

Q. About two weeks getting a motor repaired?

A. Yes, sir, about two weeks. He took his time to it. He was a generally reckless fellow and drank a lot. I know of one case that he shot a sheep and brought him in to the barracks to be cooked.

Q. You mean that when he got drunk he ran amuck?

A. Yes, sir; he was very reckless then. This night I saw him with a bottle of poteen—

Q. Mr. Witness, tell us to the best of your ability what that is.

A. It is what you call mountain dew.

Q. Chairman Howe: Irish whiskey?

A. It is made in the mountains out of barley, I think. It is pretty strong stuff. Well, I saw him with this bottle of poteen, and he was passing it around, and he said that when that bottle was gone he would get another. About twelve o'clock he went up to the station.

Q. Was he in police clothes?

A. No, he was in civilian clothes. He went up to the station for one of the papers, the Dublin papers. They usually came in on the midnight train. I could not say exactly what happened at the station, because I was in bed.¹

Q. Senator Walsh: Do you know the date of this?

A. It was about September seventh.

Q. He was stationed at your barracks?

A. Yes, sir; he was staying there while he was in town getting his motor repaired. The next thing I knew one of the constables came up and gave the alarm, and said one of the constables was shot. And we all had to get up and dress and get our carbines. There were about fifty men in the barracks, and they ran amuck then.

¹ Krumm went to the station, and without provocation whipped out his revolver and began firing madly, shooting several persons before he was himself shot by a bystander. See evidence of three witnesses, pp. 83-84, 130-131, 161-162.

Q. Tell us what they did.

A. The whole fifty came out in the streets.

Q. Under their officers?

A. No officers; they all came out together. There was a D. I. there, and he came out with them.

Q. Who is a D. I.?

A. The district inspector, District Inspector Crewe.

Q. Mr. Malone: Was he in uniform?

A. No, he was in plain clothes.

Q. Senator Walsh: Were there any Black-and-Tans there?

A. No, all R. I. C.

Q. Mr. Malone: You say he was in civilian clothes?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did they have motor lorries?

A. No, they were walking.

Q. What time of night was this?

A. That was about one o'clock.

BRODERICKS ORDERED TO REMAIN IN BURNING HOUSE

They went from the barracks up to the house of a man named Broderick and knocked at the door, and he opened the door, and they demanded his son. A couple of them rushed in and grabbed the candle he had in his hand, and went upstairs to get his son. The son asked time to dress, and they brought him down. While they were upstairs, some other men sprinkled some petrol in the parlor and the hall. They marched the son down in front of them, and Broderick was told to stand where he was. The mother was told to stay in the back room where she was, and Broderick, the father, was ordered to stand in the hall. Then they touched a match to the house and it flashed up. The women began to scream, and they marched the son down to the railroad station to shoot him where Krumm had been shot.

Q. Mr. Malone: Did they leave Broderick and his wife in the burning house?

A. Well, they could not get out through the flames very easily.

Q. They had put petrol about the house?

A. Yes, they had.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did they get out?

A. I was just coming to that. They took the son up toward the station, but he got away, and they fired after him, and I think wounded him in the leg, but I am not sure of that. He got away.

And then they turned around and saw a crowd of neighbors trying to put out the flames, and they fired into the crowd. After that, what they did I did not witness, for I went back to the barracks, but I heard the next day—the men were telling about it themselves. After that they came to a place where there were two young men in a house, and went up and demanded them. I do not know their names.

Q. Two young men in the Broderick house?

A. No, in another house. They brought these young men down to the same place where Krumm was shot and stood them up against the wall there. One of the men was named Conway, I think. The order was given to fire, and just as the order was given, Conway fell forward on his face, and he saved his life miraculously.

Q. The man fell on his face just as they fired and escaped death?

A. Yes. Some of them said, "Let them have another volley," and the leader said, "No, we have wasted enough ammunition on them."

Q. To come back to this Broderick case. Was the son a member of the Irish Republican Army, or was Broderick or his son implicated in the killing of that man Krumm?

A. No, I do not think so. They probably knew nothing about him, for he was a new man in the town—he was just in there temporarily.

INVESTIGATION AFTER TRAGIC REPRISALS

Q. Did your police force make any investigation of the killing of this man Krumm?

A. They did, afterwards.

Q. But not before the killing of this man and the firing of Broderick's house?

A. No, none whatever.

Q. What happened after this man Krumm left the barracks? You said he had been drinking before he left.

A. Yes. I heard afterwards that he left the barracks and stopped for another drink before he went up to the station. He got up to the station platform and while waiting for a paper fired on the crowd, killing a man and wounding another.

Senator Walsh: Yes, we have heard of that incident from other witnesses.

COMMANDING OFFICER OF POLICE COMMITTING REPRISALS PROMOTED

Q. Mr. Malone: Was District Inspector Crewe promoted after this?

A. Yes, he was promoted about a week after this.

Q. Senator Walsh: You were an eye witness to this?

A. Yes, I was an eye witness to the setting fire of Broderick's house and the firing into the crowd.

Q. Did you participate in any of it?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Was there any officer to lead the military in all this?

A. No, there was not.

Q. It was just mob action?

A. It was just mob action.

THE MURDER OF QUIRK

Afterwards they came down to this man's house—Quirk I believe was his name—and they went in and told him to come out of bed, and did not give him time to dress, and dragged him out and brought him down to the quays.

Q. What are the quays?

A. The quays, the Galway quays. Galway is a seaside place, and the quays run down to the water. They took this man down and they stood him up against a lamp post and put twenty-seven shots into him.

Q. Who was this man Quirk?

A. I believe he was a Sinn Feiner.

Q. He had nothing to do with the shooting of that Black-and-Tan at the station?

A. Oh, no, of course not. He was home in bed.

MEN WHO KNOW HOW TO KILL REINFORCE CONSTABULARY

Q. Mr. Malone: Now, I believe there was a general, a British general, who came down there.

A. Yes, the next day there was a British general came down and spoke to us in the day room.

Q. Chairman Howe: Why do you think he was a general?

A. Because he was so well guarded. He had two motor lorries of soldiers there to guard him. He had two other officers with him. The county inspector was there and two district inspectors, and all

the men in the barracks were there. And he started to talk about this business. He said, "This country is ruled by gunmen, and they must be put down." He talked about giving home rule to Ireland, and he said home rule could not be given until all of these gunmen were put down, and he called on the R. I. C. to put them down. He asked them what they required in the barracks, and that whatever they wanted he would give them, and that they were also going to get a raise in pay. And they said they needed machine guns, and he said that they would get them, and also tanks and more men—men who had been in the army during the war and who knew how to shoot to kill; and he said they would be the right men in the right place.

Q. Who spoke for the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. There was a sergeant, I think, who did most of the talking. But the men all spoke up and said they needed this and that.

Q. They needed additional protection?

A. Yes.

Q. Did they get it?

A. Yes, there was about two hundred Black-and-Tans sent down to that barracks. They got more money than we did, but he promised us that we would get a rise in pay.

Q. Senator Walsh: How much?

A. Seven shillings a day.

Q. In addition?

A. Yes, in addition.

Q. Chairman Howe: In addition to what they were getting?

A. Yes, sir; that would be forty-nine shillings a week more—about two pound ten.

LOW CHARACTER OF BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Mr. Malone: What was the general character of the Black-and-Tans?

A. Well, they were generally very careless fellows, and did not give a hang about what they did. They were mostly over there to enjoy themselves.

Q. The Commissioner: Were they mostly young men?

A. They were most all young men.

Q. What was their general character?

A. Some of them were got up for robbery at the depot—at Phoenix Park. And some of them were sent to the lunatic asylum. I believe some of them were ex-convicts.

Q. Senator Walsh: How do you know that,—from what they said about each other?

A. Yes, what they said between themselves. They had several conflicts in the Depot between the Black-and-Tans and the Irish troops that were there, but it did not come out.

Q. Chairman Howe: The Constabulary did not have very much respect for the Black-and-Tans?

A. No, O no.

Q. Did they fraternize with them?

A. They had a couple of fights there.

Q. But did they go out together and associate together?

A. O no, they did not associate together. They were not friendly by any means. Only, of course, they had to go together on duty.

AGE OF CONSTABLES AND BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Commissioner Addams: How old must you be before you can become a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. At least eighteen.

Q. Eighteen?

A. Yes.

Q. Were many of your men as young as that?

A. No, I don't believe they were. If your father had served on the force you could join at eighteen. If he did not, nineteen is the limit.

Q. How old were most of the men on the force?

A. They varied greatly. Twenty-five is about the average, I think.

Q. Senator Walsh: How old are the Black-and-Tans?

A. Oh, various ages. Some of the Black-and-Tans were up to forty.

Q. How many Black-and-Tans were in the barracks before you resigned?

A. There was only one, Krumm, and he was only there for two weeks.

Q. Senator Walsh: But you say they were promised?

A. Yes, but they came afterwards.

Q. So that you have no knowledge of them while you were in that barracks?

A. No, sir. But while I was there they stocked up the canteen in the barracks for their coming.

**GOVERNMENT BAR IN BARRACKS KEEPS MEN
SODDEN**

Q. Was there a canteen in your barracks? A. Yes.

Q. When you were on the force?

A. Yes, when I was on the force.

Q. Did they always have that in the Irish Constabulary barracks? A. Oh, no.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was that one of the new munitions of war?

A. Yes, it was that.

Q. When did they open up canteens in the Royal Irish Constabulary barracks?

A. About a year ago.

Q. So for about a year they have served liquor in the barracks of the R. I. C.?

A. Yes.

Q. What kind of liquor?

A. Lots of liquors. Bass' ale, Guinness' stout, and lots more.

Q. Were there any restrictions on the amount of it an officer could get?

A. No, no restrictions. They were up there, some of them, most of the night drinking.

Q. Did they drink before going on duty? A. Yes.

Q. To what extent does that exist throughout Ireland?

A. I couldn't say, sir, but it was common where I was.

Q. Who runs this canteen?

A. It is run by the R. I. C.

Q. By the permission of the Government?

A. Yes, by the permission of the Government.

Q. And I suppose there is some clerk in charge?

A. There is a constable in charge. He is sitting there at all times.

Q. And there is no limit to what you can buy in quantity or quality?

A. No limit,—no limit at all. Now, the next night after Krumm was shot, curfew was enforced in Galway.

Q. Senator Walsh: Very good, but this is very important. You were there in that barracks how long?

A. About three months.

Q. You say there were fifty men there?

A. Yes, fifty men.

Q. How many of them were drinking men?

A. O, the whole lot of them except myself.

Q. It was a fine atmosphere for a nineteen-year-old boy to go into.

A. Yes, charming.

Q. And all these men were constantly in touch with a saloon in the barracks?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Malone: Senator, would you ask the witness if they sold what is known as hard liquor in the barracks?

A. The Witness: Hard liquor? They sold all kinds of liquor that are sold in Ireland.

Q. Senator Walsh: Is there anything else besides liquor served?

A. O yes, there is bread and crackers and things like that also.

Q. Now, to just what extent and how continuously were these men under the influence of liquor?

A. Well, during their idle time. Some of them had only four hours' duty during the day. The rest of the time they usually had liquor in them.

Q. So that their life consisted of doing their duty on the streets of the city and spending their spare time in the liquor store in the barracks and in bed?

A. Yes, and in bed.

RESIGNED CONSTABLE FLOGGED BY BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Mr. Malone: After the Tuam affair, do you remember the affair of the constable who resigned?

A. Well, yes, that was out in Tuam. I was not a witness to it. This man, his name was Roddy, had resigned in Tuam after the town was wrecked, and took a position with the city council. A short time after the Black-and-Tans went to his home and got him and brought him out to the lime pits near the town, and they flogged him. And then some time after they did that, they flogged him again, and told him to clear out of the town with his wife and family, which he had to do.

Q. You say he got a job on the city council?

A. Yes, after he resigned, he got a job on the city council,—that is, the Sinn Fein county council.

REASON FOR RESIGNING FROM CONSTABULARY

Q. What were the reasons for his resigning from the R. I. C.

A. Probably about the same as mine.

Q. What were your reasons for resigning?

A. Well, I couldn't stop in such surroundings.

Q. Senator Walsh: What was that?

A. I didn't fancy the way they were treating the people.

Q. The work was too dirty for you?

A. O, yes. The things they used to be doing, I could take no part in them.

DRINKS AND EXTRA PAY FOR MEN ON RAIDS

Q. Senator Walsh: You said something about this raid on Galway. The curfew was applied?

A. Yes, the night after the raid the curfew was applied from nine o'clock to three in the morning.

Q. Now, just what does that mean?

A. Nobody but the military and police could be out from 9 P. M. to 3 A. M. This night they went out. There was an armored car and a military officer and two police from the barracks; and they went out firing shots, and what they call "clearing the streets."

Q. Senator Walsh: That was the first night of the curfew law?

A. The first night of the curfew law. And when they came in they were all treated to a drink by the district inspector. And the next night there was the same thing,—they went out firing into the streets again.

Q. This was the Black-and-Tans?

A. No, the R. I. C.

Q. Senator Walsh: For the record, how large is the city of Galway?

A. It's a fairly large city, with a population of about ten thousand, I think.

Q. Chairman Howe: What are the Black-and-Tans,—what nationality?

A. They are English.

Q. How about the officers?

A. They are mostly ex-officers of the English army. They come over and get the position of sergeant as Black-and-Tans. They get more money than the R. I. C. get. They get something like one pound seven a day now.

Q. Did they get extra money when they went on a raid?

A. They get extra money when they are called out of the barracks.

Q. In addition to their per diem, they get extra money when they go out of the barracks on raids?

A. Yes, when they go out on raids.

Q. Mr. Malone: That is overtime?

A. Yes, overtime.

Q. Chairman Howe: How did it happen that there was only that one Black-and-Tan in the barracks?

A. Well, he was only in for two weeks to get his motor repaired in Galway.

Q. What town were you born in?

A. At Adare, County Limerick.

Q. How large a town?

A. I could not tell you.

Q. Did you spend your childhood there?

A. Oh, no. I was only about three months there.

Q. Where did you spend your time up to the time of joining the Constabulary?

A. I lived in Cork City, and went to school in Waterford City.

Q. Did you travel around Ireland much?

A. Yes, my father used to be transferred around.

Q. And what was his position?

A. He was sergeant.

Q. In the R. I. C.?

A. In the R. I. C.

GENERAL CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Q. What was the general condition of Ireland as you went around from town to town?

A. The general condition in Cork was curfew at ten o'clock, when you had to be in.

Q. Senator Walsh: But he means prior to this trouble.

A. Well, I don't know much about it.

Q. Mr. Malone: Mr. Witness, will you tell us where you were when you joined the R. I. C.?

A. I joined in London.

Q. What were you doing then?

A. I had gone to Liverpool and Manchester and London.

Q. What were you doing?

A. Looking for work there.

Q. So you thought you would join your father's profession?

A. Yes, but I never intended to stay in it. Just joined to get over to Ireland again.

Q. Senator Walsh: When did you leave Ireland?

A. I left Ireland on November fifth.

Q. And when did you resign from the R. I. C.?

A. In September.

Q. So you were during the month of October and to November fifth free?

A. Yes, free.

Q. Did you spend that month in Ireland?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you observe conditions in Ireland in other places than Galway?

A. Yes, I was down in Cork for the funeral of the Lord Mayor, Lord Mayor MacSwiney.

Q. Did you remain there up to November fifth?

A. Yes, I remained there up to November fifth.

Q. Just what were the conditions in Cork down to November fifth?

A. Curfew was enforced, and you must be in by ten o'clock. Then the military would come around in motor lorries about five minutes to ten, and anybody who is caught out has not a safe chance for his life, because he might be shot on sight.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do they shoot when they come out?

A. Yes, they generally shoot.

Q. I suppose that is notice that the curfew law is on?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Malone: What about the Black Thorn house?

A. Oh, the Black Thorn house was not destroyed in my time there. The city hall was destroyed, and the Black Thorn house, after my coming away.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF DANIEL GALVIN

- Q. Mr. Malone: Your name is Daniel Galvin?
 A. Yes, Daniel Galvin.
 Q. And your address?
 A. 114 West 102d Street, New York City.
 Q. Where were you born?
 A. In Gerryman, County Kerry, Ireland, in December, 1887.
 That would be thirty-three years ago this month.

THIRTEEN YEARS' SERVICE IN CONSTABULARY

- Q. How long ago did you join the R. I. C.?
 A. I joined the twenty-first of October, 1907.
 Q. When did you resign?
 A. The twenty-first of July last, this year.
 Q. You were then in the service about thirteen years?
 A. Yes, thirteen years, lacking a month or so.
 Q. Where did you get your training?
 A. In Dublin, in the Phoenix Park training school there.
 Q. When?
 A. In 1907.
 Q. What did your training consist of there?
 A. Three hours of drill, gymnastics, school, and police duties.
 Q. Where have you served in Ireland in these nearly thirteen years?
 A. I left the Phoenix Training School barracks five months after I entered, and was transferred to Gort in County Galway. I was there about two months.
 Q. Where did you go from there?
 A. To a station called Tubber in County Galway.
 Q. Where did you go from there?
 A. I remained in Galway until I came on to Tipperary. I spent five years in Galway. I applied to get nearer home. I applied for Cork East or Cork West, but I was refused, because it was adjoining my native county. And they said that if I wanted to go to Tipperary, it would be at my own expense. I applied for Tipperary, South Riding, and was transferred in May, 1912.
 Q. Where have you been since then?
 A. I have been in a district called Weyl in County Tipperary.
 Q. Where else were you stationed?
 A. I was stationed at a place in Tipperary called Killaloan that is about three miles outside of Clonmel.
 Q. Were you stationed at Clogheen?

- A. Yes, I was at Clogheen about six months before I resigned.
 Q. And at Ballyporeen also?
 A. Yes, Clogheen was my permanent station, but I was sent to Ballyporeen, Tipperary.
 Q. Were you in Clogheen while Mr. Crowley was there?
 A. Yes.
 Q. Did you hear his testimony?
 A. Yes.
 Q. Do you know that all of the testimony he gave is true?
 A. Yes, it is true. I can give you my own version of it.

ABSOLUTE RELIGIOUS HARMONY IN SOUTH IRELAND

Q. I want to ask you this: in all the years that you have served in the R. I. C. in Ireland, what do you know of the relations between Catholics and Protestants?

A. As a general rule in the south of Ireland the Protestants are the most prosperous people there. In many cases I would rather deal with the Protestants than with the Catholics.

Q. In other words, you have never heard of any differences whatever between them?

A. I have traveled a good deal all over Ireland, south and west and east, and in my own native county, County Kerry, and I have never heard of any trouble between the people on account of any religious differences whatever in those sections.

REMARKABLE ABSENCE OF CRIME

Q. What would you say about Ireland as a peaceful country?

A. It is a very peaceful country, sir.

Q. Did you have any difficult experiences with the people in pursuing your duties as a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. No, sir. Nobody ever made any insulting remark to me in all the thirteen years of my service.

Q. Were there any serious crimes?

A. No, sir.

Q. Any minor offenses?

A. Nothing serious. Just petty larceny or something like that.

Q. Chairman Howe: How many murders did you come in contact with?

A. There was just one case in County Galway in the land trouble there. That was in 1907.

- Q. Just one case of murder in all your experience?
 A. Yes, that is right, sir.
 Q. How about felonies and serious offenses?
 A. No. Nothing like that. Just petty cases.
 Q. What do you mean by petty offenses?
 A. Petty cases like drunkenness.
 Q. How about stealing?
 A. Very, very limited in the country.
 Q. How about burglary?
 A. No, very little. I have never known of any case of burglary where I was called upon to act.
 Q. Were there any cases reported to your precinct?
 A. O there may be a case of petty larceny,—that is, a case of petty larceny like the stealing of tools or picks.
 Q. But of the major crimes, there has been only one case come to your attention in thirteen years?
 A. Yes, one case in thirteen years.
 Q. And drunken brawls,—are they frequent?
 A. Not in these days. They used to be in 1910, 1911, or 1913, but not nowadays.
 Q. What was there for nine thousand of the Royal Irish Constabulary in Ireland to do if there was no crime?
 A. Well, they are distributed all over the country. There were not nearly so many as that there until the last few years. I remember only three years ago when there was only three men in the station where I was in County Tipperary.
 Q. The town of Tipperary?
 A. No, the County. I was in a small place.

LITTLE NEED OF A POLICE FORCE TO MAINTAIN ORDER

- Q. Chairman Howe: How about the relations of Protestants and Catholics? Did they meet in a friendly way? Did they visit one another's houses?
 A. I know of a case where the Catholic priest and the Protestant minister went out fishing together, and also shooting together.
 Q. When you say shooting together, you mean hunting?
 A. I mean fowling.
 Q. Do they intermarry?
 A. Not very much.
 Q. But they were friendly with each other? They were neighborly?

A. Yes, certainly. One man's gun would be out of order, and another man would lend his gun to him.

Q. They traded at one another's stores, did they?

A. Yes, indeed.

Q. In other words, prior to 1918, there was very little disorder?

A. Yes, and after, and up to the present time there is very little need, as far as the people are concerned, of a police force.

POLICE MILITARIZED AFTER REPUBLICAN ELECTION VICTORY

Q. Mr. Malone: Now, Mr. Galvin, tell me in what way did your duties as a policeman change by orders after the elections of 1918?

A. They were changed until I was simply only a soldier when I left the police force. I had to carry arms and bombs and the like. I had to have my rifle beside me at nights in bed. We were all behind barbed wire, and with thirty or forty bombs used sometimes at nights from the police station.

FAIRS, MARKETS, AND PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES PROHIBITED

Q. Where do you date the first disorders in your district?

A. I remember that in July, 1919—that was last year—the County of Tipperary was proclaimed a prohibited district by the Lord Lieutenant. That required an additional force of police. That was according to English law then. They transferred police or R. I. C. from different portions of Ireland, even from the west of Ireland, and from the next counties, to South Riding. Fairs and markets and public meetings and assemblies and so forth were to be prohibited, although Clogheen and portions of the South Riding were very quiet.

Q. Did the prohibition of fairs and markets interfere with the normal life of the people?

A. O yes, very much, because they had no way of selling their produce.

DISRUPTION OF LIFE OF PEOPLE PRECEDES DISORDERS

Q. Was it after the normal life of the people had been disturbed that the disorders began?

A. Yes, it was not until some time in April, 1919, that a hundred of the military arrived from Manchester.

Q. Did you ever know of any attacks by the people on the police up to the time you are stating now?

A. No, not at any place.

Q. What is your business now?

A. I am a watchman in New York City.

REASON FOR RESIGNING FROM CONSTABULARY

Q. Why did you resign from the R. I. C.?

A. Well, simply because I did not like the system that they have at the present time. When I first joined, it was different then. I did not have any arms then. Of course, they had arms then, but at the same time I never took them out with me on duty, the same as I had to do the last seven or eight months. We had the arms, but they were simply for show purposes.

Q. Mr. Malone: In other words, when the R. I. C. was changed from a police force into a military force, that was your reason for leaving?

A. That was sufficient.

Q. Were you not entitled to a pension?

A. O yes, I certainly would have been entitled to a pension in two years' more, in fifteen years, if I got out on a medical certificate. Or at twenty-five years I would have been entitled to one-half of my pay, and two-thirds on thirty years' service.

ARMED INVASION OF CHURCH SERVICES TO INCITE PEOPLE

Q. Senator Walsh: You were in the station with the young man who was here who testified about the order to go to church on Sundays?

A. Yes, I remember that order.

Q. Did you ever go to church in a squad before?

A. Yes, I went once.

Q. Now, was that order compelling men to go armed to church for the purpose of showing military authority in the church, or

was it simply a regulation in regard to each individual's conduct when he went to church?

A. My belief was that the order was simply to incite the people.

Q. Where did you stand when you went to church?

A. You were supposed to go up to the altar aisle.

Q. And two men went up with rifles?

A. Two men went up with rifles, and two with carbines.

Q. Where did the other two men stand?

A. The other two men stood near the door.

Q. Did you stand during the entire service?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you march behind the people in coming out of the church?

A. I marched behind about fifteen yards.

Q. After the people went out, did you walk down the center aisle of the church?

A. Yes, the people went out first.

Q. Was that a general order?

A. It was a general order for all Ireland, because it came from Dublin Castle.

Q. So that there was at that time and is now as far as you know military control over the church during church service?

A. Yes, sir, that was the general impression of the people there.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Now, if a man was not going to church that morning, did they confine some in the barracks?

A. Yes, half of the party were confined.

Q. So that every time there was a church service some would be there?

A. Yes, some would remain in the barracks.

Q. Mr. Malone: About Richards, the Black-and-Tan.

Senator Walsh: Who was that?

A. Richards, the Black-and-Tan.

Q. Senator Walsh: I would also like to ask him about the canteen. Did you have any canteen in the barracks?

A. There was in the larger cities like Cork and Limerick and Galway. Ours was a small barrack.

Q. You had only a few men in your barracks, so it would not pay, I suppose?

A. Yes, sir. It was an old custom in the large cities.

BLACK-AND-TANS LICENSED TO SHOOT ANY SINN FEINER WITHOUT DISCIPLINE

Q. Mr. Malone: About the Richards incident.

A. Well, Crowley and a man named Grady and myself, we were sent out on patrol duty with these two Black-and-Tans. We had revolvers and Gillette and Richards had carbines. About a mile outside of Clogheen there was a man named Walsh, who was supposed to be in sympathy with the Republican movement, and Richards demanded that we show him where Walsh lived. We wanted to know what he wanted with Walsh, and he said he was going to shoot him. And we refused to show him where Walsh lived. And he turned around to us and demanded that we do our duty and show him the place. And we reminded him that he was not in the army now; he was on the police force. And he said that when he left the training depot he was told that he would not be subjected to any discipline whatever if he shot any Sinn Feiners. He went about ten yards down the road and turned and said he would shoot me if I didn't show him where Walsh lived. Then we turned back to the barracks. We had not gone far when Richards fired at us. When I got back to the barracks with the men, I reported him to the sergeant, and he said he had committed a felony for threatening the lives of three men. He was confined to barracks for a few days, and then sent back to England, and then he came back to the R. I. C.'s again under an assumed name.

LOW CHARACTER OF BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. What is your opinion of the character of the Black-and-Tans in Ireland today?

A. We did not mix with them. We had as little to do with them as we could. To a great extent the people know what kind of people they are.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

Chairman Howe: The next hearings are set for next Wednesday, in case the witnesses can be secured by that time. If not, the next hearings will be held here on Thursday. There are some witnesses who are coming from England and are now on the *Baltic*, and will be here by then. We will meet here, unless there is some contrary notice in the press, next Wednesday morning at ten o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 4:10 p. m., the Commission adjourned.)

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THIRD HEARINGS ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Before the

AMERICAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Session One

JANE ADDAMS	}	COMMISSIONERS
JAMES H. MAURER		
OLIVER P. NEWMAN		
GEORGE W. NORRIS		
NORMAN THOMAS		
DAVID I. WALSH		
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD		
FREDERIC C. HOWE <i>Acting Chairman</i>		

Before the Commission, sitting in the Hotel La Fayette, Washington, D. C., Wednesday, December 15, 1920.

Session called to order by Chairman Howe at 10:05 a. m.

Chairman Howe: The hearings will please come to order.

TESTIMONY OF MISS RUTH RUSSELL

Q. Miss Russell, will you give the Commission your full name and address?

A. Ruth Russell, Chicago, Illinois.

Q. And you are employed by the Chicago *Daily News*?

A. I was employed by the Chicago *Daily News* when I went to Ireland the last time.

Q. When were you in Ireland?

A. I was in Ireland from March 16, 1919, to the end of June, 1919.

PURPOSE AND EXTENT OF INVESTIGATIONS IN IRELAND

Q. And what was your purpose in going to Ireland?

A. I was sent to Ireland as foreign correspondent studying special economic, social, and political conditions.

Q. In Ireland or in other countries?

A. I was sent especially for Ireland.

Q. Especially for Ireland? A. Yes.

Q. And what was the general nature of your assignment?

A. General reporter.

Q. You were to make a thorough and unbiased study of the social and economic conditions of Ireland? A. Yes.

Q. And report these in special articles for the *Chicago Daily News*? A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Basil M. Manly (of counsel): Will you tell the Commission what parts of Ireland, particularly what important sections, you visited? A. I visited Dublin, Cork—

Q. Suppose you give them in order.

A. I went first to Dublin, and then to Cork, and then to Limerick, Belfast, and to Dungloe in Donegal.

Q. So that you were in all four of the provinces of Ireland and in all the important industrial centers? A. Yes.

Q. Did you also see typical parts of the country districts?

A. Yes, I was especially familiar with the country districts in Donegal, in the northwest of Ireland.

WAGES AS LOW AS A DOLLAR A WEEK

Q. What was the method that you used in your investigations in Ireland?

A. I used both interviews and personal experiences. In order to get the social conditions in Dublin, I lived in the Dublin slums for a week as a working girl, and tried to find work there.

Q. Were you able to secure work in Dublin?

A. There was no factory work to be had in Dublin at all, or indeed in any part of Ireland, even in Belfast. But there was domestic work to be had.

Q. What were the prevailing wages in factories at that time for the people who were employed?

A. The best woman's wage in Dublin at that time was paid at a large basket factory in Dublin. That ran from \$4.50 to \$10 a week. These were especially good wages. There was a toy factory in Dublin which paid as low as one dollar a week to girls. This was astonishingly low, in view of the fact that it costs a girl at least five dollars a week to live by herself in Dublin,

Q. So that only girls who could afford to work for those wages, or who were living at home and were supported by their parents and were virtually undercutting the women workers who had to support themselves, could live on that wage?

A. Yes, yes.

AN UNSUCCESSFUL RAID

Q. Were you present in Dublin at the time of the raid on Dublin Castle?

A. I was present there at the time of the raid on the Mansion House.

Q. On the Mansion House, of course. Will you tell what you saw at that time?

A. At the time I was at Madam Gomme MacBride's house, on Stephens Green. Her young son, who has since been arrested, I believe, came rushing over to the house and told us that the Mansion House was being raided; that the police were searching for Michael Collins and Robert Barton. Miss Barton, Robert Barton's sister, was in the house at the time. We dashed across Stephens Green, and we found a double line of police and constables drawn up across Dawson Street, the entrance to the Mansion House Road. The soldiers were there with their fixed bayonets. Just beyond the line there was a whippet tank, and beyond that there were motor lorries for the soldiers that were taking part in it. The American delegates were to have a reception at the Mansion House that evening. The car with Frank Walsh and President de Valera approached the line of the military. The military lowered their bayonets. Frank Walsh got out of the car and approached the bayonet line, and went up to Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, of the Dublin military police, and he inquired, "What's the row?" The casualness of the question must have disarmed the Lieutenant-Colonel, because he started to laugh, and after a long conference finally permitted the American car to go through. After the order was given, the lorries containing the soldiers were taken out through the crowd, amid the boosing of the people, and the car flying the American and Sinn Fein flags entered through the passage, and the reception was held at the Mansion House.

Q. Before this the Mansion House had been raided by the troops?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the purpose of that raid, as you were told?

A. The purpose was to find Michael Collins, minister of finance

of the Irish Republic, and Robert Barton, member of the Irish Parliament.

Q. You were acquainted with Robert Barton's sister, were you not? You had met her?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you meet Robert Barton also?

A. Yes, I met him.

Q. Is he a Protestant?

A. Yes, he is a Protestant.

Q. Was he a British officer?

A. He was a British officer.

Q. And reputed to be a very wealthy man?

A. Yes, he has a beautiful home at Glengariff.

Q. And he was one of the members of the Sinn Fein Parliament elected in the 1918 elections?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you learn anything of the circumstances of the raid? Was there a raid made on the private apartments of the Lord Mayor?

A. I heard that the raid was rather thoroughly conducted in the Lord Mayor's house. Soldiers even penetrated to the bedroom of the wife of the Lord Mayor and searched there. But they were not successful in finding either Michael Collins or Robert Barton. However, both of these turned up at the reception later.

Q. Had there been any acts on the part of the Irish Republic as the moving cause of this raid? Had any policeman been shot or any soldier been shot?

A. No.

Q. They were simply out to arrest these two leaders of the Republican government?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they also leaders of the Republican army?

A. Yes.

Q. But Michael Collins at that time was not a leader of the army. He was minister of finance, was he not?

A. He was minister of finance and captain in the Volunteer army.

Q. Do you know whether Robert Barton has since been arrested?

A. Yes, I believe that he has, and was sentenced to two or three years' imprisonment. I do not know as to that.

CALIBER OF IRISH REPUBLICAN LEADERS

Q. You met a number of the leaders of the Republican movement in Ireland?

A. Yes, I think I met almost all of them.

Q. What type of men were they?

A. They were extremely cool-headed and intelligent. The crowd of Sinn Fein leaders that I met at George Russell's—Æ.'s—house in Dublin were, I think, the most brilliant crowd of people that I have met in my life, and as a newspaper person I have mixed in at a good many gatherings.

NO RELIGIOUS BASIS FOR PRESENT TROUBLE

Q. Were they all Catholics?

A. No. Æ—George Russell—is an Ulster man, and Arthur Griffith is a Protestant, and a good many others were Protestants.

Q. Did you form any conclusions through your talking and living among the people as to the religious phase of conditions in Ireland? Is there a religious basis for the present trouble?

A. No, I think that the religious feeling has been artificially worked up in Ulster. But I think that on account of the unifying influence of the labor people in Ulster that this religious feeling is rapidly dying down.

Q. What did you find as to the attitude of the whole people?

Chairman Howe: I wonder if I could develop this religious question a little further. Did I understand you to say that in your opinion the religious feeling had been artificially created?

A. Yes.

Q. And does not exist among the common people generally?

A. I do not say that it doesn't exist in Ulster, but that it is rapidly dying down.

Q. Even in Ulster?

A. Yes.

Q. How about the rest of the country?

A. Well, I think with George Russell that there is not a feeling of religious intolerance in the south of Ireland at all.

Q. Against Protestants?

A. No.

Q. As far as you saw, they live peacefully with one another?

A. Yes.

Q. There are no rows among them?

A. No.

Q. Do they visit with one another and trade with one another?

A. Yes, certainly.

Q. Now, compare it with this country. Is there any more religious intolerance than there is in this country?

A. I think not. I think that in some of the southern towns of my own state there is more religious intolerance than there is in Ireland.

Q. Does it enter into the elections?

A. No, not as far as I know.

Q. Does it enter into the school question?

A. Yes, it does in Ulster. In Belfast there is a question concerning the support of the schools; and it is rather difficult to go into the whole school topic to explain it, although I can if you want me to. But it is a matter of support. The Protestants feel that there is not a sufficient amount of money to be had for their schools. There are fifteen thousand children in Belfast without school accommodations. The arrangement for the money for the schools is that some person so disposed in Ireland will build a school and the Parliament grant will support it. In Belfast they want a different system. But the Catholics feel that their children have been fairly well cared for under the present system, and they do not want a change.

Q. There have been a number of people over in this country who have been speaking across the country on the Irish question, and have been insisting that there can be no home rule in Ireland or self-determination in Ireland because underlying everything else is the danger of Catholic domination. You know what their argument probably is. It has a good deal of currency. What about that statement? You would say that it is artificially created?

A. Yes. I spoke to Francis Joseph Bigger, who is a prominent lawyer in Belfast, on that matter. Mr. Bigger is a Protestant. He was speaking particularly of the organization of trade. I spoke of how much we heard of the religious feeling in Belfast, and he said it was mostly talk—that, for instance, you do not find Catholic people trading at a Catholic store or Protestant people trading at a Protestant store. They go where they find things the cheapest.

ULSTER RELIGIOUS ISSUE KEPT ALIVE BY MILLIONAIRE EMPLOYERS

Q. We have not been able to get any witnesses from Ulster, and since that seems to be one of the Irish issues, if you can throw any

more light on that, I would be very glad of it. Just how is this issue raised? Who keeps it alive, if it is not a real issue?

A. I spoke to labor people in Belfast. I spoke particularly to Dawson Gordon, who is one of the officials of the Textile Workers' Federation there.

Q. Mr. Basil Manly: Is he a Protestant?

A. Yes, he is a Protestant. And he told me that the religious issue, like the political issue, is kept alive by the big millionaires in Belfast; that while the workers were kept separated, they were not able to organize. He said, for instance, that before the war a labor organizer would go into a meeting that was held for the purposes of organization, and he would begin his speech. He would no sooner begin than the crowd would say, "Are you a Unionist?" or "Are you a Sinn Feiner?" And he would have to answer. And according to his answer, one-half of the people would leave the hall. The result was that before the war they had a textile organization of only about four hundred members. But during the war the high cost of living drove them to organize, and at the end of the war there was something like forty thousand members of this organization. And since Protestant and Catholic workmen have come together and organized themselves, they have doubled their wages. For spinners, for instance, the wages were three dollars a week; and by organization they have raised them to seven or seven and a half dollars a week. He said that labor meetings have taken place, some of them in Hibernian halls and some of them in Orange halls, without regard to religious differences. He even told of a labor parade in a small town outside of Belfast where one-half the band was Hibernian and the other half was Orange, and yet there was perfect harmony!

Q. Senator Norris: That means that one-half of them were Catholic and one-half of them Protestant?

A. Yes.

Q. In these meetings where they would ask the labor organizers if they were Unionists, that did not imply any religious difference, did it?

A. As a rule that Unionists are Protestants.

Q. You said that when someone spoke at these meetings called for organization purposes, they always asked the question whether they were Unionists, and, depending on their answer, about one-half of their audience would leave. Now, what I wanted to get at is whether there is any religious question involved in that.

A. Yes. I said that these people would ask from the floor, "Are

you a Sinn Feiner?" or "Are you a Unionist?" And they would also ask, "What is your religion?"

Q. But I want to find if, when they would ask, "Are you a Unionist?" and "Are you a Sinn Feiner?" there is any religious line involved in that question.

A. I think that the Unionist leaders before the war were pretty thoroughly Protestant.

Q. Well, how are they now?

A. In 1919, I think it was, that the International Labor Conference was held in Berne, in Switzerland, and at that conference Ulster labor representatives, very mainly Protestants, backed the rest of Irish labor in a demand for self-determination.

ULSTER LABOR ORGANIZATIONS A SOLVENT FOR POLITICAL PREJUDICES

Q. Now, as I understand you in regard to Ulster, the people seem to be divided somewhat on the religious issue, and that is entering into this controversy that is going on there now. Is that right?

A. It has been an issue. I think it is growing less of an issue all the time.

Q. Now, in what ways is it growing less? Do you mean by that that the question as to whether certain persons are Unionists or Sinn Feiners is decided upon the religious beliefs of the people, or is it in less degree that way now than it was before the war or during the war?

A. Yes, I think people are forgetting their religious prejudices through these labor organizations. When they get together they find they are not such terrible people after all.

Q. Is there any other place in Ireland besides Belfast where this religious issue is involved?

A. No, not that I know of.

Q. How are the people divided numerically?

A. They are almost half and half. In Ulster the Catholics are only a little less than the Protestants.

Q. Senator Walsh: You mean the whole province as distinguished from the city of Belfast? Excuse me, Senator.

A. Yes.

Q. Senator Norris: Now, what kind are Protestants?

A. The rich mill owners are almost all Protestant Unionists. Then there were a great many Protestant laborers. And then the mass of the Catholic people were laborers.

WHY ULSTER FACTORY OWNERS ARE UNIONISTS

Q. Now, is there any difference in policy on the part of Great Britain towards Ulster than towards the balance of Ireland? Why is it that the rich factory owners are Unionists?

A. Their industries have been protected by England.

Q. That is what I am trying to get at. How have they been protected?

A. I think they have been protected by permitting men like Carson to work on the religious prejudices of the people, so that the rich mill owners profit by the division of the people, especially the laboring people.

Q. Now, how do they profit? How does that result in a profit to the rich mill owners?

A. So long as the laborers are kept apart, the labor cost of the mill owners is very much less, because the laborers are not able to ask for higher wages. They have not the strength of organization.

Q. Then the organization of the laborers decreases the profits of the mill owners by getting higher wages?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. And as that organization proceeds, the religious issue disappears?

A. Yes, it is disappearing.

FUNDAMENTAL DIVISION NOT RELIGIOUS BUT ECONOMIC

Q. Senator Walsh: May I ask a few questions along that line? You have never known a unanimity of opinion upon any great question anywhere in the world?

A. No.

Q. And there is not in Ireland today on this question of a Republic?

A. No, but I think there is possibly the greatest unanimity there that has ever existed on a great issue in any country of the world.

Q. Looking towards independence?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, I want to get this foundation for a correct division of the forces in Ireland. Do I gather from your testimony, to sum it up, that the movement for a free, independent Ireland is led by the liberal-thinking, intellectual forces of Ireland, and that the opposition is led by the capitalistic class, supported by such people as they can influence along religious lines? Is that a summary of the whole situation? Tell us in your own words.

A. I think that that might be considered a summary of it.

Q. That is, that the mental, thinking forces, the intellectual class that you have spoken of as meeting, have rallied to their support the great mass of the people, approaching an overwhelming percentage, for independence and self-determination; and opposed to them is, first of all, the capitalistic class, plus such forces in the north of Ireland as they have been able to rally to their support by appeals along religious lines?

A. Yes, but I would like to add to that that in my opinion it would have been impossible for these brilliant young leaders to rally the forces in Ireland behind them unless the people were driven to revolt by the economic conditions that are pressing into them.

Q. Exactly. But that is one reason why they have been able to get the people behind them.

A. Yes.

Q. But the leaders are what we call in America the liberals and the intellectual class?

A. Yes; I don't know what you mean by "liberal," but they are an extremely intelligent class.

Q. I mean by liberals intelligent, forward-looking people who have no prejudices, who are trying to find sound and fundamental notions of life and government. Is that not true?

A. Yes, that is it.

Q. Did you find religious differences involved among the Republican leaders?

A. No, oh, no.

Q. Is there any thought of religious differences at all among those men and women?

A. No.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: I was not here at the beginning of your testimony. How long ago have you been in Ireland?

A. I was there from March 16, 1919, to the end of June, 1919.

Q. This year?

A. 1919.

ORGANIZATION OF IRISH LABOR

Q. In the south of Ireland, where the Catholics are in the great majority, perhaps ninety per cent., how did you find the workers organized where Catholics were in the majority? Did you find them generally organized, or were they about as poorly organized as they were in the north of Ireland?

A. I think that labor organization is proceeding very rapidly in Ireland. The Irish Transport and the General Workers' Unions have jumped tremendously, by the tens of thousands, in the last year or so.

Q. Yes. The point I want to get at is this: before you came from Ireland, did you find that in the south of Ireland there had been a labor movement there prior to your coming to Ireland; and, if so, what kind of labor movement was it? Did it have any strength? Did it amount to anything?

A. Before I came to Ireland?

Q. I mean the history of it. What did it amount to before the war began in Europe?

A. Nothing. I think that before the strike of 1913 in Dublin, labor was practically unorganized.

Q. Yes. They were practically unorganized?

A. Yes.

Q. At what part of Ireland was that?

A. The big strike was at Dublin.

Q. The religious issue did not seem to be raised in the south of Ireland?

A. No.

Q. And the Catholics and Protestants seemed to be able to agree and get into the same labor unions?

A. Yes.

Q. But in the north of Ireland, where the Protestants are in the overwhelming majority (perhaps not so overwhelming as the Catholics are in the south), there was religious difficulty?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, I am assuming that the Catholics in the south were organized prior to and before the northern workers. Is that true?

A. I think the shipyard workers in Belfast were pretty thoroughly organized first.

Q. Yes, I understand. But I mean the textile trades.

A. No, I don't think so.

WAGES AND STANDARDS OF LIVING

Q. In your investigation, did you find any difference between the wages in the south of Ireland and those in the north?

A. In the old established organizations like the shipbuilders they were getting pretty good wages. I forget just what they earned. The wages had increased in Dublin through the Dock Workers; and

through the Transport Workers they had during the war almost doubled.

Q. That is not the point I am trying to get at. In the north of Ireland, where the religious differences are the greatest, were the wages in that part of Ireland anywhere near as good or better than they were in the south of Ireland, where there was no apparent religious difference?

A. It is very hard to compare the wages in the north and south of Ireland, because there is so much factory work in the north. In the south the men are employed in farm labor and casual work; but in Belfast there is more factory work.

Q. Yes, yes. So that the textile industry seemed to be located mostly in the north of Ireland?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the standard of living there in the north of Ireland when you were there?

A. I think, in a way, it was worse than that in the south of Ireland, for this reason, that the people were so driven by factory work that on the streets as you would meet them they would appear very thin and underfed. Even the young girls in Belfast do not seem to have money enough to dress up, and would wear those black shawls over their heads.

Q. Did you find any particular prejudice against the word "labor union" among the people?

A. No, I did not.

Q. There did not seem to be any particular prejudice against that?

A. No.

IRISH LABOR FAVORS INDEPENDENCE

Q. And those that you did find organized in either the north or south of Ireland—you have interviewed a number of those people, I suppose?

A. Yes.

Q. And what position did those men and women that you did meet take on this question of the freedom of Ireland?

A. They were for self-determination.

Q. They were for independence, that means?

A. Yes. That has been shown by their action at the Berne Labor Conference.

Q. Yes, but resolutions adopted at conventions would not mean

as much to me as the sentiments you would gather by living among the people themselves.

A. Yes.

Q. You met the rank and file, I suppose.

A. Yes.

Q. Protestant men and women?

A. Yes.

Q. And you spoke to them about self-determination for Ireland?

A. Yes.

Q. And what did they say?

A. Dawson Gordon told me that the political question would absolutely have to be settled before the rise of the unions in Ulster could go on and, in his opinion, develop as they ought to. Labor therefore stands for the settling of the political question, and believes that only self-determination can settle the question.

Q. They are not afraid that the pope is going to run Ireland, then?

A. No.

Q. And they think that self-determination alone can settle the question?

A. Yes.

Q. Just one question. We have had other witnesses here and I have asked them the same question that I am asking you. From what witnesses we have had before us, it seems that the greatest religious differences have been in the north of Ireland, where the Protestants measure up pretty strong, or stronger than the Catholics. Now, in the south of Ireland, where the Catholics are in the majority, there does not seem to be much religious difference—so much so that Catholics are buried in a Protestant graveyard, and that boroughs having a Catholic majority elect Protestant leaders. Yet I understand that the living conditions in Belfast have been very horrible, wages have been very low, and girls working in water up to their ankles. And it seemed to me that these religious differences have been raised by employers to keep their employees from organizing and raising their standard of living and the like. Now, did you get that impression while you were there?

A. I did. I spoke about that before you came in.

THE SCHOOL DISPUTE IN ULSTER

Q. Commissioner Addams: I would like to ask a question about the public schools in Ireland. The buildings are not erected by public funds?

A. Partly. I have forgotten the exact arrangement, but it was something like this: a person who desired to erect a school could build it and equip it at his own expense, and then it was run by a parliamentary grant. I haven't thought or written about that question lately, but I could look it up, of course.

Q. The parish schools were already built, and the Catholic population did not wish to be taxed by the school boards because they had their parish schools, as I understand it. This educational issue is a strong issue in Ulster between Catholics and Protestants, is it not?

A. Yes.

Q. If we could gather the point of difference there, it might be illuminating. Or did you gather that material?

A. I have that material exactly in a pamphlet by the Vice-Regal Commission on Education. I have it here, and can leave it with the Commission.

Q. But the point is that the Catholic population already have their parish schools, and do not wish to be taxed for the maintenance of board schools. Is that it?

A. Not exactly. The schools, as I understand it, have been erected by individual benefactors or by the expense of the pastorate, Protestant or Catholic. And the Catholics in Ulster believe that they have been fairly well taken care of under this system, and that the arrangement in the grant would make an extra expense for them; and they believe that they would be paying, then, some of the expenses for other schools; and they believe that they are already sufficiently taxed.

Q. That is what I meant. It would be double taxation.

A. Yes.

Q. Senator Norris: But what about the Protestant schools there? Are they paid for out of public funds?

A. Well, the parliamentary grant goes to them as well as to the Catholic schools.

Q. That is what I wanted to get at. Is there any discrimination about the Catholics and the Protestants in the schools?

A. No, not that I have heard about. I don't think there is any legal discrimination.

Q. Is there any discrimination in administration?

A. No, not that I have heard of.

Q. Can Catholic children go to Protestant schools and Protestant children go to Catholic schools?

A. Yes, they can.

Q. Now, as I understand it, part of the money is paid by the public funds and part from the churches.

A. Yes.

Q. They both get support from public funds?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know how the public funds are divided? Is it in proportion to the number of population?

A. Yes, it is in proportion to the number of population.

Q. Is there any claim on the part of the Catholics that the Protestants are getting too much from the public funds already, or any feeling on the part of the Protestants that the Catholics are getting too much?

A. I have not heard anything about that, but the Catholics think that under the new arrangement they would be paying too much in taxes.

Q. What is that new arrangement?

A. It has been a long time since I have written anything on that, and the details have escaped me.

Q. Major Newman: But they think that under the new arrangement there would be a discrimination, and that the Catholics would be paying too much for their education?

A. That is what they believe.

Q. What opinion did you come to?

A. I don't remember forming any definite conclusion.

Q. Commissioner Addams: As I understand it, Miss Russell, the Protestants want public schools, while the Catholics are holding on to the idea of parish schools. The real difference is between two theories of education. It is not a matter of funds so much. The Catholics are objecting because they would be taxed for a public school system when they want their parish schools. Is that not it?

A. I did not hear the matter explained that way when I was there. But it is very possible.

Commissioner Addams: Of course, the financial question is implicit in it.

ECONOMIC CLEAVAGE UNDERLIES POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES

Q. Major Newman: Miss Russell, I want to ask you about the question of labor's attitude towards self-determination. Did you get any data on which you could form an opinion about the attitude of Protestant workers or labor leaders towards self-determination?

A. Protestant labor was for self-determination as far as I could make out from my conversations with Protestant labor leaders.

Q. You talked with Protestant labor leaders?

A. Yes.

Q. And Protestant labor leaders were for self-determination?

A. Yes. Dawson Gordon was for self-determination.

Q. You are speaking now of Ulster?

A. Yes.

Q. Chairman Howe: Is there underlying the Irish question, then, a line of economic cleavage that is responsible for the opposition to self-determination by one class and the support of it by another? Is there an economic issue there, then, as well as a political issue?

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. Do you think that is a dominant issue, then, or a subordinate issue? What influences the majority in the House of Lords and the large majority in the House of Commons? Is that economic, political, or religious?

A. Your first question was whether there was an economic cleavage in Ireland?

Q. Whether you could explain the Irish question on economic terms rather than on political terms?

A. Yes. And you also asked if it was subordinate to the political question?

Q. Yes. When Ireland was alien-owned by alien landlords, it was easy enough to understand that English landlords would oppose self-determination for Ireland because Ireland might then impair the value of their property, because Ireland could tax it or levy upon it, or do anything with it. But today I understand that between sixty and seventy per cent. of the land is owned by the Irish peasants. But the English landlords who are left might still fear self-determination because their estates would be broken up.

A. Yes.

Q. How about the commercial class—the banking class?

A. There are ninety-six stock banks in Ireland. I think that six out of nine are controlled in England.

Q. So that English bankers might oppose self-determination in the banking interests?

A. Yes.

Q. How about the big shipbuilders, or Harlan & Wolff—that is a Belfast firm, a Unionist firm, is it not?

A. I do not know.

Q. But the shipping interests are English, are they not, rather than Irish?

A. Yes.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST IRISH MERCHANTS AND FARMERS

Q. And the jobbers or wholesalers or speculators who control Irish products, are they Irishmen in Belfast or are they not?

A. They are mostly English or pro-English Irishmen, according to the statement made to me by Dennis MacCullough, who is a piano merchant in Belfast. He spoke of the difficulties that he had to encounter in his business because of the discrimination in his business against Irishmen.

Q. Because of the discrimination by whom?

A. He said, for instance, that he found it difficult to get store space from English landlords.

Q. Major Newman: Did he say anything about banking accommodations?

A. He did not say anything to me about that, but Professor Smith, of the University of Cork, told me that the Irish borrowers from the English-controlled Irish banks were charged one per cent. more interest than English borrowers from English banks. Aside from that—

Q. Just a moment before you leave that. Did he give any basis, any reason for that? Is it merely because they are Irish, or is it because of some actual economic basis?

A. He said, as I remember it, that on account of the conditions of the country, money was made dearer there because the risk in giving it out was greater.

Senator Norris: You were just finishing up when you were interrupted for something else.

The Witness: Yes, I was going to tell about the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, that spoke about the difficulty the farmers especially had in getting money. On that point, in a little pamphlet called "Crop Credit," the Society says: "It is rarely that the joint stock banks will lend the small sums that the farmers require at less than ten per cent. interest deducted beforehand. Then there is the cost of postage or traveling expense if the applicant does not live near a bank. Again, the bank does not lend to the farmer for a period that enables him to make a profit out of his loan; and a loan that is made to mature too soon often cripples the borrower rather than be of any assistance to him. But even then it is im-

possible to secure a loan in many cases, and the farmer is compelled to inquire elsewhere.”

To overcome that difficulty, the Society has established about a hundred cooperative banks in Ireland.

Mr. Basil Manly: Are there any other questions by the Commission?

A PARALLEL IN THE PHILIPPINES

Q. Chairman Howe: I would like to draw a parallel if I can. Last week there was a gentleman here who had been in the Philippines for a time. He said it was not possible to discuss independence for the Philippines in the clubs in the Philippines where Americans were—Americans who had interests there, who were buying and selling; that the hostility to Philippine independence sprang very largely from the Americans there who were exploiting the Philippines. He named various kinds of business and commercial interests there that were exploiting the Philippines. We have not been in the Philippines very long, but in that time the exploiting interests seem to have gained such power that they can oppose the independence of that country. At the same time, this same kind of interests might be back of the opposition to independence for Ireland. Have you any facts on that point?

SUPPRESSION OF IRISH INDUSTRY BY ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

A. I think that Irish industry has been suppressed there for the benefit of English industry, and during the war I have a specific case where industry was suppressed for the benefit of the box contractors in Liverpool. Would you like that case?

Senator Norris: Yes, give us that.

The Witness: I spoke to Edward Riordan, who is secretary of the Irish Industrial Development Association. It is an association of which the Earl of Carrick, Sir Nugent Everard, the Countess of Dessart, and other non-Sinn Feiners are executive members. Mr. Riordan said that for the first two years of the war Ireland was able to get no war supply contracts from England. Then in 1916 a very representative committee of all Ireland called upon Lloyd George, who was then minister of munitions, and Lloyd George said to them (I quote exactly from Mr. Riordan): “It is fair that Ireland, contributing as she does not only in money, but in flesh and blood, should have her fair share of expenditures.” After that

committee had called on Lloyd George, Ireland was given five small national plants. The insignificance of these can be seen from the fact that when the armistice was declared, there was a little over two thousand Irish persons working in them.

Some private contractors have been able to get contracts from England, and one of these was a box contractor. Mr. Riordan said that, unlike the English firms, the Irish firms received no money advances and no machinery, but took contracts at competitive prices, and had no guarantee that these contracts would be continued. When the box contracts had expired, the All Ireland Committee went to the chief of the Box Commission in London, and the minister told them that the Commission did not care whether they got any more boxes made in Ireland; that the box manufacturers in Liverpool had come to them and said that they wanted no more imported boxes; that they could make all the boxes that were necessary; that they wanted only timber for case boards, either dried or undried; and that they would then get the manufacture of all necessary boxes carried out in England. Mr. Riordan wrote an article on the subject, which is published in *Studies*, a Dublin magazine, for June, 1918. It contains that complete box-contract story.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: You say, in other words, that when Great Britain was in America buying supplies by the hundreds of millions of dollars worth, that she just gave contracts to Ireland enough to employ about two thousand people, which in America would not make a decent size village, even in war time? And therefore Ireland is not supposed to develop industrially?

A. Yes, that is it.

Q. Do you know anything about the mines in Ireland? To what extent are they developed?

A. Mr. Riordan spoke about three of the principal mines in Ireland. He said that until the war these mines did not even have railroad connections; that the ancient method of carting coal on donkey-carts from the mouth of the mines was still taking place in two of the mines. During the war, however, there was a spur built to the mines in Kilkenny.

Q. Have you any idea of how many men are employed in and about the mines in Ireland?

A. No, I have no idea.

Q. Well, have you any idea as to the deposits of coal in Ireland?

A. In 1881 there was an estimate made by Professor Hall which placed the net tonnage at one hundred eighty-one million tons, I believe. I could find the exact figures for you.

Q. Do you know anything about the grade of coal that they have in Ireland?

A. The grade of coal is not as good as that which is obtained in Wales, but it is still quite usable.

Q. So that your conception of the mining situation is that the mines of Ireland have not been developed, have not been scratched yet, have been simply left to lie undeveloped?

A. Yes.

Q. And when that is the situation, they are importing coal from America, when across the channel they have millions of tons of coal that could be had much more easily, but they do not take it. It seems, therefore, that there is a desire to prevent Ireland from developing as an industrial nation. Is that the conclusion that you come to?

A. Yes, that is the conclusion that I have come to.

Q. Senator Norris: Who owns those mines you spoke of?

A. I know that of those mines near Kilkenny, the Countess Dessart is one of the owners.

Q. Mr. Manly: You said she is not a Republican.

A. No.

Senator Walsh: Will you go on, Mr. Manly, and finish the testimony?

NON-APPLICATION OF MINIMUM WAGE LAW PERMITS WRETCHED WAGES

Q. Mr. Manly: Miss Russell, what are the facts about the minimum wage law? Is there a difference between its application in England and in Ireland, or does the minimum wage law apply to Ireland at all?

A. I would like to contrast the wages there. In Belfast the women who take embroidery, for instance, into their homes from the linen mills get, I was told by Mollie Donovan, one of the trades union organizers, from \$1.25 to \$1.50 a week by steady working. In 1915 the Ministry of Labor in Great Britain passed a rule, a statutory rule, Order No. 357, which said that a girl of eighteen working a six-day week and eight hours a day should be paid at east \$6.72 a week. There was a postscript to this rule which said that this rule shall apply to all parts of Great Britain but not to Ireland. I have that ruling order among the documents I have with me now.

"COW LOTS" CAUSE EMIGRATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND CHEAP LABOR

Q. You were up at Donegal, in the country, where the cooperatives have been developed, were you not?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the reason, as you learned it, for the development of the cooperatives in that section of the country?

A. In that particular section a great deal of emigration has taken place, on account of the change of the country from tillage to cattle-raising. And when a great many people were thrown out of jobs there, it was necessary for them to emigrate. And until the establishment of the cooperatives there, there were a great many Irish boys and girls who had to go either to America or migrate annually to the English and Scotch harvests. By the establishment of the cooperatives there, not only the cooperative store but the cooperative bank and especially the cooperative knitting mill, a great many of the young people were enabled to stay at home. During the war there were about four hundred girls employed in the cooperative knitting factory there.

Q. And these cooperative enterprises are owned by the people of that particular locality?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know, in round figures, about how many Irish boys and women do go over to England for the harvest season?

A. I was told by Secretary Campbell of the Ministry of Labor that there was an annual migration of about fifty thousand Irish boys and girls over to that harvest.

Q. Do you know how long that harvest season lasts?

A. No, I don't know.

Q. Do you know whether they go over for the entire growing and harvesting season, or whether it is just for a short season?

A. My opinion is that they go over for about six months of the year.

Q. And that is caused by the fact that in Ireland the country has become primarily a grazing and dairying country?

A. Yes.

Q. And that there is not land enough developed to keep them in Ireland; that these Irish boys and girls go over to help harvest England's crops because they cannot get work at home?

A. Yes.

Q. You have prepared notes, have you not, Miss Russell, on some of these questions?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you briefly give some of these points to the Commission?

A. Yes, I think I could, Mr. Manly. The first point was in regard to the change of the country from a tilled country to a grazing country. This, according to Arthur Griffith, who is the economist of the Sinn Fein movement—

Q. You met Arthur Griffith, did you not?

A. Yes, I did, Mr. Manly.

Q. What sort of man is he—a scholarly man?

A. Yes, he is a very scholarly, reserved, almost taciturn man.

Q. How old is he, would you judge?

A. He is in the forties, I would say.

Q. Did he impress you as being a man of ability?

A. Yes, sir; of very great ability.

Q. A man qualified, you would say, to act as an executive of one of our states?

A. Yes, I think that he is.

Q. He is fully of that caliber?

A. Yes, he is distinctly of the executive type.

Q. I just wanted to bring out your knowledge of him. Proceed, please.

A. Mr. Griffith said that at the meeting of the Irish Parliament, which was called for the American delegation, it was brought out that the principal method by which Irish industries had been suppressed during the nineteenth century was the changing of the country from a tillage country to a grazing country. He said that during the nineteenth century England wanted a cheap meat supply center, and there was not room enough on her island for grazing, so she made it more profitable for the large landowners of Ireland to raise cattle than crops. Accordingly the large landowners turned their entire estates into large cow lots. And as there was very little labor needed to herd cattle, and very little labor needed in side industries, because the cattle were and still are exported on the hoof, millions of people were thrown out of employment.

Q. And that is the fundamental reason for the bad living and working conditions that you found in Ireland?

A. Yes. Then the point of the suppression of industries during the war.

Mr. Manly: You touched on that. I think we might pass over that.

The Witness: Yes. And also the banking restrictions.

DEPOPULATION OF IRELAND WORSE THAN THAT OF OTHER SUPPRESSED NATIONS

The result of the suppression of industries is that the individual person in Ireland much choose between emigration and low wages in Ireland. While I was in Ireland, *Nationality*, a Sinn Fein paper which has since been suppressed, published census statistics which showed the depopulation of Ireland. They showed that from 1841 to 1911, the population of Ireland fell from 8,000,000 to 4,300,000. It also gave the decrease by counties, and some of the counties lost more than 60 per cent. of their population. In *Nationality* there was also a comparison of the population in other suppressed nations, none of which has suffered as has Ireland. There was a comparison with Prussian Poland. Seventy years ago Prussian Poland had only half of Ireland's population. Today it has three times the population.¹

STARVATION WAGES

I spoke of the low wages that it was necessary for women to take when they could get factory jobs. But I did not speak of the low wages that they were forced to take as domestics.

Q. What were the prevailing wages for domestics that you found over there?

A. Well, one night in a night refuge in Court Street I picked two possible advertisements from one of the newspapers and asked my companions at the table which one of them to take. One of them was for a general housework girl to live with the family at \$50 a year. The other ran: "Wanted—a strong, humble housework girl, to live out, \$1.50 a week."

Q. Senator Walsh: This was in 1919?

A. Yes, in 1919. The married women must earn money enough to make up the family budget. Lionel Smith-Gordon of Plunkett House made an investigation in 1917, an investigation which was published in pamphlet form and called "Starvation in Dublin." The pamphlet was not permitted to go out of the British Isles. In that pamphlet he said that the annual wage of an unorganized unskilled worker was about \$260 a year, and the wage of organized unskilled workers was about \$367. But he made the point that to keep an average family of five just going on food alone cost \$370. There is a deficit to make up even when work is not slack. And it is the women who meet that deficit.

¹ See index: Ireland, population.

Q. That means that the wives and daughters must go to work in order to keep the family above the starvation line?

A. Yes. For instance, when I was staying one night in the dockers' quarters with a widow in one of the typical one-room tenements near the River Liffey in Dublin, the sister-in-law of the widow came into the house early in the morning and told her that her man had been out of work for four days, and she wanted to know if the widow could keep the child out of the grate that day, because she had to go out washing. In the same building there was a twenty-year-old girl with a little blind baby, who said that her husband had not given her a farthing for a fortnight, and that she was getting food for the baby from her mother.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was this incident due to dissipation or was it due to economic conditions?

A. It was due to economic conditions. This was in the dockers' quarter, and conditions there are very bad.

Q. Is that a common situation?

A. Yes, it is. There is very little river traffic on the Liffey now. During the war there were many boats taking timber back and forth from Ireland over to England, so that the times were better for the dockers than they were after the war.

ONE-ROOM TENEMENTS AND A DIET OF BREAD AND TEA

Q. How many of these families live in these one-room quarters?

A. In Dublin there were twenty-five thousand families living in one-room tenements.

Q. Twenty-five thousand families?

A. Yes. The proportion of those in Dublin living more than two in a room is higher than that of any other city in the British Isles. It is more than twice the proportion in London. I have here a government report which says: "With regard to the number of people housed in one-room dwellings, Dublin heads the list with 33.9 per cent. compared to London with 13.4 per cent. Edinburgh comes next with 21.9 per cent. and Glasgow next with 20 per cent."

Q. Mr. Manly: I think that perhaps the twenty-five thousand families you mentioned is just a slip of the memory. Have you your notes there?

A. No. George Russell told me that.

Q. Chairman Howe: What is the population of Dublin?

A. About four hundred thousand.

Q. Commissioner Addams: How many people in an average family in Dublin?

A. I did not say, Miss Addams. But I said that the proportion of those living two or more to a room in Dublin was more than twice as much as the proportion living two or more to a room in London.

Commissioner Addams: Thank you.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do I understand you to tell me that it is not an uncommon condition for a family of mother and father and daughters and sons to live all in one room?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know that even in the island tribes of the South Sea Islands the boys and girls, when they reach majority, are, out of a sense of modesty, housed away from their parents?

A. No, I didn't know that.

Q. And yet you mean to tell me that in Dublin grown-up boys and girls sleep and live in that one room with their parents, and work out their lives there?

A. Yes. And yet the report that I will leave with the Commission shows that disease due to immorality is astonishingly low in Ireland.

Q. Is that due to their religious convictions?

A. Yes, perhaps.

Q. Commissioner Addams: The proportion of those living in one-room tenements in Glasgow is also very high, isn't it?

A. Yes, it is; but Dublin is worse than any other city in the British Isles, according to the figures given in this "Emergency Report on Housing Conditions in Dublin."

Chairman Howe: Well, suppose you just give that to the stenographer, Miss Russell.

Q. Senator Walsh: Would you want to make a comparison between living conditions in Irish cities—Dublin, Belfast, and Cork—with our cities here?

A. Well, the difference, I should say, is that there is more of hopefulness in an American city—more hope of work than there is in an Irish city.

Q. Mr. Manly: You investigated the packing-house district in Chicago, did you not, not so long ago—about 1918, did you not?

A. No. I was present at the stockyard hearings. But I made some budgets of the people in the Italian district and elsewhere in Chicago.

Q. Well, how did the conditions in the Italian district in Chi-

cago—the general living and housing conditions—compare with the conditions in Dublin and Cork?

A. Well, I didn't meet any families in my budget investigations that were living in one room.

Q. And that was a common condition, however, in Dublin?

A. Yes. And I did not meet any people who were living principally on bread and tea, and I did meet those in Dublin.

Q. Their sole diet was bread and tea?

A. Yes; all they had while I was staying in the dockers' quarter was bread and tea and jam. I think there is a very significant statement about the diet of the Irish people in a report of the charitable organization called the Saint Vincent de Paul in Dublin. In the pamphlet called "The Poor in Dublin," they have this sentence: "A widow who, after paying the rent of her room, has even a shilling a day to feed two or three or more children, is considered a doubtful case by the Society. Yet shilling a day will give the family only bread and tea and maybe a few potatoes. Possibly a little oleomargarine may be purchased, but under no circumstances can the family be said to have sufficient food."

Q. Mr. Manly: This means, if they are a doubtful case, that they will not get charitable relief?

A. Yes.

POVERTY OF THE PEASANTS

Q. Chairman Howe: Compare that with the conditions of the farmers in Ireland; the standard of living in the west of Ireland, where it is difficult to make a good return because of the lack of fertility of the soil.

A. The one-room cabin prevails throughout the poorer agricultural districts of western Ireland. In Sligo these cabins are made often of mud, sometimes with a barrel for a chimney. In Donegal, with which I am more familiar, the one-room cabin also prevails. Sometimes there is a room in the rear where there is a loom for the manufacture of tweed.

Q. That is the domestic industry there—the manufacture of tweed?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you say that is the situation of the typical Irish peasant?

A. Yes, I would say that the most of them are like that.

Q. It is true that two-thirds of Ireland has passed from landlordism to peasant ownership; and it is still as bad as that?

A. Yes. The peasant laborers sell their labor in what is called the hiring fair, at which cattle and horses are sold. These men stand in a pen and offer their services for as low as one hundred dollars a year. Their employers are also the landlords, and if they ask for a rise in wages, their employers can evict them. That happened while I was there.

Q. So that there has not been the improvement in rural conditions in Ireland that we have been led to believe following the Gladstone and the Wyndham Acts?

A. No. During the war there was a great increase in agricultural acreage and prosperity. The profits of the farmers did increase, as the bank returns show. But according to the statistics of Professor Smith, of Cork University, in Ireland this post-war prosperity would last only about two post-war years, because by that time England would have re-established her former agricultural trade relations.

Q. Mr. Manly: Are there any further points you want to make, Miss Russell?

EFFECT OF POVERTY ON HEALTH, VITALITY, SANITY, AND LITERACY

A. There was just the point on health, and that is all. When I was in Dublin I went to the lunacy department in Dublin Castle. I was given a great deal of material on lunacy in Ireland, and in one of the pamphlets there was a comment on the fact that the Irish in America contributed the highest proportion of foreign-born to American insane asylums, and there was a comment on this fact which ran: "As to why this should be, we can offer no reasoned explanation. But just as the Irish famine was, apart from its direct effects, responsible for so much physical and mental distress in the country, so it would seem not improbable that the unnutritious dietary of the majority of the population of the country, when acting over many generations, has acted on the nervous system, and in this way has developed those neuropathic and psychopathic tendencies which are the precursors of insanity."

In regard to tuberculosis, I was given a good deal of material by Sir William Thompson, Registrar for Ireland, who showed me that, according to the pre-war chart, Ireland stood among those countries of Europe which had the greatest amount of tuberculosis. She was fourth on the mortality list, being exceeded only by Austria, Hun-

gary, and Serbia. During the war her mortality was very high. It jumped from 9,387 per hundred thousand in 1913 to 9,680 in 1917.

The low vitality in Ireland results in a low birth rate. Contrary to what is generally expected, the birth rate in Ireland is not high. Compared with Scotland, for instance, the birth rate from 1907 to 1916 for Scotland in average number of babies to every thousand people was 29.5 per cent., while for Ireland it was 22.8 per cent.

Dublin has suffered a very alarming increase in death rate, which is noted in the newspaper material that I am leaving with the Commission with the rest of my material.

Poverty and low vitality also results in insanity. It also means illiteracy, for a good many children have to go to work rather than to school. H. C. Ferguson, head of the Charity Organization Society in Dublin, says that in Ireland 60 per cent. of the children below the age of fourteen and able to work are at work. In Scotland, which has virtually the same population as Ireland, there are only 37,500 children employed.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Do not they have the same child-labor laws in Ireland as in the United Kingdom?

A. No. There was an Irish Education Act passed in 1872, and this permits many exceptions. Education is not compulsory in Ireland if a child can be put to work.

A DAY'S MARAUDING BY BLACK-AND-TANS

Senator Walsh: I must suspend now, for I must leave, but before I go I would like to read into the record a letter which I have just received from Reverend George F. Marshall, of North Wallingford, Massachusetts:

"Dear Sir: A letter received from Ireland a few days ago is responsible for my corresponding with you now. The letter was written on November 22nd. The inclosed is part of the letter. I have made no change in punctuation or spelling. It came from no solicitation on my part. I know that the writer is an absolutely reliable person. He says that people going along the roads hear the order to halt. If you stand you will be beaten brutally. If you run, you will be shot. This means that a lot of Black-and-Tans scour the country roads on raiding parties. Their victims are chiefly people whom they meet or overtake on the roads.

"The following is from a letter written from Ireland dated November 22, 1920: 'The country is in an awful state at present. I will give you one day's work of the force that is known as the Black-and-Tans. On the week before last they left Tralee and came

by Ballyfinnane and beat everybody at the creamery most brutally; went on to Fieries and burned Champion Sullivan's hay shed, on to Farranfore and burned the hotel to the ground, then to Ballyhar and Currans and burned three farm houses and hay sheds. On their return burned Mike Kelleher's hay shed at Glanbane. Shot young Sughreeil working at the railway. Shot every donkey they met dead, and carried off all the fowl they met and Katy Lynch's five geese. Went on to Farmers Bridge and at the old school took young Hoffman out of his car and shot him dead on the road. That is one day's work. Since then there is two shot in Ballymacelligott and several wounded. On yesterday the military fired on some youngsters at the old castle, wounding Thom Price's son and young Sullivan of the Railway Gates.' "

Commissioner Walsh: I submit the letter for whatever weight the Commission may wish to give this evidence. I have similar letters sent to me which I do not happen to have with me at this moment.

SENTIMENT FOR REPUBLIC ALMOST UNIVERSAL

Q. I have one question that some present have wanted to have asked. I expect it might better be asked from some responsible Irish leader, but I am sure we would be glad to have your views. By self-determination what is meant, an Irish Republic and nothing else, or a greater degree than at present of self-government in Ireland?

A. By self-determination they mean the right of the people to declare what form of government they want.

Q. As a matter of fact, is the sentiment which you discovered in your investigations in Ireland for a Republic or for a greater measure of home rule?

A. For a republic, I would say.

Q. Chairman Howe: How universal is that?

A. It is almost universal.

Q. Is the present political line-up in Ireland confined almost entirely to the forces for the Republic and the forces for the present condition of union with England? That is, has the party which we once knew as the Home Rule Party been obliterated from the scene, and the forces we have now are on the one hand, the Republicans, and on the other the Unionists—that is, those who still adhere to the union with England?

A. Yes. I knew of one man who belonged to the old Redmond Party who was going to a meeting; and he said he didn't know why he was going, because it was the only party in Ireland that had no power at all.

ENGLAND'S OPPOSITION TO IRISH INDEPENDENCE PRIMARILY DUE TO ECONOMIC MOTIVES

Q. Senator Walsh: Dr. Howe asked you a very interesting question a few moments ago. That is as to what predominated in the minds of the public men of England, the political, economic, or religious argument against Irish independence. I don't want to ask too pertinent a question, but is it not a fact that the economic argument is the dominant one, and the political and religious arguments are used to bolster up, to prevent any change?

A. I think the political is dominant before the public.

Q. I know; but what is the reason that the political leaders of England are opposed to a Republic. They say they are opposed to the independence of Ireland, and then you ask them why, and they bolster up their arguments by economic and religious facts.

A. I think the real reason is chiefly economic.

Q. I don't think you get my inquiry, do you?

A. Yes, I think I understand it. I think the objection to giving Ireland her independence is primarily economic.

Q. Chairman Howe: And in economic you would include all the questions about the rights and wrongs of protecting England's army and navy?

A. Yes, and the sources of her food supply.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Yes, but political considerations like the breaking up of the Empire, and that Ireland would be used for a military base, come in, do they not?

A. Yes, they come in. That is part of the question. But I think that the gentleman who asked the question asked for my opinion, and my opinion is that the economic consideration is fundamental.

Q. Mr. Manly: Is not the question of the breaking up of the Empire—has not that question an economic phase? Is not there an economic interest on the part of Great Britain in the preservation of the Empire?

A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Addams: And there is also what is called the glory side.

A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: After all, the political issues, such as a military base, and all the subjects which are interrelated with each other, would come back to the economic issue.

A. Yes.

Q. I think you would find the economic foundation responsible for the question.

A. Yes.

EXPLOITATION OF CHILD LABOR

Q. Now, I would like to ask another question. You saw the children working in Ireland. I would like to know, have you any idea how young some of those children are who are exploited there?

A. I knew a girl who belonged to the National University in Ireland, who was interested in a club for these children in Dublin, who told me of a little news girl who was six years old who attended the club.

Q. She only worked as a news girl?

A. Yes. Now, in parts of Ireland the children go to these hiring fairs and sell their services too. They go as young as nine years old. I know of one person who went when he was nine years old to a hiring fair and was employed for three months at \$15.

Q. \$15 a month?

A. No, \$15 for the three months.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Was he allowed to do so because his mother was a widow? That would be an exception to the child-labor law.

A. This was under the Irish Educational Act, that permits a child who is two miles away from a school not to attend school. But he can work.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: How many hours are they required to attend school?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do they work at night?

A. I do not know.

SCANT PROSPERITY AMONG FARMERS AND TENANTS

Q. Another question about these farms, describing how they live in their cottages. As a rule, what is the acreage of these farms? Are they large farms and these men tenants on them, or are they small farms?

A. You mean the farm laborers?

Q. I am speaking of those people who lived in those one-room cottages. How much ground do they till?

A. They were tenants around Donegal.

Q. They were working for someone who owned the farm land?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have any experience with the independent farmer who owned his own land and his own home and tilled his own soil?

A. Well, a great many of those are not wholly independent yet. They are paying on their farms.

Q. Their land is covered with a mortgage?

A. Yes. Of course, as I said, they were prosperous during the war years.

Q. Mr. Manly: Relatively prosperous?

A. Yes. There was a big demand for agricultural products during the war, and then they were relatively prosperous. But as I said a little while ago, this prosperity was due to die, according to Professor Smith, Professor of Economics at Cork University—this prosperity was due to die in about two years.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Do you know anything about the fertility of the soil in Ireland?

A. It varies with the sections. The northwest is a very stony country. Huge holdings sell for a few dollars. In one of Lionel Smith-Gordon's books he tells of a large holding in Donegal that sold for \$10.

Q. Would not that land be good for grazing purposes?

A. No. The scrawny cattle you see there would answer that. The soil there has to be hand spaded on account of the boulders in the soil. And it is so unfertile that it is necessary for the farmers to drag the seaweed, the kelp from the ocean, when the tide is out, and put it in these big rush baskets, and put this kelp in the furrows of the soil there. They either do that or have to go to the expense of buying artificial fertilizer.

Q. That is only true of certain sections of Ireland?

A. It is true in the northwest. It is true in Sligo.

Q. Chairman Howe: How about the Galway district? Is that the same there?

A. Yes, largely.

Q. Are these home-owning farmers Republicans too?

A. Yes, from the election returns they must be.

Chairman Howe: Mr. Manly, are you through? Are there any other questions you wish to ask, Miss Addams?

Commissioner Addams: No.

A WEALTHY PROTESTANT SINN FEINER

Q. Commissioner Maurer: One thing more about this Mr. Barton you spoke of. What was his position over there?

A. He was a Protestant landowner there, and had a large estate near Glengariff.

Q. Did I understand you to say that he held some military position?

A. Yes, he was in the British army.

Q. In the British army?

A. Yes.

Q. And what is his position in the Republic?

A. He is a member of the Irish Parliament.

Q. A member of the Irish Parliament?

A. Yes.

Q. Elected by whom?

A. Elected by the Sinn Feiners.

Q. He is a Protestant?

A. Yes.

Q. Elected by the Sinn Feiners. Naturally he must be for the Republic then?

A. Yes.

LITTLE CRIME IN IRELAND

Q. Chairman Howe: Miss Russell, you have quite obviously been investigating economic and social conditions there. Did you make any investigations into crime and vice in Ireland?

A. I was in Limerick when they had the big strike in the spring of 1919. At night the city was in complete darkness on account of the striking of even the people who were connected with the manufacture of light. And the force of constables changed from six hundred constables who were employed during the day to the night watch. I think Limerick is the only city in the British Isles which retains the old custom of the night watch. And I was told by a journalist in Limerick that there were only sixty members of this night watch who took the place of these six hundred constables during the day. When the courts were held there was no extra case of crime listed from Limerick during that period. Ordinarily with a city in darkness, the people excited, and hungry from strike fare, you would think there would be an increase in petty crime. But the records do not show it.

Q. Chairman Howe: Some of the Royal Irish Constabulary who were on the witness stand last week said that on their details through-

out Ireland they had never had any murder cases come under their notice, or arson, burglary, or any of the major crimes. The most they had come under their attention in years of service had been petty misdemeanors and brawls. They gave the Commission the impression that there was little crime in Ireland—very little crime. Did your investigation cover that matter? Have you any statistics?

A. No, I haven't any statistics on the subject. I know that the Countess of Aberdeen, in a magazine called *The Child*, in an article published in 1911, told of the social conditions in Dublin and the great stress that people were under for just the means of existence. And she said that it was remarkable that there was very little crime to get what the people need, and that there ought to be a greater stimulus among philanthropic people to give to these people than there had been evidence of.

Q. Commissioner Addams: You mean that under starvation pressure, there still had been very little crime?

A. Under starvation pressure, exactly.

Q. Mr. Manly: You lived for a time among the slums of Dublin, and also were around among the people in all hours of the day and night in other sections?

A. Yes.

Q. How did the general condition of the streets compare with the condition of the streets in New York, Chicago, and other American cities during the same hours of the day and night? Did you feel safe there?

A. I felt perfectly safe. I walked from the telegraph office in Limerick at two o'clock in the morning through perfectly black streets to my hotel. I inquired the direction several times, and was finally assisted to my hotel by a member of the Black Watch. But there was no interference with my progress at all.

Q. Was there at any time while you were in Ireland any interference or any personal assault or any pickpockets at all, in your experience?

A. No. I only had one unpleasant experience while I was in Ireland. It was about three o'clock in the morning in a railroad station; but that was all.

Q. What station was that?

A. At Galway.

Q. Chairman Howe: Have you any material on the cooperative movement, on cooperative dairies and creameries, that you could submit to the Commission?

A. Yes, I have, Mr. Howe. You mean with me?

Chairman Howe: Yes.

The Witness: I have the pamphlet on cooperation with me, which I can give to the Commission, and you are quite welcome to it.

Q. The Secretary has your address, has he not?

A. Yes.

Q. Is there anything further that you want to add, Miss Russell?

A. No, Mr. Howe.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF HON. LAURENCE GINNELL, T. D.

Chairman Howe: We will adjourn, then, until two o'clock this afternoon, when Mr. Ginnell will testify. I shall state what I know of him from memory. Also Miss Addams—Miss Addams, you state what you know about him.

Commissioner Addams: Mr. Ginnell, you were a member of Parliament for a number of years.

Mr. Laurence Ginnell: For eleven years, until I resigned in 1918.

Chairman Howe: Then you were elected?

Mr. Ginnell: Yes, I was elected.

Chairman Howe: So that you are a member of the Irish Parliament?

Mr. Ginnell: Yes, I am a member of the Irish Parliament and the Irish Cabinet. I am a member of the Irish Parliament and the English Parliament.

Chairman Howe: At two o'clock, Mr. Ginnell. Or would you like to proceed now, Mr. Ginnell?

Mr. Ginnell: I am afraid I have a bigger task in front of me than I thought when I left Chicago.

Chairman Howe: Would you like to come on now, Mr. Ginnell?

Mr. Ginnell: It will be all right with me. Any time.

Chairman Howe: Very well. We will adjourn, then, until two o'clock.

(Adjournment 12:52 P. M.)

2:12 P. M.

Chairman Howe: The hearings will reconvene. The first witness is Mr. Laurence Ginnell of Chicago. I have asked Mr. Ginnell to make his own biographical statement. Make it as full as possible, Mr. Ginnell, because it is closely identified with recent Irish history. So if you will, suppress your modesty, Mr. Ginnell, and tell us about yourself.

Commissioner Addams: Will you not sit, Mr. Ginnell?

The Witness: I have to make a preliminary statement before I

give any evidence. I have no intention of making any personal biographical statement at all—not as a matter of disagreement. I only state the fact.

Secondly, I thought that this Commission arose from recent events in Ireland; that the kind of evidence which I forwarded to the Commission a while ago would hardly be considered by them worth while, having been cast in the shade by more recent events in Ireland of a much more dramatic character. It was only yesterday upon my arrival that I learned you wanted a background for present events. Then I set to work to make a background of the situation, which I will submit to you. It has cost me hard work since my arrival yesterday morning. I am going to submit it, and shall be glad if the Commission one and all will take the utmost liberty with me to talk over and ask me with reference to anything at all regarding Ireland. Because so far as my knowledge goes, it is quite on the surface and ready to be tapped. I do not know very much about statistics, because I have been too busy a man to give special attention to that branch of the subject. Consequently, if I am somewhat defective speaking for myself, I will try to make up for that by indisputable authorities on these matters.

WITNESS REFUSES TO TESTIFY IF EVIDENCE BE USED TO QUESTION STATUS OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

Before I can begin on any branch of the subject, I must make an allegation. Among the things I was told yesterday was—

Q. Chairman Howe: Mr. Ginnell, can we first get a little of the biography?

A. I cannot go into this thing unless I am allowed to state the conditions. The evidence I have to give you is at your disposal only on the condition that it is not to be made use of in any recommendations regarding Ireland. We in Ireland have settled our own government on the basis of your President's own statements. We have applied the right of self-determination to our own country. Indeed, I will not go behind the present status of the Republican Government in Ireland today. Indeed, I will not give any evidence whatever unless I am assured that no effort will be made to go behind the Irish Republican Government, the only constitutional government in Ireland today. And to attempt to discuss the right of Ireland to her independence is to attempt to re-establish the English Government where she has lost all power and respect

whatsoever. If I get the assurance that that is not your intention, then I will sit down and begin my evidence immediately.

Chairman Howe: Mr. Ginnell, this Commission is a Commission to ascertain facts as well as possible about conditions in Ireland. It is not a Commission with official authority, and up to date has not made any recommendations of any kind. And it is not a Commission that has any power beyond giving publicity to all the facts reported to it by responsible witnesses.

Mr. Ginnell: The point is whether the evidence I give today is to be used in any way to upset the present Republican Government in Ireland and re-establish the discredited English Government. Whether I begin or not depends on whether I get that assurance or not. If I am assured that my evidence will not be used to upset the present government and re-establish England—if I get that assurance, I begin. If I do not, I shut up.

Chairman Howe: You mean to recommend or suggest in our findings?

Mr. Ginnell: To recommend in any way. You see, I am a citizen of the Irish Government. It would be traitorous on my part to put any evidence before an American body if that evidence would be used to bargain with the enemy. The enemy is out to discredit us. He shall never be re-established. He shall never be re-established. I begin now if I get that assurance.

Chairman Howe: Our only purpose is to give publicity to the evidence as it is presented, and to put it into some logical form. Other than that the Commission has no definite purpose, as far as it has adopted a purpose.

Mr. Ginnell: This little hitch was caused by something that was said to me yesterday morning: Will we accept dominion home rule? I will not discuss any such offer.

Chairman Howe: We are not discussing dominion home rule.

Mr. Ginnell: Very well. I thank you, sir. I thank you.

Chairman Howe: You see, Mr. Ginnell, we are not discussing foreign government at all.

Mr. Ginnell: I was told something different yesterday—that this evidence might be used for negotiation. We will never negotiate, never, never, except as between nation and nation. That must be quite clear. I had better begin.

A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT ELEVEN YEARS

Q. Chairman Howe: Mr. Ginnell, you are an Irishman?

A. Yes.

Q. Of Irish birth?

A. Yes.

Q. What is your home?

A. County West Meath.

Q. You have been identified with Irish public life?

A. Always.

Q. How long have you been in this country?

A. Since the first of last July.

Q. Prior to that, what was your previous position in Ireland?

A. A prisoner was my occupation for several years, except for short instances.

Q. You were in the British Parliament?

A. Yes.

Q. When were you elected?

A. I have been for eleven years actually a member of the British Parliament; but for twenty years in London before that living in Westminster.

Q. And during that preceding period you were interested in or identified with political activities?

A. Always.

Q. What is your business or profession?

A. I am a barrister of the English bar and of the Irish bar. But I have been too active in political life to practice. I am a qualified member of both bars.

Q. And you have been in this country now for—

A. Four months—four and a half months.

Chairman Howe: Thank you very much, Mr. Ginnell. Now proceed.

REASONS FOR DISTRUSTING ENGLISH PARLIAMENT

The Witness: I always regarded the attendance of Irish representatives at Westminster as worse than futile in practice, and only awaited a general policy of withdrawal to withdraw myself. One member withdrawing could produce no effect, nor could two or three. Ten or twenty would. The time had not come. I had constant and conclusive reasons for distrusting all English parties in the House of Commons in all matters relating to Ireland. To give only a few instances. On one occasion—I think it was in 1907—a motion was under discussion calling upon the Government to allocate an adequate sum of money out of the excessive taxes drawn from Ireland for arterial drainage.

Q. Commissioner Addams: For what? For drainage?

A. For arterial drainage. That is, the deepening of some of the larger rivers, to give free escape to their waters which, dammed up by obstacles, were thrown back and flooded large tracts of otherwise fertile land, destroying crops before they could be gathered in, and in some instances driving people and their cattle from their homesteads, delaying cropping for the next season, and making the land less productive. The drainage of these submerged lands was an urgent work of a character which would pay directly for itself by the increased fertility of the soil. But it could not be done by local effort because of the great cost and because of the length of the rivers, passing through or by several counties and local districts, which only a national authority could bring into concurrence. This obvious duty the British Government never exercised because it did not want the work done, and because it did not want to spend Irish money on an Irish improvement. If I am asked, Can I give any proof that such was England's motive? I answer yes. On the occasion just mentioned in 1907, on a motion to allocate an adequate sum of money for this purpose, all the Irish members in the House of Commons except two salaried place-holders supported the motion—Orange and Green united supporting the motion; but it was ignominiously defeated by the Liberal government then in office with the help of Tory and Liberal representatives, showing that all British parties are allied in getting all they can and holding all they get. The money went for imperial purposes in various parts of the world, and the Irish people, Unionists as well as Nationalists, in Ulster as well as in Munster, Connaught, and Leinster, were left and are still left to the flooding of their farms and homes. To this day the Presbyterian farmers along the River Bann in Ulster, as well as the Catholic farmers along the Rivers Suck and Shannon, are victims of England's greed.

Q. Chairman Howe: How many Irish members were in the British Parliament?

A. One hundred one were supposed to be there, but the average attendance was about ninety.

Q. Out of six hundred?

A. Yes. All the Irish members on that day walked into the same lobby to have Irish money allocated for this purpose, and they were all beaten; showing that under the best conditions Ireland could have no hope from Westminster.

Another instance. In the autumn of 1915, knowing that fuel would be scarce and expensive as the war continued, I formed a powerful committee consisting mostly of political opponents in my

own constituency of West Meath to start a fuel industry on a large scale on the peat bogs there. The machinery for this purpose being manufactured only in Sweden, we were refused a permit to import it, and the project was effectively killed. Clearly the answer given by John Burns, a Cabinet minister, to Colonel Warburton on the same subject was still in force: "Ireland must be kept to agriculture." Coal was sold in West Meath for twenty-three shillings a ton. It is now and has been for several years sold in West Meath at three pounds a ton, showing what a large profit could be made out of this one industry on bog land which was unfit for any industry except this one, and this one would not be allowed because it would compete with English coal in Ireland.

It was not unknown that members of the House were actually canvassed by their respective party whips to hear specified speakers, and canvassed again to leave their seats to prevent other speakers being heard. Members of Congress and of the Senate will realize how unfair that was. On one occasion an English member, Mr. Joseph King, had the honesty to call the speaker's attention to the fact that he himself, in common with other members, had been canvassed to hear a statement from ministers and other leaders of parties, and also canvassed not to hear me speak on the same subject. The speaker professed an inability to act in such a situation when members of parties, acting as if with an electric button, rose and cleared out and left me addressing the chair alone; whereas a speaker must have forty members or he cannot proceed. I was standing there with papers in my hand and ready to speak, while a sand glass was being turned and running empty, measuring the time for which I was allowed to stand. I had to leave the House with my speech in my hand and the documents to support it in my pockets. The members of the House had been canvassed not to hear the Irish case presented.

BARBAROUS CHEERING OF COMMONS ON EXECUTION OF REPUBLICAN LEADERS

Again, on the third of May, 1916, all parties sprang to their feet and cheered the announcement of the prime minister that the leaders of the Easter Week rebellion had been executed. This was a direct contravention of the stipulation of the Hague Convention of 1907, Clause C, which England had signed, which stated that people which had sprung out into open rebellion should not be treated as criminals, but should be treated as prisoners of war. My cry of Huns!

Huns! on this occasion referred not so much to the execution as to the cheering of all parties on hearing of the execution.

Q. Chairman Howe: Tell us something more about that, Mr. Ginnell. Did these men who were executed take part in the Easter rebellion?

A. These men had taken part in the Easter Week rebellion. They were patriots, and they were my best friends, the best I ever knew.

Q. Did they surrender?

A. Yes, they surrendered, laid down their arms, and were prisoners in England's hands. And the fact that more than six hundred members in the House of Commons, in a legislative assembly in a civilized country, sprang to their feet, waving their handkerchiefs and their parliamentary papers like that (indicating waving with extended arms) and cheering, brought up to my mind Dante's description of hell, and I considered that they were demons and that they were Huns. I shouted, "Huns! Huns! Huns!" These men were the criminals and not the men who were shot at that time.

Q. Those men were leaders in the insurrection?

A. Yes, they were leaders in the insurrection.

Q. Just enumerate some of them.

A. The chief, Padraic Pearse, leader of the Irish schools. His brother, buried in quicklime because he was Padraic's brother. James Connolly had this distinction: he was shot through the legs and through the thigh, wholly unable to stand. When the time came for his execution, the military doctors told the English authorities that the man would be dead in three hours. They would not wait for the man to die in three hours. They wanted to have the satisfaction of shooting him. He was wheeled into the prison yard in a barrow, utterly unable to stand. Twenty bullets were put through him at close range, and he went into the quicklime like the rest.

Q. How many were executed?

A. Sixteen.

Q. Altogether?

A. No, two or three at a time.

Q. On different days?

A. Yes, on different days.

When Mr. Asquith announced that "Padraic Pearse, Thomas Clarke, Joseph MacDonagh, and John MacDermott were shot this morning," it was then the cheering occurred. And these men! Joseph MacDonagh, a poet. Thomas Clarke, a man, I believe, about seventy, the oldest man among them. John MacDermott, and a man named Eamon Kent. I forget their names now.

Q. Was there a trial?

A. There was a court-martial trial.

Q. Was it public or private?

A. Private, of course, private.

Q. Was there any statement made by the prime minister in Parliament other than that they were executed?

A. No. He read from a telegram. That was all.

Q. Those men were actively interested in the insurrection?

A. Oh, yes. Most of them had signed the proclamation of Irish independence, except young Willie Pearse, brother of Padraic Pearse. He was shot because he was his brother. And Plunkett, the son of Thomas Plunkett. He was a poet. They were artists.

REPEATED IMPRISONMENTS FOR PROTESTING IRISH WRONGS

My own first imprisonment was on Christmas eve, 1907, for advocating what is known as cattle driving. If you care to hear anything about cattle driving later on, it will be more in place than it would here. In 1916, while still a member of the British House of Commons, I was imprisoned in England for having succeeded in writing my name in Gaelic in gaining admission to Knutsford jail to visit some of the four hundred Irishmen detained there for trial. An order had been sent to all the prisons in which Irish prisoners were detained that I was not to be allowed to visit them, presumably because I was calling attention to their treatment in the House. And I was imprisoned because I was compelled by this order to sign my name in Gaelic, which the prison guard could not read, in order to gain admission to see these men.

In March, 1918, I was again arrested and sentenced to six months for trying to get an order to have the English order for compulsory tillage applied to all the large holdings as well as the small farms. This Compulsory Tillage Act was put in force by Orders in Council for the war. These Orders in Council when once put in force assume all the strength of an Act. The Order in Council issued in Ireland was in practice applied only to small farmers who had always been accustomed to till only a small portion of their lot. They had been compelled to till more, while large grazing tracts of land owned by men who did not reside on them at all—men who gave no employment, men who had only a herder and his dog for a tract perhaps of a thousand acres—those tracts were not touched by the Order. I went over the country advocating in counties especially where such tracts existed that the young men in the neigh-

borhood who lived on poor soil, bogs and barren hills, should go to these owners and offer to take the lands over and take them at their full value as found by an English Government land valuer, in accordance with the Land Purchase system then in operation. There was no injustice, but there was popular force. But no injustice in taking the land from a man who does not reside on it, but resides perhaps a hundred miles or more away—no injustice in taking the land from him and paying him the full value for it, in accordance with Government inspection. I advised these young men to take this land, and the money would be provided by the Government, as per the existing Land Purchase law. And if the owners refused, or if anything arose to prevent those men in getting the land on these equitable terms, to go in on the land and plow it up and make it useless for pasture. That advice was acted upon in several instances. The owners gave way, came to terms, and were very glad to take the money. In other instances the owner, not residing in Ireland at all but in England, refused; and then there was trouble. But whether trouble or not, for this offense I was sent to jail for six months.

Q. Chairman Howe: Was there a trial? You were indicted and tried?

A. Oh, yes; but I denied the right of the court to try me.

Q. Your parliamentary freedom did not protect you, then?

A. No, oh, no.

Q. What were you charged with?

A. I was charged with unlawful assembly, a very common charge in my case. On account of my age and my health, I was sent to the hospital part of the prison. But otherwise I was to be treated as a convict. That is, to get no visits, no books, no newspapers, or anything else from the outer world. And this was in direct violation of the agreement come to a few months before, after Thomas Ashe's tragic death, an agreement between the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Laurence O'Neill, the Bishop of Belfast, and the English Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Shortt. An agreement was come to by these three men that political prisoners should be allowed visits and allowed letters. An attempt was made to break that agreement in my case. I at once went on hunger strike, absolutely refusing to take food and drink from the prison authorities, in order to obtain the treatment that had been promised under the agreement. I was only four days on hunger strike when through the influence of the prison doctors I was given political treatment. Then I came off my strike.

Having spent six months in Mountjoy prison on that occasion,

my sentence expired at the end of October, 1918. The prison gate was opened only wide enough to allow my body to pass through. Immediately outside was the door end of a prison van, into which I was forced to walk. I could just see my wife and other friends, who had come to greet me, but I was not allowed near them. I was forced into the van and taken to Harbor Hill barracks for the evening, when I was taken to Reading jail in England without any charge or any reason being given me why I was being treated as a criminal. This did not surprise me, because while I was undergoing my imprisonment in Mountjoy, many Irishmen had been arrested and deported; and some who like myself were serving sentences of imprisonment were taken off to England immediately upon the conclusion of their sentences without any warrant or charge proffered against them. In Reading jail I found about thirty Irishmen who had been brought over without trial or charges of any sort. The alleged reason was a German plot which the English authorities said they had discovered in Ireland in May, 1918.

FORTY IMPRISONED IRISH LEADERS ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT

At that time the English authorities, Lord French and Ian MacPherson, were determined to crush the Irish people like "poisonous insects." Mark that in quotation marks—"poisonous insects." The outgoing officials denied that there was anything like a German plot, and no one was ever tried for any complicity in it. In my opinion the real motive for these imprisonments was to deprive the Irish people of any leadership or advisers for the forthcoming parliamentary elections, which were held in December, 1918. The object was to deprive the Irish people of their leaders and advisers in order that they, like sheep without a shepherd, might abandon the Republican cause. The result was different. Forty of those prisoners in England without trial were put up in Ireland as parliamentary candidates and all forty were returned with sweeping majorities. In a country of one hundred one parliamentary seats, we won seventy-three notwithstanding our imprisonment—a greater majority than any country, this or any other country just emerging from bondage, has ever had at the start.

SUFFERINGS OF IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS

During that winter we all suffered severely from cold and bad food. When the temperature was lowest, the little heat that we had been previously enjoying was cut off, so that the backs of my hands

and fingers became black and hard and cracked deeply, and finally the entire skin peeled off. That was very painful. Others suffered in other ways. The health of all was injured. Imprisonment in an English prison, or imprisonment in any prison ruled by England, is no joke. It is hard for people to realize it. In my first imprisonment ten years earlier, which I have mentioned, although I was allowed food and all of the comforts from outside, and was supplied with them, all that did not prevent the depressing effect of the prison on my whole system. The monotony of the place: nothing but white walls to look at; nobody to speak to; nobody to visit you; always alone. All this thing has a terribly depressing effect. I should have mentioned that in that imprisonment of 1907 I was imprisoned for six months without a trial in the ordinary sense. It is the usual course, and that is why I thought it scarcely worth mentioning. I advocated at that time cattle driving, which was mainly with reference to driving cattle off large unoccupied tracts of land so that they might be used. For the offense of cattle driving there is a civil remedy. The owner of the land or cattle may prosecute you or sue for trespass or damages. No owner ever sued me for such a cause, although I gave plenty of them occasion for doing so. In one particular estate I had dealt with, without my knowing it the estate was in chancery under the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery. The judge of that court, Judge Ross, still on the bench, did not summon me to a trial. I was never tried nor asked to attend for trial. He treated the matter as contempt of court, with which in Ireland a judge can deal at his discretion. His discretion was to sentence me to six months' imprisonment—in my absence and untried. My health broke down, and at the end of four months the prison doctors became alarmed that I was going to die. I was then released, and it took me six to eight months more to recover my normal health.

At the end of March, 1919, I and all the untried prisoners in England were released. On my release I went to a meeting of my constituency in Athlone to thank them for re-electing me in my absence in prison. Without notice or warning of any kind, the hall in which the meeting was to be held was occupied by the military. Not being able to enter the hall, we attempted to hold the meeting on the public square in the town. The military promptly came along with rifles and bayonets and scattered the meeting, running over poor old women and children who were unable to get out of their way with sufficient speed. For having attempted to address this meeting I was arrested at the railroad station in Dublin at the end of May, 1919. In the heat of the sun I was brought handcuffed

from Dublin to Mullingar, fifty miles, in a military lorry, surrounded by soldiers with rifles, and followed and preceded by similar lorries similarly filled. My face and hands were covered with dust, and I was exhausted by thirst. I was brought back to my own county, to the people who had elected me, handcuffed as a criminal, for attempting to thank them for having elected me. It was only through the personal kindness of a policeman that I was able to get a drink of milk for the day—the only thing I had until I got to Mountjoy prison the next morning. I was sentenced by an English-paid magistrate to four months for unlawful assembly.

On every prison door there is a card bearing the crime for which the person is sentenced. The card on my door stated that my crime was unlawful assembly, the unlawful assembly being the attempt to thank those who had elected me while I was in prison in England.

My health began to give way completely, although in comparison to what other political prisoners had suffered, I had nothing to complain of. The doctor had ordered me to have daily baths, and when I went into the bathroom one morning I found a low criminal who occupied the cell next to mine pouring the contents of his pot—the worst smelling thing I ever knew of—into my bath. I complained to the governor of the prison, but without any effect.

INDISCRIMINATE RAIDS AND ARRESTS

A week before my time was up my health broke down most seriously, and I was released on that account. I went to the Isles of Aran to recover my health, and took no part whatever in politics, being wholly unable to do so. In March, 1920, I returned to my house in Dublin, intending to stay there just a few days. One day I went to the National Library to get Zimmer's German book on "The Irish Element in Mediæval Culture," as harmless a book as anyone could imagine. That night at ten o'clock the house was surrounded by military, and after a thorough search lasting two hours, I was taken away to prison. By this time the curfew law was put into force, and night raids were of quite common occurrence. With all civilians barred off the streets by the curfew, the military and the police carried on their work of terrorizing the people. When a house was raided, all the males in the house were swept off to prison, whether they were connected with the Republican movement or not; so that it was not safe for the sons of the family to sleep at home nights, or even to sleep in the same house two nights in succession. I found one man in Mountjoy last March because his son, who was wanted, was not at home; so they put in

the father. Failing to find the man they want, they shoot his brother. This man was released, however, after a few days on account of his health, without prejudice to future committal, as the prison governor was instructed to inform him. I left behind me many men who had been swept up on night raids without any charge or trial or prospect of one. People have come to regard raids and arrests as the normal order of things.

Q. Senator Walsh: Of what date are you speaking now?

A. This year.

Q. What month?

A. March, last March.

DUBLIN IN A STATE OF MILITARY SIEGE

The streets were filled with fully armed soldiers marching about with fixed bayonets and bombs hanging at their belts. Often tanks, even in the daytime, rolled along. Aeroplanes hovered over the city of Dublin incessantly. There were soldiers at the railroad stations and at most of the bridges leading into the city. The people live in a state of military siege. All bowling societies, Gaelic clubs, and *Cumann na m'Ban*¹ meetings were being suppressed, but were being held in spite of the law, largely and mainly through the complete unanimity of the people. That is the foundation of the Republic of Ireland—the absolute unanimity of the people. A reward of ten thousand pounds, or about forty thousand dollars, was offered by the English government in every part of the city of Dublin, especially in the poor slums, for certain information and for certain men, dead or alive; and the reward was never claimed, such is the fidelity of the people. The reward was never claimed, although hundreds among those people knew where the men named could be found. The expression that a man was to be found “dead or alive” meant that he might be shot at sight, and that the reward would be given to the person who shot him and produced the body. That was the meaning of it. It was an incitement to murder. It was a license to kill.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS BY WILL OF EIGHTY-FOUR PER CENT. OF PEOPLE

As a result of the general parliamentary elections of December, 1918, the members elected met in Dublin instead of going to Lon-

¹ A women's relief organization similar to the Red Cross.

don. They met in Dublin, formed their own national assembly called Dail Eireann, repudiated England and all foreign rule, established themselves as the ruling power in Ireland, appointed ministers to take charge of the various essential departments for the reconstruction of our country, and duly elected their president, Mr. de Valera, as duly elected a president of a republic as ever sat in the White House at Washington. That is our position.

At the local government elections in May, 1920—last May—the duties of the police were discharged by soldiers of the Irish Republic. In many places public houses were closed by order of these soldiers to avoid any danger of disturbances. In one case to my own knowledge, schools both Protestant and Catholic were closed on the same day by order of these soldiers. The orders of these soldiers were cheerfully and implicitly obeyed by all classes in that local government election. At this election to local councils, town councils, and city corporations, we improved our position by having not merely 73 per cent. but 84 per cent. of the citizens of Ireland vote for candidates pledged to the support of the Republic. It may interest the Commission to hear that we completely broke the alleged barrier between the northeast corner of Ulster and the rest of Ireland at that election. You are told in this country that the northeast corner of Ireland is Ulster, and that Ulster is a solid block against independence for Ireland. Against that let me give you the case of a friend of mine, Louis Walsh, of the Ballycastle district in County Antrim, an Orange county, where a Catholic candidate would have had no chance at all of election if dependent on Catholic votes. His election was accomplished by the votes of Orangemen. He started out by declaring himself an Irish Republican without any qualifications. In all his speeches he so described himself. The election was held under a new system which England thought would be disastrous to the Republicans, the system of proportional representation. They thought we would be opposed to the representation of minorities. Consequently they passed in the British Parliament, where none of us were, the Proportional Representation Act, the main purpose of which was to secure the representation of minorities. We welcomed this because our desire always is and has been to heed the voice of all sections of the people. My friend Walsh of Ballycastle division of County Antrim became a candidate. All the people voted for five members. Ten candidates started. Walsh was one of them. He was the only Republican candidate. He was elected at the head of the poll. He got more votes than any other of the nine candidates in an Orange district. In his speech returning thanks to the electorate for having

ected him, he returned especial thanks to the Orangemen. Without their votes he could not have been elected.

ULSTER BARRIER MALICIOUSLY CREATED BY ENGLAND

I give that as an instance of the artificial barrier attempted to be put up by England between Ulster and the rest of Ireland. It is purely artificial and purely malicious. We want the Orangemen. We know that they will be one of the strongest elements in our new constitution. We hope for great things from that particular section of the country, on account of the advantages they have had in industry when we in the south have not been allowed to practice industry, as I have just informed the Commission. If English power were out of Ireland, the south and the west and the midlands would harmonize with the people of the north within twenty-four hours. There is no division between us but a factitious, artificial division kept up as a pretext for such riots as occur occasionally in Derry City and in Belfast under English influence.

That was the general condition of Ireland when I was leaving it last July. I left Ireland on the ninth of July. I have been told since I came to Washington that the Commission desired something of an historical background for the present situation in Ireland. What has it sprung out of? What is its source and origin? I recognize that that is a very important thing, although I had no knowledge of the desire for its presentation until I arrived yesterday. I have since then armed myself with what will give the Commission as much information as they may desire on that particular point.

IRELAND NEXT TO GREECE IN CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION

On account of the poor, hungry, and ignorant Irish peasants who have for generations come to this country; and the effect on the minds of Americans as to what sort of a race they must belong to be so backward, I claim the privilege of saying, and supporting the statement as briefly as possible, that our nation of Ireland is one with a grand historical past. I say with knowledge that no nation in Europe excepting Greece alone has done as much as our little country of Ireland has done for European civilization, and consequently for the civilization of this country. Augustine Thierry, a Frenchman, in his book, "The Norman Conquest," volume II,

pages 121, 122, says: "No country has furnished a greater number of missionaries for Christianity, from no other motive than pure zeal and an ardent desire of communicating to foreign nations the opinions and faith of their country. The Irish were great travelers, and always gained the hearts of those whom they visited by the extreme ease with which they conformed to their customs and way of life. This facility of manners was allied in them with an extreme love of national independence."

I shall give no authorities except non-Irish authorities as far as I know. Heinrich Zimmer, in his work, "The Irish Element in Mediæval Culture," says: "Dungal, Johannes Scotus, Clemens, Sedulius, and Moengal are representatives of a higher culture than was to be found on the Continent of their day. To a purely Christian training and a severely simple habit of mind they joined the highest theoretical attainments, based upon a thorough knowledge of the best standards of classical antiquity. These Irishmen had a high mission entrusted to them, and they faithfully accomplished their task."

EXTIRPATION OF IRISH PEOPLE THE CONTIN- UOUS ENGLISH POLICY SINCE HENRY VIII.

All of this refers to Ireland's relations with the Continent of Europe from the fifth to the tenth centuries. Then dark days came. King Henry VIII of England was the first English sovereign to plan and put into feasible operation a conquest of the whole of Ireland, and the substitution of English tenure for Irish tenure of land, and the substitution of English planters for the Irish people he had dispossessed and exterminated.

Then, of course, in English State Papers, 2, Volume III, page 329—is that too far back?

Chairman Howe: I was thinking that you might cite the places, and save your time. Or you could just leave the book with us.

The Witness: The point was that King Henry VIII was the first English king who initiated the extirpation of the Irish race from Ireland. The previous policy of military conquest had failed, and from Henry VIII's time on the continuous and consistent policy of England in Ireland has been nothing less than the gradual extirpation of the whole nation. It was suggested to Henry to take first from the people their corn, so that they and their cattle and beasts would have nothing on which to live, and then they could be easily done away with. As the State Papers say, "Thus to enterprize the whole extirpation and total destruction of all the Irishmen of the

land, it would be a marvelous sumptuous charge and great difficulty." Henry himself wrote, "Now at the beginning politic practice may do more good than exploit of war, till such time as the strength of the Irish enemies shall be enfeebled and diminished."

At a later period, in Elizabeth's time, Sir Henry Sydney, her deputy, made a tour of inspection of Ireland in 1567, and he reported to Queen Elizabeth: "Such horrible and lamentable spectacles are there to behold as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles; yea, the view of the bones and the skulls of dead subjects who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in troth hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold." The policy of extermination had been put in force there by the burning of corn in the fields, the slaughter or removal of the people's cattle, the destruction of their homes, and the slaying of the people themselves. This is the report of Sir Henry Sydney, deputy of Queen Elizabeth.

Q. Chairman Howe: Mr. Ginnell, don't you think it would suffice just to give us the references to these reports?

A. I should like to build up my case. What I want to prove, Mr. President, is what an English Chief Secretary for Ireland claims, that English policy in Ireland is a continuity. I want to establish that. Present English policy in Ireland is a continuity. It is not a mere vagary of our time. I have English authority here to establish that. It is a very important thing to establish.

In 1574 the Earl of Essex wrote home thus: "In the end it may be put to her—the Queen's—choice whether she will suffer this people to inhabit here for their rent, or extirpate them and plant other people in it. The force which shall bring about the one shall do the other; and it may be done without any show that such a thing is meant."

Hollinshed, an English historian, tells how this policy of extirpation was carried out: "As they went, they drove the whole country before them into the Ventrye, and by that means they preyed and took all the cattle in the country, to the number of eight thousand kine, besides horses, garrons, sheep, and goats; and all such people as they met they did without mercy put to the sword. By these means the whole country, having no cattle or kine left, they were driven to such extremities that for want of victuals they were either to die and perish for famine or die under the sword. By means of the continual persecuting of the rebels, who could have no breath nor rest to relieve themselves, but were always by one garrison or other hurt and pursued; and by reason that their cattle

were taken from them in great numbers and their harvest preyed upon, and the whole country spoiled and preyed, the poor people, who lived only upon their labors, and fed by their milch cows, were so distressed that they would follow after the goods which were taken from them and offer themselves, their wives and children rather to be slain by the army than to suffer the famine wherewith they were now pinched." That is from Hollinshed's history, volume VI, pages 33 and 427.

I would ask the Commission to reflect whether that is not in entire harmony with what a member of the Commission read today that he had received from Ireland,¹ showing that England's policy of the Black-and-Tans is a continuity.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Mr. Ginnell, we have had a great many manuscripts put in for our information, a great many that could not be read here. And if you could mark that book and put it in the report, we could take it in evidence. We would rather ask you questions, I suppose.

A. Madam, this is very important. It is absolutely essential to know what England's policy in Ireland has been in the past in order to understand what is going on there now. I have prepared this so that you will have the necessary background. All this results from what I heard upon my arrival yesterday.

Q. Chairman Howe: You have almost every page marked there, Mr. Ginnell.

A. Oh, no. It would be time well spent. I am here to make the best case I can before the American Commission, and with all respect—

Chairman Howe: We are not doubting that.

The Witness: No one has the material that I have here under my hand. I have my case under my hand, prepared to present to you. I have come here to make my case.

Commissioner Addams: We have had many documents put in.

The Witness: But there is not one of these documents here, madam.

Commissioner Addams: But we have done that, Mr. Ginnell, in a good many cases. You can leave your papers, and we shall consider them very carefully, just the same as if they were presented here.

The Witness: Under that understanding, I agree. The book is

¹ Letter read into the record by Senator Walsh, p. 455.

marked on the margin with the corners turned down.¹ I must ask leave to say this: We, a small nation, are in death grips with the most powerful and most unscrupulous empire in the world. That empire if allowed to be represented here would make an atrociously false case. I have evidence here to prove that England's policy in Ireland is the same today as it was a hundred years ago—a policy of extirpation. And I can prove that by the words of English statesmen and historians themselves. I would ask you, Mr. President, to admit that that is a strong position.

Chairman Howe: Suppose you summarize that as rapidly as you can.

Commissioner Addams: That will all go in, Mr. Ginnell; it will all go in.

The Witness: Thank you, madam, I will do that now. I want it on the record that I made an attempt to prove the correctness of the statement of the English Chief Secretary for Ireland that England's policy there is a continuity. That is what I am here for. It is no freak at the present time. It is a continuity—a deliberate policy of extirpation.

Commissioner Addams: That will go in the record, and in support of it you can submit this book, so that it is all there.

ALL IRISH FAMINES ARE ARTIFICIAL

The Witness: I accept it, madam. Evidence of the artificial famine and all will go in. All famines in Ireland are artificial.

Q. Chairman Howe: You might just elaborate that a little. You say that all famines in Ireland are artificial. What do you mean?

A. The Commission has before it evidence, on the one hand, that Ireland is a poor country, and on the other that Ireland is a rich country. Which is to be believed? I am here with very considerable knowledge to say that Ireland is potentially a rich country, but under foreign rule can never be rich. That is the whole answer. There is no puzzle at all in it. Ireland can never be rich under English rule. I am here now to answer any question that the Commission wishes to ask on that point. I wish the Commission to be thoroughly satisfied on that particular point, that Ireland is potentially a rich country, rich under her own rule, rich under her own resources.

¹ The witness submitted in evidence "The Irish Republic. Why?" a non-official statement prepared by him for submission to the Paris Peace Conference, prefaced by Ireland's official case for independence. New York, 1919, 139 pages.

ENGLAND'S CONTINUOUS SUPPRESSION OF IRISH INDUSTRIES

Q. We would like to hear you at length about that, Mr. Ginnell. Just explain what you mean by that.

A. What I mean by it is this. Naturally, in speaking of the resources of Ireland, I speak of the land first. The land is fertile, wonderfully fertile for such a latitude. The people, as soon as they become owners of their holdings, are wonderfully industrious, untiringly industrious. Without a future, as they have been in the past—without a future and outlet for their abilities, they become idle and descend to vices. With a future they gain courage, and they are apt for any form of industry that they are allowed to practice. They are not allowed to practice any form of industry under English rule.

Q. Explain what you mean by that. Give an instance of it.

A. I gave an instance of it in the particular industry in my own constituency.

Q. You mean to say that after the Irish begin to take advantage of the opportunities that are given to them under the Land Purchase Act or otherwise, that after they take advantage of it, the British Government makes it impossible to use it?

A. No, it does not apply to land. It applies to industry. An Irish child may grow up and develop a distinct taste for mechanics. When he grows up in Ireland, he has no field for exercising his peculiar talent. He must go away to England, Scotland, or America, where such work is appreciated. He is a loss to his own country.

Q. Explain why it cannot be done in Ireland.

A. Because industries will not be allowed in Ireland.

Q. Industries will not be allowed?

A. Industries will not be allowed.

Q. That is true today, as it was in earlier days?

A. True today, not so much of the laws of the present time, but as a continuation of the devices of past laws and continued administration of those laws.

Q. Give us some examples of today. Is that true of the fishing industry?

A. Yes, it is true of all industries in Ireland. As early as 1545, an act of 33 Henry VIII, chapter 16, prohibited the importation of Irish wool into England, but the first deliberate blow at the Irish woolen industry and trade in goods manufactured from wool was the English Act of 1660, 12 Charles II, chapter 4. This bill hit

the English branch of the Irish trade in manufactured wool, but it did not interfere with the foreign trade. Another Act of the same year, 12 Charles II, chapter 32, and an Act of 1662, 14 Charles II, chapter 18, made it a felony that was punishable by death to export wool from Ireland anywhere but to England, and confiscated the ship and cargo and goods and chattels of the master if wool were brought into England except in the raw state under a heavy duty. That is England's conception of Irish industry. She made it a felony punishable by death to carry on the wool trade with foreign nations, and permitted raw wool only to be brought into England under a prohibitive duty.

Q. Commissioner Addams: That was in 1662. And we suppose that since you have been in Parliament, you can give us recent examples out of your experiences.

A. Oh, no; that Act exists still in force. According to Lecky—and surely you will accept Lecky, an English historian who is in no wise partial to Ireland—we are not yet clear of the damage done to Ireland by the destruction of the woollen industry. I have been asked to give an instance. I will give you an instance. I will answer indirectly. In 1697 a violent agitation was fomented in the woollen centers of England, alleging decay of trade owing to the growth of the Irish woollen industry. As a result of this a bill was drafted and sent, in January, 1698, to the Colonial Parliament in Dublin for enactment. That body for once hesitated to pass, at England's dictation, a bill conceived and drafted for the express purpose of destroying Ireland's promising woollen industry. It had the negative courage to do nothing. Bearing in mind the circumstances of the time, one can estimate the vigor of the woollen industry of Ireland from the statement of a contemporary writer that it was giving employment to 12,000 Protestant families in Dublin and to 30,000 Protestant families in the rest of Ireland. From the political point of view, they were the only families worth considering. But a much larger number of Catholic families had taken up the industry as far as allowed, since it was a domestic and congenial industry. The Colonial Parliament at Dublin, dominated by England, was finally compelled to act, and passed late in 1698, by a small majority, the Act, 10 William III, chapter 5, Irish. It was a measure dictated by England in England's interest for the destruction of Ireland's industry and trade. It was followed the next year by an Act of the English Parliament, 10 and 11 William III, chapter 10, which prohibited perpetually the exportation from Ireland of all goods made of or mixed with wool, except with special license, and then only to England; and the English pro-

hibitory duties existing since 1660 were retained in full force. Thus every door was barred and bolted, and the people of Ireland were for commercial purposes marooned and imprisoned on their island as though they were lepers. Lecky says—Lecky is an accepted historian who was opposed to nationalism and all those American fads that are becoming so popular—

Q. Chairman Howe: I think we will accept all this historical data as valid. The Commission has a pretty thorough knowledge of England's embargoes on Ireland's trade and the attempt to destroy industry in Ireland during the preceding centuries.

A. This is precisely what you asked for, sir.

Q. I was thinking about something contemporary.

A. The cotton and the glass industries have been suppressed in the same way. Ireland has peculiar ingredients for the manufacture of fine glass, and factories have been established at Birr and other places, where for some time a great variety of glass was produced. The products of those factories was a very high-grade glass which was much in demand for exportation. As soon as the industry began to flourish, the English Parliament prohibited Ireland from exporting glass to any country whatever.

Q. You mean to say that if a person started a glass factory or a cotton factory today in Ireland—you mean to say that the British Parliament or the British Board of Trade would prevent it?

A. Yes, they would by sheer force overwhelm us. They would stifle us out. The British Board of Trade would immediately dump in Ireland bales and boxes and all goods necessary to stamp us out. We could not exist against it.

Q. You mean that Ireland should be able to protect herself against such competition by necessary tariffs?

A. Yes, certainly.

IMPRISONMENT OF IRISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Q. Commissioner Addams: Mr. Ginnell, how many members who were elected to the British Parliament and instead became members of the Irish Parliament are still free—still at large?

A. I do not know. People in Ireland do not know, because there are so many of them on the run. They cannot appear in public. A rough estimate would be—well, 73 seats were filled by Republicans. In four or five cases one man was elected from two seats. In our circumstances we cannot manage that. So that we really had 68 men for 73 seats. Of those 68, Pearse McCan, mem-

ber from East Tipperary, as fine a young man as I have ever seen, died in an English prison in March, 1919. Terence MacSwiney died after a seventy-four-day fast in an English prison. There are two gone. Roughly, perhaps twenty others are in prison, twenty are on the run from the police, and the remainder are trying to mind their business as well as they possibly can, either their own or their country's business.¹

Q. Chairman Howe: Did that Parliament ever sit in Dublin?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. For how many months? How many of its sessions did you attend?

A. I did not sit long, because I was not free long enough to sit. I attended five of their sessions, I think.

Q. Were those daily sessions?

A. They were daily sessions; but I regard the whole of a group of days as a session.

THE NEW IRELAND TO BE A COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

Q. What kind of legislation did they pass in those sessions?

A. It was constructive legislation. We could not take up anything like a code of laws. The only thing we could do was to adopt a code of justice as much in harmony as possible with the old Gaelic system, the old Brehon laws, which have prevailed in Ireland from before the dawn of history. We intend our Republic to be a cooperative commonwealth as much as possible. That will be in strict harmony with the old Brehon system.

Q. Chairman Howe: What do you mean by a cooperative commonwealth?

A. I mean that we look to a future Ireland where most of the branches of business will be carried on by a cooperative system. By that we hope to escape from the difficulties of countries in modern times with labor problems. We intend that the workers shall be to some extent owners of the institutions in which they work, and that their prosperity shall increase with the prosperity of the institution, participating in its prosperity and participating in its direction. Some of the workers are very intelligent men.

Q. That is along the line of industrial democracy?

A. Along the line of industrial democracy. In connection with that, I think I ought to mention to the Commission that I wrote a

¹ For exact figures on execution and imprisonment of Irish Members of Parliament, see p. 161.

book in 1894, published by Fisher-Unwin, on the Brehon laws. The Brehon laws began in prehistoric times. In old manuscripts which we have in vellum they have come down to us. They begin in languages which no living man is able to translate. The only way that a translation can be got is by the glosses written on the margins and the interlined lines. That is the only way that a translation can be given. They are very picturesque. The whole body of the Brehon laws have been translated by the British government, by a man who was professor of Sanskrit in Trinity College. Under such uncongenial hands, the laws have been mistranslated; but such as they are, they have been published in five volumes—in five volumes as large as that paper (indicating double letter sheet).

Q. Who conceived the idea of a cooperative commonwealth?

A. We did. I was about to tell you that that book of mine was reprinted by the Socialists, by a man in Glasgow for distribution among Socialists, so near was the old Irish system like Socialism.

Q. The Irish Parliament was dedicated to that form of government?

A. Not expressly, but all understood that that was what it would be. I myself have written a little forecast of what the Irish constitution will be, but I haven't it here with me.

Q. Commissioner Addams: You consider that the future state in Ireland will be along the lines of the present cooperative movement in Ireland?

COOPERATION WITHOUT INDEPENDENCE WILL NOT BENEFIT IRELAND

A. It will. You may be told by someone after me that the cooperative movement will be a solution for all their difficulties. But it cannot be done that way. We are told that laws enabling cooperative societies to be formed in Ireland would solve all of our problems. But we know better than that. We knew that to increase the farmer's income from the soil while the landlord was over him would only increase the wealth in the landlord's pockets. The only thing to do was to clear out the landlord and brush him away. And with the cooperative movement, to increase the wealth of the people by the cooperative movement while England is over us will only increase the amount of money that will flow into England's treasury. It will do us no good. That is my answer to cooperation alone. We look for great things from it in a free Ireland, but nothing in it for an Ireland ruled by strangers.

I do not know whether an English proclamation issued on the nineteenth of March, 1917, in the city of Bagdad, while the war was going on, would be of any interest to this Commission.

Chairman Howe: It seems a good many miles away, Mr. Ginnell.

The Witness: Very well. But I believe it would serve a place in the evidence. It is for the purpose of proving to the hilt, as every page of this proves (indicating book), England's hypocrisy.

Now, on a subject on which you, sir, have questioned me, Buck says, "Every nation has formed for itself some favorite point, which for it becomes the criterion of its happiness." So have we. We do not interfere with the English nation or any other nation from forming any point it pleases as the criterion of its happiness, while we are allowed to form the criterion of our own happiness.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Was the Home Rule Bill discussed during your membership in Parliament, Mr. Ginnell?

A. Yes, I was there during the whole of it, madam.

ENGLAND HAS FORFEITED RIGHT TO RULE IRELAND BY TYRRANIC ABUSE OF POWER

I have stated a good number of instances to you to prove that English policy in Ireland is a continuity, that its purpose is to destroy the Irish people. International law regards such abuse of power as tyranny, and France, England, Russia, and America have already in several cases, with universal approval, regarded such tyranny as a forfeiture by the offending state of any right to rule such subject nation, released the nation from such subjection, and established and maintained its independence. This book says: "In none of those instances, in no case of which there is record, has abuse of power been so bad or so long continued as in the treatment of Ireland by England, comprising as it does: (1) the policy of defamation of Irish character, still being pursued; (2) the policy of destruction of civilization in Ireland, still being pursued; (3) the policy of exterminating the Irish nation, still being pursued; (4) the policy of destruction and prevention of Irish industries and trade, still being pursued; (5) the policy of prevention of legitimate intercourse with other nations, still being pursued; (6) the policy of financial exhaustion of Ireland for England's purposes, still being pursued; (7) the policy of infidelity to public engagements with Ireland, still being pursued; (8) the policy of general victimization of Ireland, still being pursued; (9) the policy of infringing

the international convention of The Hague of 1907, still being pursued; and (10) the policy of dominating international commerce, still being pursued.”

IRELAND DEPRIVED OF OVER FOUR HUNDRED MILLION POUNDS IN TAXES

I was asked yesterday by the secretary of this Commission whether I could say anything on the financial exhaustion of Ireland in recent times. Mr. President, may I submit extracts from duly accredited authorities, commissioners appointed by the British government to examine the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland, showing in modern times—that is, since the Union, since the year 1800 down to the issuance of this report in 1896—what those relations were?

Q. Chairman Howe: Is this historical, Mr. Ginnell?

A. It is the report of the Financial Relations Commission appointed by Parliament in 1896.

Chairman Howe: That is a little far back. We should like to have you begin not longer ago than 1916.

The Witness: This Commission is considering the present conditions in Ireland. The conditions that exist in Ireland now are rooted in what has been happening over there for several centuries.

Chairman Howe: We know, Mr. Ginnell. But we are mainly interested in what is taking place over there now. To encumber our record with historical matters is not nearly so valuable to us as what is happening over there today.

The Witness: Then your secretary must have been in error when he conveyed that impression to me. I have here the material he asked for.

Chairman Howe: The current statistics in the Statesmen's Year Book will give us what is wanted about—

The Witness: Oh, no, no, no. The Statesmen's Year Book is doctored. You cannot get it there.

Chairman Howe: But we do not want to go back to 1800 or 1850.

The Witness: But this is reported in 1896. Some of the men on the Commission are alive still. Really, I must begin to suspect with very serious doubt whether you want the whole truth and nothing but the truth, or not.

Chairman Howe: You must know, Mr. Ginnell, we could spend years in going over the whole Irish question and going back to the beginning.

The Witness: Oh, no. I have the audacity to consider myself a very exceptional man before you. You have the opportunity to hear evidence that you have not got from anybody else. That is a very strong position. You may have other witnesses here who will represent the absolute contrary of this on their own authority, and it will go into the record. This is not ancient history. It continues still. These fifteen gentlemen, four of them Irish, the others Britons—these fifteen gentlemen found, to put it in a nutshell—they found that Ireland had been, since the Act of Union, overtaxed, as compared with England on England's own official reports—official statistics, the accuracy of which we deny—these gentlemen found that England had on her own statistics overtaxed Ireland as compared to England to the extent of over two and three-quarter million pounds a year. In 1915 Lord MacDonald, who is not a friend of the Republic, published a calculation made on the report made by these commissioners that to that date England had overtaxed Ireland to an amount of over four hundred million pounds. That has never been remedied. It is conclusive evidence of Ireland's financial ability to run her own government. I really must get up and go away if this evidence will not be permitted.

Chairman Howe: Go ahead, Mr. Ginnell, just as you have done now.

The Witness: Read, or what?

Chairman Howe: Just as you are now.

The Witness: I cannot do that. That would be only my *ipse dixit*. With the greatest respect, I want the evidence, which is not mine but England's evidence, on the record. And if that is not conceded, then I will have nothing left than to go.

Chairman Howe: Go ahead. We really would prefer that that be typed and put into the record without your reading it now. But if you prefer to put it in this way, go ahead.

The Witness: I would with pleasure have had it typed and given to the Commission if I had any idea you wanted such matter. I really do not know where to start. This Commission, let me say with the utmost respect—from what I have heard of it since its formation, let me say with the utmost respect that this Commission is at a crisis. You will have the truth about Ireland or you will not. It is not the first crisis that I have brought about elsewhere, in Westminster. If I get this evidence before you, then you may hear whom you please. If they can disturb a paragraph of this evidence, I will hang my head in shame. I am sure they cannot. How am I to know, unless you take the other half of this evidence, whether you have the facts before you. If I had known you wanted

it typed, I could have brought it that way. I worked all day yesterday to get it together for you.

Commissioner Addams: We are not refusing it, Mr. Ginnell. It is just a matter of dictating it tomorrow to a stenographer and handing it in.

The Witness: I am a man that has been broken down by almost continuous imprisonment. It does not want to be dictated. You have listened to evidence far less important.

Chairman Howe: Go ahead, Mr. Ginnell.

The Witness: The report of this Financial Commission states: "The Financial Relations Commission was appointed to inquire into the financial conditions between Great Britain and Ireland and their relative taxable capacities and to report." The very terms of this commission are an acknowledgment that Great Britain and Ireland are not one country, but two distinct countries, in spite of the Act of Union and the amalgamation of their treasuries. The Commission was appointed by royal warrant dated twenty-sixth of May, 1894, with the following Commissioners: Right Honorable Hugh C. E. Childers, Chairman; Lord Farrer, Lord Welby, Right Honorable O'Connor Don, an Irishman; Sir Robert G. C. Hamilton, representative of the English Treasury; Sir David Barbour, Honorable Edward Blake, a Canadian, but a member of Parliament for an Irish constituency; Bertram W. Currie, W. A. Hunter, M. P.; C. E. Martin, J. E. Redmond, M. P., an Irishman; and Thomas Sexton, M. P., an Irishman. To take the place of two deceased commissioners, there were appointed by further royal warrant dated twenty-second of June, 1894, Henry F. Slattery, an Irishman; G. W. Wolff, M. P. On the death of Mr. Childers, the Right Honorable O'Connor Don was appointed Chairman. The final report, page two, states: "In carrying out the inquiry, we have ascertained that there are certain questions upon which we are practically unanimous, and we think it expedient to set them out in this joint report. Our conclusions on these questions are as follows: (1) That Great Britain and Ireland must, for the purpose of this inquiry, be considered as separate entities. (2) That the Act of Union imposed upon Ireland a burden which, as events showed, she was unable to bear. (3) That the increase of taxation laid upon Ireland between 1853 and 1860 was not justified by the then existing circumstances. (4) That identity of rates of taxation does not necessarily involve equality of burden. (5) That whilst the actual tax revenue of Ireland is about one-eleventh that of Great Britain, the relative taxable capacity of Ireland is very much smaller, and is not estimated by any of us as exceeding one-twentieth."

All of these things continue to the present day. We did not get rid of them by this inquiry. It is going on, and continuing to go on. Following the united joint report, from which the foregoing extract is made, there are five other reports signed by different commissioners, and a draft report written by Mr. Childers before his death, in some respects the best report made. The report signed by O'Connor Don, chairman; J. E. Redmond, C. E. Martin, W. A. Hunter, and Gustav W. Wolff, says, on page three: "Previously to the Union, it was not obligatory upon Ireland to contribute anything to objects beyond her own shores." This report contains an extract from a report drawn up in 1805 by Sir Stafford Northcote, for many years Chancellor of the British Exchequer.

Chairman Howe: I think, Mr. Ginnell, you thoroughly misunderstand the purpose of this Commission. We do not have it in mind to make any suggestions regarding the government of Ireland. What this Commission has been hearing witnesses on is conditions in Ireland today—the murders, the killings, the destruction of towns, the destruction of creameries, the continuation of civil war; and we really did not come together for hearing a lot of data on finance.

The Witness: Then you will not admit it into the evidence?

Chairman Howe: That will be all regarded if you can dictate it to the stenographer, and we will consider it in making the report.

IRELAND FINANCIALLY ABLE TO SUPPORT AN INDEPENDENT STATE

The Witness: Mr. President, the question will arise, Are we able to support an independent state? I want to prove it by the fact that England has extracted from us and will extract from us more than would support several of the states of Europe. Is not that important?

Chairman Howe: Yes, it is important. But what we want to know are the things you have lived through.

The Witness: I have not witnessed an attack, because it did not occur while I was at large. I was not free to witness it. And then when I was released, my health was shattered. I am a man who has always led an active life, and but for this unjust treatment I would be an active, energetic man today. I want to do the most I can for my country, knowing the powers and the resources that are against us. I am here for the purpose of presenting the truth about Ireland, whether this Commission is or not. I am here for

that purpose, and it is extremely hard to suppress it and to make me a party to suppressing it.

Senator Walsh: Can it not be put in the record, Mr. Ginnell?

The Witness: Very well, then.

Commissioner Addams: I am afraid this is exhausting you physically.

The Witness: Oh, dear, no. I would work until I fell.

Commissioner Addams: We admire your spirit of perseverance.

The Witness: I want to say that it will be observed from all this that the Financial Relations Commission, in agreement with its name, deals only with money, and not with all the money relations, as it might have done, but exclusively with taxation. And in taxes alone England has robbed Ireland of four hundred million pounds in excessive taxation from the Act of Union down to 1914.

IRISH TRADE WIPED OFF THE SEAS BY ENGLAND

There are various other ways in which Ireland suffers atrociously: the loss of manhood driven to other lands; the revenue from her land, which has been estimated by competent authority at thirteen million pounds a year; and various other losses of that kind. This is not an academic matter for me. It is a matter of life and death for those who are dearer to me than life itself.

Q. Senator Walsh: Is all that written out?

A. It is written out. This here is in Pitman shorthand, if this gentleman here (indicating reporter) knows it. This Commission is really narrowing the scope of its inquiry. We lose enormously by the loss of our trade. We have been wiped off the seas by England. Ireland was once a rival of England on the seas. She has not a ship now. Pass along the Blacksod Bay, a bay sheltered by a huge island from the waves of the Atlantic, so deep and so capacious that it is able to hold the whole British navy on its bosom. There is not even a fishing boat on it. Go down to Galway, which was a great trading center with Spain and other countries, even in Queen Elizabeth's time. There is not a boat on it. I spent six months on the Aran Islands near Galway. I saw only two trading vessels going into Galway Bay. I saw war vessels there, English war vessels, although there is no one there to do any harm. Even in that sheltered place of Galway Bay there was not a single sail to be seen except England's men-of-war. That is an enormous loss to us. We of the Republican Government have made efforts to get boats for the fishermen to put the fishermen at work. And we are thwarted, and our boats are confiscated; and actually our money

lodged under private names in the banks is taken out by English soldiers—bank robbery in broad daylight by the English Government.

MUNSTER AND LEINSTER BANK ROBBED BY ENGLISH SOLDIERS

Q. Senator Walsh: What proof have you of that? Name us the bank, and the individuals that have had their money taken.

A. The Munster and Leinster Bank in Dublin.

Q. Who are the individuals?

A. I do not know the individuals. How would I know the individuals? I have been away from Ireland in English prisons, or in America.

Q. Where did you get your information?

A. From the public press. This occurred last August.

Q. You realize that we will have to make some findings of fact, not upon public press reports, but from what people who have personal knowledge can tell us.

A. Is there any doubt that the Munster and Leinster Bank was robbed by English soldiers? That is a notorious public fact. It happened after I came to this country.

Q. We have your statement that you got that information from the press.

A. Yes. But I know of another case of that kind, and I know the people involved.

Senator Walsh: I am not disputing the facts, but I am trying to get the facts. I want names and I want places and I want dates about these things from some reliable source. I get letters from Ireland almost every day telling of such happenings—of people searched coming out of church, and of animals killed along the country roads, and that sort of thing.

IRISH IMPORTERS COMPELLED TO PAY UNJUST PORT FEES

The Witness: I am reminded of an incident of my own personal knowledge. There is a big firm in Dublin, candle manufacturers. They get raw material from this country, or some place, on ships straight to Dublin. I do not suppose any difference was made in the treatment of their cargoes from the treatment given to cargoes of other firms. But this particular firm refused to pay one particular item. What item was that? It was a charge for port fees

in Liverpool, where the vessel had not been at all. They tested it out at law. They found that the whole power of England would compel the payment. Of all the many firms treated that way, they were the only ones who refused payment and sought justice in the courts. And they got only English justice.

Senator Walsh: I cannot imagine any evidence more important for this Commission than if somebody could give us the names of ten, fifteen, or twenty individuals who have had their bank accounts confiscated. The bald statement may be impressive. But it is very much more impressive on the American people to show when it happened, how it happened, and who had their bank accounts confiscated. If we are to impress the American people, we must possess facts—facts of eye witnesses that cannot be disputed, and not general statements. That is not criticism of your general statements, but I am trying to impress upon you that is what we want—facts, and facts from eye witnesses.

The Witness: It is very hard to get facts of that kind out of Ireland, because a letter containing those facts would not be allowed through. There is at least a large chance it would not. I have given you the Lawlor case, a firm of candle manufacturers on Ormond Quay, Dublin, charged for port duties at Liverpool on a vessel that had reached Dublin from America without going to Liverpool at all. That seems to me to be a matter of some importance.

I can also give you an instance of a smaller bank, a bank of which Mr. Kelley, a brother of Alderman Kelley of Dublin, was manager. That bank was entered by the military and all the books of the bank and some of the cash taken away. That, of course, is a case which occurred while I was free. But I consider the Munster and Leinster case of more importance because it was a very large bank.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Who were the beneficiaries of those charges for port duties?

A. The port authorities of Liverpool.

Q. Senator Walsh: Are they a public organization?

A. I do not know.

Chairman Howe: It is a trust organization, organized under special charter from Parliament, which governs the harbors and docks. It is just like a municipal organization, but it is separate.

COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF LAND THE FIRST NECESSARY REFORM

Q. Commissioner Maurer: May I ask you another question? Discussing the cooperatives a short time ago, to what extent would the development of your cooperative plans that you spoke of interfere with the private ownership of property?

A. There are large tracts of land in Ireland—there is sufficient land in Ireland to go around, but it is not available for the people. It will have to be taken over for the people. I think that reaches your question, does it not?

Q. May I just make a suggestion to make myself understood better? Is it the idea of your cooperation to develop along similar lines by which you developed the creameries?

A. Our idea is rather to bring as much land as possible under tillage by resident owners. There are in many of the counties of Ireland large tracts of land which are untenanted and unresidential—no owners reside there at all. One of our first works will be to break up those tracts and distribute them among working people on terms actually workable for people of that kind.

CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD FAILS TO DISTRIBUTE LAND TO PEOPLE

The Congested Districts Board was established by Act of Parliament in 1897. It was established for dealing with what was called the congested districts. Its area of operation was limited at first to the western part of the Province of Connaught. Subsequent Acts increased the scope of the Board, so at present the congested areas comprise all of Connaught and Munster and the whole western seaboard, because the western seaboard has always been a difficult problem. This Board was created for a temporary purpose, which was assumed and described to be completed within ten years—a purely temporary purpose, to solve the land question in the western counties where there was congestion in some districts—the poor districts—while there was good land untenanted in other districts. Its purpose was to slice up the land and put people upon it. That Board has been in existence, not for ten years, but for twenty-three years, and in the very most congested county, where its services were the most necessary, it has failed to act. If this will be relevant and agreeable to the Commission, I will just explain this. The County Mayo was like a running sore on the face of Ireland. All

the poor people were crowded onto gravelly, hilly, and barren land, and large tracts of good land without a resident on them.

Q. Senator Walsh: Unfertile land?

A. Unfertile land. I went down there in the autumn of 1917. I was invited down there because I have spent almost my whole life on the question of the land. All my people and my life and interests are centered there. I stopped at Westport town and drove out to a mountainous district to the southern part of County Mayo. I drove through plenty of good land without inhabitants. I got onto a bog road covered with heather, which not even cattle will eat—it is used for bedding only. I drove on for miles, and came on to the unfortunate village concerned. It was a village of fifty-two families up on a mountain side where nothing grew but heather and rushes. The people came down to meet me when they saw me coming. The landlord also came down with them—a quite unusual thing, for he was a poor man too. There was not a thing to be seen—not a thing growing that a beast could eat. There were a few sheep, a few asses, and a few goats. What was up in the cabins I do not know. The landlord, John O'Dowd, came up to me and asked me if I was going to attack him. I said no, I was not going to attack any man. I wanted only justice. He said, "I am willing to sell. There (pointing to the right) is a tract of good land purchased by the Congested Districts Board fifteen years ago for distribution, but it is held by the Board and let out to grazers and let out to pasture instead of distributed." On the right was Lord Luken's estate, and on the left was Lord Sligo's estate, bought up by this Board. The Board bought up this good land and would not distribute it. He did not know why. I found out afterwards why it was not distributed. He said, "I want to sell my land and get rid of it, for it is a terrible worry. Otherwise I must turn the people out and burn their houses." "Very well," I said, "we will see what the Board will do." I dictated a paper on the mountainside to the shorthand writer, a memorial to the district Board, a very respectful memorial but very strong in the facts, as I will admit. The landlord was the first to sign that memorial. It was signed by all the fifty-two tenants, one by one. Was not that a strong memorial? It called on the Board for distribution of the land bought up and held by the Board for fifteen years, and still held by the Board. I went back to Sligo and got copies of the memorial printed, and went back to Dublin the next day and met two officials of the Board. One was a towering bully named Henry Doran. He took up the attitude of a bully of abuse and insult. He used the language of the old landlord class of the worst type. Of course we had to get

rid of him. The other member of the Board was Mr. Micks, who stayed with me—a very pleasant man to speak with. But he said, “We cannot do what you want. The Government will not allow us. It will not give us cash for the purpose, although it is bound by Act of Parliament to do it.” So he politely told me that nothing would be done. Mr. Doran today is Sir Henry Doran and Mr. Micks is still Mr. Micks. That is the way a kindly attitude toward the people is rewarded. The population on the mountainside is still without land.

Q. Senator Walsh: What was the motive for non-action?

A. Mr. Meeks told me the Government refused to advance the necessary money.

Commissioner Maurer: What were they using the land for then—grazing purposes?

A. Yes, for grazing purposes.

Q. Whose cattle?

A. The owners of the cattle in all probability did not live in the same county.

Q. Senator Walsh: Is this a case where the administrators of the law were negligent, or is it a typical case of the way the law was administered everywhere?

A. And is administered. It is a typical case.

Q. So that no money anywhere was appropriated under this Act?

A. That would not be correct.

Q. Suppose the British answer is: The money ran out and we did not have enough to cover this land?

A. Oh, the money was advanced for purchasers of the land who had influence with the Board. That was the explanation. The money did not run out. Then, too, this Mr. Doran, Sir Henry Doran, had cattle of some friends of his on this land.

Q. Chairman Howe: Is this the explanation? The Land Board bought the land for grazing purposes and turned it over to some friends of theirs for grazing. Is this the explanation?

A. That is the explanation to some extent.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Would they have to pay anything for the purposes of grazing?

A. Oh, yes, they had to pay the Board.

Q. I want to get this right. The Board got this land fifteen years before and was to divide this land up, and the owner did not get paid for it?

A. Oh, yes, the owners, Lord Lukens and Lord Sligo, got paid for it.

Q. But where does the second payment come?

A. They did not have money to put tenants on the land, to build homes and start crops.

Q. Then the land was lying idle?

A. Yes, so far as tillage was concerned. Instead of benefiting the poor people in the congested districts, it was turned over to the friends of the Board for grazing purposes. The excuse was that they could not slice the land up in small holdings because they had no more money. I should have said that in my memorial I offered on behalf of the poor tenants to take the land at its full value and not require houses to be built upon it, if that was the difficulty, and to work the land from their present cabins until they were able to make some money and build houses for themselves. I made it wholly unnecessary for the Government to advance money to build houses.

IRISH PEOPLE COMPELLED TO MIGRATE TO MAKE A LIVING

It is only just to these poor people to say that in all my travels through Ireland, I never met a more gentle-mannered people, a more sweet-mannered people, than those people on this mountain-side. They were beautiful in appearance and sweet and kind in manner, and they never asked me to put a thing in that memorial but what was strictly in accord with justice and equity. They, of course, have never been able to make a living from their mountain holdings at all. They have been migratory laborers to England and Scotland. That position becomes more difficult as the relations between the two countries become more strained. As migratory laborers they receive the least possible consideration. They are housed in a terrible way—in a way often exposed to Parliament as a violation of all sanitary laws. But they bear their treatment and make a little money and go back.

And that raises a question as to why the Irish people emigrate and still continue to emigrate. What could those young men in those cabins do? Suppose there were three or four young men in one family. What could they do but go out of that country, where they were denied an existence before their eyes, to another country where there was opportunity?

BEST LAND IN IRELAND HELD FROM PEOPLE IN LARGE UNTILLED ESTATES

In that same visit to County Mayo I visited a district where I found a farm comprising the very best land in that part of the

county, five thousand acres, owned and grazed by one man named Carson. Not a solitary day's work given on that land to anybody—to grade it off or build fences—not a single day's work given to anybody. Five thousand acres in the possession of one man, after the Congested Districts Board has been more than twenty years in existence for the special purpose of solving that problem.

Q. Chairman Howe: Are most of the owners of the large estates Englishmen?

A. Oh,*no, not necessarily.

Q. They are Irishmen as well as Englishmen?

A. Yes, Irishmen as well as Englishmen. These ranches are usually rented.

Q. Who is the ultimate owner?

A. Some corporation.

Q. Is it a case of alien landlordism?

A. Oh, no. Alien landlordism is a thing of the past.

Q. How many acres are held in these big estates? Does it run into the thousands of acres? Or does it reach the hundred thousands?

A. Oh, no; the island is not big enough for that. I should inform the Commission that there was no vacant spot in Ireland that was not occupied in days gone by. It was occupied, and then cleared off by each succeeding famine.

Q. You have spoken about these large estates in County Mayo. What per cent. of the land is held in this district in these large estates?

A. I am afraid, sir, that you have missed the point. The point was that the Congested Districts Board has existed to relieve congestion, and it has not done it. If you want to ask about the parts of Ireland that need such relief other than this particular district, I am equally ready to answer. In Meath, in my own county of West Meath, and in Kildare—there are three counties lying side by side—land that within the memory of living men used to be great wheat land is now lying absolutely untilled.

Q. Chairman Howe: Grazing land now?

A. All grazing.

Q. A great part of the county is grazed?

A. A great part of the county is grazed, and always the best land—land that you could cut with a spade—just with a spade—land without a stone in it—beautiful land.

Q. Is a third of the land of Ireland held out of cultivation that way?

A. It would be hard to say. I do not suppose that much. It would not be that much. But so much of it is the best land.

Q. Senator Walsh: I suppose you are offering this evidence to show the misgovernment of Ireland, and that the administration of this law has been in the hands of people who have not administered it.

A. That is it. That is it.

Q. It is evidence of misgovernment?

LORD FRENCH REITERATES ENGLISH POLICY OF DESTROYING IRISH RACE

A. Yes, sir, indeed. Along the line of misgovernment, your remark reminds me of a very curious thing. We maintain that apart from money and apart even from property, the people of a country are its greatest wealth.

Senator Walsh: They ought to be more the concern of government than the property.

The Witness: Yes, than the property. It is a policy that has been pursued, and therefore must be the doctrine held by English rulers of Ireland, because over and over again, as I said, the policy has been a continuity, to destroy the Irish race. I have been prevented from supporting that from the past. I support it now from the present, from a statement of Lord French. Lord French stated two years ago in public that, "What is amiss with Ireland today is that there are two hundred thousand young men too many in it." What would be thought in a properly self-governed country of the head of the government giving expression to such a sentiment? There are two hundred thousand young men too many in Ireland!

HIGHEST WELFARE OF A UNITED PEOPLE THE AIM OF IRISH REPUBLIC

We want to keep these young men in Ireland. They are our greatest property and our greatest hope, and we want to make it possible for these young men to earn a decent living in Ireland. We want to break up the land first, so that they can live happy, self-contented lives in their own country instead of going to England or Scotland or to American cities, perhaps to live in slums. When we have established our Republic, we hope to attract home some of the young men who have picked up in this or other countries special abilities and knowledge. We want them to come home and help; and we want people of every race who have the interests

of mankind at heart to realize that Ireland is to be a factor in the civilization of the future; that it is not to be a state of rags and tags and slavery, but a country of art and education and everything that goes not only to make the people of the country prosperous, but to make them tasty, healthy, and self-sufficient. These are our aims. It may seem silly of an Irishman coming here to your capital to express such platitudes—things that ought to be the case in every well-ruled country. We want them to be the case in Ireland. We have put all the ability that we possess and are capable of in this movement. We have sunk all the differences of classes and creeds and sects. We are done with them forever. We are completely done with everything of that sort. Difficult problems will probably arise in the future in Ireland, as in every other country. Difficulties naturally will arise. Some of the people will want one thing done in some way, and some in another. When we have achieved our purpose there will be a cleavage differing entirely from that of the past. We have merged everything for the present for the one goal of getting the enemy out.

FAVORABLE POSITION OF ULSTER IN THE REPUBLIC

Not only that, but as I have said awhile ago in briefer form, so far from we proving aggressors to any country, or, still less, to any class in our own, we mean and intend that all that is in our power will go into the great effort of wiping out these artificial, factitious differences that have been created by our common foe, uniting with them so that when these differences arise in the future in independent Ireland, that solid phalanx from Ulster, accustomed to industry, accustomed to a kind of life something like you know here, they will be the strongest power in our national assembly. And we wish it to be so, and we intend that it shall be so. We Republicans will have our differences, perhaps keen differences, legislative and otherwise. But we are all Irishmen, and we will settle our differences of opinion between ourselves for the good of our country. But there will be no religious difficulty with our fellow countrymen from the northeast counties. These we assume will come in in a more or less solid mass. We need them. They have qualities that the people of other counties have not had, because they have had opportunities to better their skill that we have not. And we are determined that they shall benefit largely by the independence of our country. They realize now that, whereas England, in the year 1913, was taking out of Ireland before the war

eleven million pounds in annual taxation, she is taking out of Ireland now forty-three million pounds. Most of that money is spent for imperial purposes in different parts of the world. It is not being spent for Ireland. And all men—Catholics, Protestants, Unionists, Republicans, and whatever they may be—know that they and their families and their posterity will be better off when all that money is spent within the shores of Ireland. That is what we aim at.

EUROPEAN STATES SUBSIST ON SMALLER TAXES THAN ENGLAND TAKES FROM IRELAND

Q. Chairman Howe: Forty-three million pounds of taxation now?

A. Forty-three million pounds of taxation for the present year.

Q. That is taken out in income taxes, excise taxes, and customs?

A. All taxation.

Q. Does that include the rates?

A. Oh, no; the rates are different from taxation. They are raised differently and spent differently.

Q. Commissioner Addams: You said that the government of several of the countries of Europe actually required less money for their operation than England is now taking out of Ireland in taxes. What countries are those?

A. All the Scandinavian countries—Norway, Sweden, Denmark; Switzerland, Rumania, Greece—we can compare with all of these.

Q. Your fiscal needs are not as great as theirs?

A. The Statesmen's Year Book would be very useful for that purpose. It would show you comparative costs of government. But it would not be very useful for my purpose, in showing England's financial relations with Ireland.

Q. Chairman Howe: Now, Mr. Ginnell, have you something that you want to dictate to the stenographer?

UNLIKE ENGLAND, GAELIC IRELAND HAS NEVER COUNTENANCED RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

A. I really do not feel in a condition to do it now. I am very sorry, members of the Commission, that I have not been able to develop all phases of this question. With regard to religious friction, I have been handed today, and I fear I have lost it, an extract from the *New York World* to the effect that a Jew has been ill-treated in Dublin. Now, I want to emphatically deny, not with any special knowledge, but with a knowledge of what England is doing,

I want to emphatically deny that any Irishman has persecuted any person whatever on account of creed or race. To this day, no one can point out to me any single instance where anyone has been ill-treated on account of religion or race in Gaelic Ireland, in Catholic Ireland. There have been things developed in Belfast which I do not want to touch upon, but the aggression there is not on our side. In the time of Queen Mary, she drove Protestants out of England when she wanted to drive England over to Catholicism. She drove them out of England, and they came over to Ireland for safe refuge. The Quakers were driven out of England, and they came over to Ireland and established a school at Ballitore in County Kildare which became famous for having given a portion of his education to Edmund Burke.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was there never a pogrom against the Jews in Ireland?

A. I am coming to that.

Q. But just answer the question.

A. Oh, never, never. The suggestion is horrible. The suggestion is horrible. I wish my answer would be taken down. The very suggestion is horrible. No pogrom against anybody of any religion or on any religious grounds has ever occurred in Gaelic Ireland. The Friends, as they call themselves, have always been respected in Ireland. One of my best friends was Alfred Wells, a Quaker. The Huguenots were driven out of France and came to Ireland, and are respected to this day. We still have little colonies of these French Protestants. There are a large number of Jews at present in Cork and other big centers, and of course they never have been persecuted at all, and have become wealthy people. People from Ulster, Protestants from Ulster, come down in the south, naturally and properly, to exercise their skill either as tradesmen in different trades or as soap manufacturers. They become wealthy and they prosper more than any other people in the community. They are given their due and full share of representation on local bodies. The money passing over their counters is the money of Irish Catholics. Can anyone call that treatment persecution? No. The greatest enemy of Ireland cannot produce a man who can say that he has been persecuted in all his life.

I am sorry that I have transgressed so much upon your time.

The Commission: No, not at all. It is a very interesting statement that you have made.

MURDER, TORTURE, AND ROBBERY BY BLACK-AND-TANS

Senator Walsh: I want to call your attention, Mr. Chairman, and I want to have it heard by the other bodies represented here, that I have received several letters—I have one now—from an American woman in which she calls attention to her experiences in Ireland. Here is a very recent letter in which she recites the shooting by soldiers of a young boy who was swimming in a river in Ireland. She also recites several other experiences and incidents showing extreme cruelty and atrocities occurring in other cases. Here is a paragraph from the letter:

“In another place not far from X—— the Black-and-Tans dragged a young man, whose father you know, from his bed while he was in the act of prayer, struck him several times, breaking his jaw, and then riddled him with bullets, because they were disappointed in not finding on his person or in his house some incriminating evidence of Sinn Fein sympathies.

“Last evening while leaving church your old friend Mr. Hayes was seized by Black-and-Tans and killed in the Square. These London Black-and-Tans took some young men of the town and made them wallow in the rancid pool in the market place. They were made to walk on their hands, the Black-and-Tans holding them by their legs. Then they were thrown into the river and left to swim with all their strength in order to get out alive.

“It is a common occurrence to have people relieved of their money by these Black-and-Tans. They are simply highwaymen, and when they return to the London slums which breed them, their pockets will be well garnished by the money of the people in this district. People have to hide their money so that it will not be taken from them when they are held up and searched by the Black-and-Tans. In riding from X—— the other day I hid my money in my hair. However, I was relieved of one pound I had in my glove.

“The Black-and-Tans are also very fond of raiding public houses—rum houses, as we call them in America.”

Now, that letter is from an American woman. Cannot you or some person interested in this inquiry produce for us a series of facts showing actual concrete instances of such occurrences—facts stated by eye witnesses or by those who were in the immediate vicinity?

Mr. Basil Manly: That is what we are attempting to do. We have introduced no witnesses before the Commission except eye witnesses.

Senator Walsh: You see how the broad statement that people are being held up means nothing. But the instances and times and

places and names of people who have been held up is convincing—the times that boys are taken out on the square and are compelled to walk on their hands while their feet are held up by the Black-and-Tans—cases like that reported by those who witnessed it happen.

DIFFICULTY OF OBTAINING FIRST-HAND EVIDENCE OF ATROCITIES IN IRELAND

Mr. Manly: You must realize that all information of that kind is from two sources; either the press from Ireland and the dispatches from Ireland, or else the official reports of Dail Eireann, which is the admitted authority in Ireland. And then we get only such reports as the British authorities let come through. No single person can be an eye witness to all these things, and it is only by accumulating the evidence of single individuals as we have done in the past, and as we hope to do in the future, that we can place such facts before you. But one other fact might be mentioned.

Senator Walsh: Now, this letter is from an American woman. And I saw another statement of a person that had just traveled in Ireland that for thirty-three days he had not slept in the same bed twice, due to the danger of raids by the Black-and-Tans. There must be hundreds if not thousands of these statements. Could not they be tabulated in some way?

Mr. Manly: We have not introduced material from newspaper accounts, but only from direct investigation. We have established a system by which we try to get in direct touch with every person who recently has been in Ireland, either through the public press, or through letters, which we have received by scores, I might say, telling of people who have been in Ireland. And as rapidly as we can get in touch with them and investigate them, we are bringing them before the Commission. But we do not want to bring before the Commission any witness who is not able to state facts of his own direct knowledge or of his own personal experience; nor would we attempt to put in a statement, I think, as to the number of such people or the number of such occurrences based only on newspaper reports. For I do not think that this inquiry would have the dignity or the value that I believe it should have if it were to rely upon such sources of information. But I can assure the Commission that as rapidly as these individual cases can be investigated and the individuals brought to Washington, we will place the evidence before the Commission. Take, for instance, the case of Father Delehanty, the gentleman whom, I believe, you referred to, who said that he had not been able to sleep in the same bed at night for

thirty-three consecutive days. We have tried to locate him. But these men come in, and they have no central place at which to report. We are arranging to have a man meet the incoming ships and get in touch with these people as rapidly as they arrive; but it is a very great task.

Senator Walsh: I appreciate that it is a very difficult task, but I should think that the Republic officials of Ireland, or some other officials, could get together data as to the number of buildings destroyed or houses burned or civilians murdered.

Mr. Manly: Well, those matters come to us at the office in the bulletins of the Irish Government.

Senator Walsh: That is only the conclusion of one of the parties. What I say to you I want to announce the same latitude for the other side. We want data as to the number of Black-and-Tans shot, and the like.

Mr. Ginnell: We would like to have such information too.

Senator Walsh: I suppose there is some official keeping track of these things for the English government too.

Mr. Ginnell: I don't think the Commission realizes that any such document as a tabulated statement of evidence of that kind in Ireland would be considered a seditious document, and would expose the man on whom it was found to be shot.

Senator Walsh: I can appreciate that.

Mr. Manly: I may say that we were in communication with Mr. Arthur Griffith as the source from whom we would accumulate facts and get evidence. Mr. Arthur Griffith has been imprisoned, and that breaks the line of communication from which we had hoped to get reliable and detailed information.

Mr. Ginnell: I have just handed in a telegram which I received today which I think is very important—a telegram from New York saying that the *Chicago Tribune*, which published Mr. Hamar Greenwood's statement, has not received any protest from any civilized government regarding the atrocities in Ireland. I must say I think that is a great slur upon the character of America.

Chairman Howe: The Commission had expected at the Thursday hearings tomorrow to present the witnesses who are coming on the steamship *Baltic*. The *Baltic* has been delayed and will not arrive until later in the week. It may be that these hearings will have to go over to the first of next week. There will be hearings here tomorrow morning, at which the concluding testimony of these hearings will be presented.

If there is nothing further, the session stands adjourned.

4:55 P. M.

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THIRD HEARING

Session Two

Before the Commission, sitting in the Hotel LaFayette, Washington, D. C., Thursday, December 16, 1920.

Session called to order by Chairman Howe at 10:10 A. M.

TESTIMONY OF MISS NELLIE CRAVEN

Q. Mr. Basil Manly (of counsel) : Will you give the Commission your name?

A. Nellie Craven.

Q. And your address?

A. 1701 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington.

Q. Miss Craven, how long have you been in the United States?

A. I have been here thirteen years.

Q. And were you born in Ireland?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. When did you return to Ireland?

A. I went back on the twenty-fourth of July, 1920.

Q. And how long were you in Ireland?

A. Three months. I left there on the third of November of this year on the *Baltic*.

Q. Why did you make a trip to Ireland?

A. I had a letter from my brother, who said my mother was not well, and he wanted me to go over and see her.

Q. And what town were your parents living in?

A. Headford, County Galway.

Q. A small town?

A. Yes, about eighteen miles out of Galway.

Q. Is Headford situated on the main road?

A. Yes, it is on the public road from Galway to Westport.

ONE POLICEMAN FOR EVERY TEN INHABITANTS

Q. Were there any police or Black-and-Tans stationed in Headford?

A. There were about thirty police, but no Black-and-Tans when I went there.

Q. About how large a town is Headford?

A. About three or four hundred.

Q. So that there was one police for every ten inhabitants of the town?

A. Yes.

COUSIN'S HOME TERRORIZED BY BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. What was your own experience and the experiences of your family with respect to the police and the Black-and-Tans?

A. When I first went home there was quiet. But about the thirteenth of September the curfew was enforced in Galway. My cousin lives there, Michael Walsh, and his place was raided on the twentieth of September. They broke into the house and broke in the windows and shutters. He was not there. They went upstairs and searched the rooms; and then they were downstairs in the public house or saloon shooting and yelling. Then after a half hour they came upstairs again. One of them was swinging his revolver, and the oldest, a boy about thirteen, went on his knees to him and said, "Don't shoot!" and he said, "No, kiddie, I will not shoot if you will promise to be loyal to the King." Mrs. Walsh was there, but they did not know it was she. She begged them to withdraw. Then they went downstairs and stayed there for about an hour again, and then went away.

BRUTALITIES INFLICTED ON BROTHER

The seventeenth of September the Black-and-Tans came to our place at home. It was about one o'clock, and there were seven of us who had just set out with our lunch for a little trip. There were three ahead of us, and the other four of us were coming in the rear. So the three ahead of us ran into this lorry of Black-and-Tans. They held my brother, and the sister and the other brother came back and said that my brother was taken. So I went up there and met two R. I. C. men and I asked them what the charges against my brother were and what they wanted with him. They said for me not to advance any further. And he said, "Are you a Sinn Feiner?" and I said I was. And he asked my sister, and she said she was. And he said, "That is enough. You will get him in a half hour dead or alive." So I came down and told my mother.

Q. Did they take him away?

A. Yes. And we went back after a bit and found him crawling along the road, and we said, "What is the matter with you?" and

he said, "I don't know. I can't tell you." And we found two of his teeth were knocked out.

Q. He was unable to walk?

A. Yes, he was unable to walk. About an hour later they came and surrounded the house again, and said, "Who lives here?" and I said, "Cravens." And he said, "What people live here?" and I said, "Two boys and three girls." And he said, "Where are the boys?" and I said, "One of them is inside. You have been beating him." And he said, "Show him to me." And he looked at him and said, "He is faking." And he searched the beds and things, and the only thing they found was some songs of Easter Week.

The next day my brother said what happened to him. They took his pocket book with seventeen shillings, put him against the wall, and shot three times over his head. One of them undressed him, and his hands were put between his legs, and he was made to bend over, and they beat him with a belt. And his watch was gone.

Q. How did he lose his teeth?

A. I cannot say exactly whether he was hit with a closed fist or the butt of a rifle.

Q. That was when?

A. That was on the seventeenth of September.

Q. Did he ever recover his watch or his money?

A. No, no. So on the nineteenth in Galway—

BLACK-AND-TANS STEAL WHILE RAIDING HOME

Q. Just one moment before you leave that. Did you find after this raid on your house that any of the articles were missing from the house?

A. Yes, there were ten shillings that my mother had left in the cupboard somewhere, and some small pins belonging to the girls.

Q. Gold pins or jewelry of some kind?

A. Yes, gold pins.

Q. What was the conduct of the Black-and-Tans when they were making the search in your house? What was their language?

A. It was not very good. Their language was very revolting.

Q. It was rough?

A. Very rough.

Q. Was the younger brother connected with any organization?

A. No, he was not a member of the volunteers.

Q. Was he in any organization?

A. No, he wasn't in any organization at all. He told them his

sympathies were with the Sinn Feiners, but he was not connected with them at all.

Q. Had your older brother been connected with them at all?

A. Yes, my older brother was a Volunteer.

Q. Had there been any proclamation against him at all?

A. Well, that afternoon, when they searched the place, they said they didn't have the right man; that there was another one.

Q. After beating up your younger brother, they said they didn't have the right man?

A. Yes, after beating him up they said they didn't have the right one.

COUSIN DRAGGED FROM SHOP AND MURDERED

On the nineteenth of October my cousin—

Q. 1920?

A. 1920. There were five men went in and told him it was time to close his place up.

Q. What was his name?

A. Michael Walsh.

Q. Where was his place of business?

A. High Street, Galway.

Q. What time was it?

A. It was about five minutes to ten at night. So when the customers who were in there went out, these men held him and the apprentice up and searched him and the cash box and safe and took everything in it.

Q. Took the money?

A. Took the money and checks and everything. And then they told him they were going to take him with them. And he said he would like to take a little drink to steady him, and they told him it was a waste, because he was going to be dead in an hour. And he said that he would like to see a priest, and they said, "To hell with the priest"; that they were worse than he was. They took him out, and the apprentice asked the fellow who was in command if they were going to shoot Walsh, and he said, "I don't know." In half an hour the four men came back and went upstairs and took his overcoat, and told the apprentice to go to his lodgings, and if he opened his mouth he would be dead in an hour. The apprentice knew where Mrs. Walsh was. She did not stay in her own house after it was raided. So he went and told her that these four men had taken Mr. Walsh away and he did not know what they had done with him. So they went out and searched until morning and could

not find him. At six o'clock they went down toward the docks and found the body down by the sea. It was a wonder that it had not gone out to sea. The military came and looked it over and said for them to wait, that there would be an inquiry.

Q. Did they hold an inquiry?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Have you been able to get any word from there?

A. No, not since I came over.

Q. Senator Norris: That was in Galway?

A. Yes, in Galway City. He was my first cousin.

Q. That was your home?

A. No, my home was in Headford, eighteen miles away.

Q. What kind of a shop was that?

A. It was what we call a saloon in this country, with a grocery store combined, and overhead the family lived.

Mr. Manly: That is the ordinary custom in Ireland. The family usually lives overhead.

A. Yes, the family usually lives upstairs. But Mrs. Walsh was not staying there then, because it wasn't safe to stay there after dark after the first raid.

Q. How old was your cousin?

A. He was thirty-six.

Q. Eight children?

A. Yes, eight children.

Q. What was the age of the oldest?

A. The oldest was twelve.

Q. How many boys and girls?

A. Seven boys and one girl.

MURDERED BECAUSE ELECTED BY REPUBLICANS TO URBAN COUNCIL

Q. Senator Norris: You never found out what they did at the inquest?

A. No, I have not heard.

Q. Do you know of any charges against him? Why did they murder him?

A. He was elected to the Urban Council by the Sinn Feiners.

Q. He was a councilman of that city?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Manly: Duly elected?

A. Yes, duly elected.

Q. And he was serving as an official of the city then?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Senator Norris: How large was that place?

A. I suppose it is a few thousand people. I could not exactly say.

Q. Four or five thousand people?

A. Yes, I suppose there would be four or five thousand people.

SHOP AND HOME LOOTED

Q. Do you know what condition the shop, as you call it, was in when they got through?

A. It was in a terrible shape.

Q. Did they destroy the property and the groceries and drink the liquor that was in there?

A. They destroyed practically everything. They had lorries outside, and they took the tobacco and cigarettes and sugar and candles and different things like that—they took them away.

Q. Did they take away any of the liquor?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. Did they destroy everything?

A. Well, practically everything. There was a remnant they did not destroy.

Q. What was the condition of the house upstairs?

A. They shot through the ceiling and took away things that were valuable like ornaments.

Q. Did they destroy the furniture and bedding?

A. No.

Q. Mr. Manly: What was the condition of the body when found?

A. There were bullet holes through it, through the temples.

Q. Four or five shots?

A. No, one shot.

Q. You left when?

A. On the third of November.

Q. And you believe that your cousin's wife would certainly have written you?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. But you have received no mail?

A. I have received no mail.

FUNERAL RESTRICTED AND DOMINATED BY ARMED TROOPS AND TANKS

When they gave us the permit to bury the body, they told us we could have any funeral we wanted, provided there was no tricolor or formation.

Q. Senator Norris: What did they mean by that—no tricolor or formation?

A. We couldn't have the Republican colors at the funeral, and the Volunteers could not have a formation.

So at the funeral the priest read a note from the military that only fifty would be allowed to go in the procession to the cemetery. There were soldiers outside and a tank and armored car. They followed us to the cemetery and stood around while we buried him.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you know Reverend Michael Morley?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Who was he?

A. He was the curate of our parish at Headford.

MURDER OF COUSIN ABSOLUTELY UNPROVOKED

Q. Commissioner Newman: Had Mr. Walsh done anything that would cause them to have a particular desire to raid his place or to attack him?

A. No, not a thing.

Q. Did he participate in any opposition to the forces there?

A. No, not that I know of.

Q. Had he had any previous trouble with them?

A. No, none at all.

Q. Senator Norris: I suppose he was acting as a member of the council of the city, and that that was the reason.

A. Yes, that was the reason.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was he a Volunteer?

A. No, no.

Q. His only connection with Sinn Fein was that he was standing as a candidate from that district?

A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Newman: Did these military who raided his place and took him away, did any of them give any reason as to why they picked him out for attack?

A. They did say, when they were starting after him, that he had shot a lot of police; and he said that if he was as clear of everything as he was of that, he would be all right. And they said some

police had been shot outside of Galway; and he said he had nothing whatever to do with that.

Q. There were no arms in his place?

A. No, no arms in the place.

PRIEST'S HOME SEARCHED AND ROBBED AND FRIEND BRUTALLY BEATEN

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you talk with Father Morley?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did you talk to him about the attack on him?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did you ask him to prepare a statement and write it out for you?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. I will ask you if this is a copy of his statement (indicating letter)?

A. Yes, it is.

Mr. Manly (reading): Statement by Reverend Michael Morley, B.A., C.C., dated October 31, 1920:

"On the twelfth of September, 1920, shortly after the burning and sacking of Tuam by armed and uniformed men, an anonymous letter posted in Tuam was delivered to me, stating: 'If anything happens to any policeman, you must die, even though we have to go to the chapel to get you.' On October third, 1920, at about 12:30 midnight, a party of about sixteen British soldiers commanded by a major and guarded by a masked member of the R. I. C. forcibly entered my house. My housekeeper was alone in her sleeping room. When the soldiers knocked at her door she requested two minutes to dress. The reply was, 'Not one second. Open immediately or we will smash the door in.' Instantly they smashed in the door. One soldier carried a flashlight, another pointed a revolver at the housekeeper and threateningly compelled her to get out of bed, which they searched. Meantime the other soldiers scattered all my books, papers, sacred vessels, and clothes indiscriminately around the floors. I politely requested one soldier to allow me to take my best clothes, but he roughly shoved me aside. Another soldier became very angry in discovering some photographs of the Republican leaders. He pointed his revolver to my head and said: 'I have a mind to blow your damned brains out.' About four others, armed with revolvers in their hands, silently looked on and made no effort to protect me or restrain their comrades.

"The raiding party brought John Flaherty under arrest to my house, having dragged him out of his employer's house. When leaving my house they took John Flaherty with them. None of the party apologized to me. I then lay flat on the floor and made acts of contrition. About ten minutes later I heard a piteous appeal for mercy, and some blows as if someone were being beaten. This continued for about five minutes, and then all became silent, until two lorries of military departed.

"The next day I interviewed John Flaherty. He testified that the soldiers alleged he was an Irish Volunteer. They stripped him naked on the public street. Three armed soldiers surrounded him with revolvers pointed at him, while two other soldiers beat him, one with a stick and the other with a scourge. Flaherty's body was lacerated and discolored as a result. His nerves are shattered as a result of that night of horrors.

"On the sixth of October military arrested me. I had a few rounds of revolver ammunition as curios. I was sentenced to nine months' hard labor, but after ten days in the Galway jail, the sentence was remitted. Five pounds and other articles were missing out of my house after the raid.

"(Signed) REVEREND MICHAEL MORLEY, B.A., C.C.

"31st October, 1920."

Q. Mr. Manly: Is that the actual occurrence as Father Morley related it to you?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. And do you know generally that that is a true account?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. That occurred while you were in Galway?

A. Yes, it did.

EFFECTS OF BEATING ON BROTHER

Q. And to go back now. What was the condition of your brother's body when he dragged himself back to the house?

A. When we got him undressed, his body was a mass of welts, not bleeding but next to it.

Q. All over his body?

A. Yes, all over his body.

Q. Was the body discolored for the next few days?

A. Yes, it was. It was black and blue.

Q. Had there been any attacks on the police in Headford prior to these happenings?

A. No, Mr. Manly, there had not.

Q. As far as you know, there never had been any attacks in Headford on the police?

A. None at all.

Q. Senator Norris: Where is your brother now, this one who was attacked?

A. He is in Headford still.

Q. How long was he in bed as a result of this punishment?

A. He was in bed for about five days before he could get out.

Q. What was his condition then?

A. He was stiff and could not get about very well. Of course he was terribly nervous.

Q. He is still there?

A. He is still there, but the sight of a lorry or a Black-and-Tan is too much for him.

Q. Mr. Manly: Just one question. Is your mother a widow?

A. Yes, she is.

Q. Does your older brother stay at home?

A. Not at night, Mr. Manly. He is never at home at night.

Q. He is never at home at night. So that your mother is there with a nineteen-year-old boy to protect her?

A. Yes, she is.

WIDOW AND CHILDREN LEFT DESTITUTE BY MURDER, ROBBERY, AND DESTRUCTION

Q. Now, what do you know about the situation in which the wife of Michael Walsh was left?

A. Well, I don't know how she is going to get along, Mr. Manly.

Q. She has eight children?

A. Eight children.

Q. The store property was destroyed?

A. Yes, it was destroyed.

Q. The money was taken?

A. The money was all taken—everything that he had.

Q. And she has no relatives there to whom she can go?

A. No, she has no family there to whom she can go.

Q. Senator Norris: You said the older brother was not home nights. Tell the Commission why he is not home nights.

A. Mother was afraid that the place would be raided at night and he would be taken. So mother is afraid for him to sleep at home nights.

Q. He is what they call over there "on the run"?

A. Yes, he is on the run.

Q. And he doesn't come home nights in order to conceal his whereabouts at night?

A. Yes.

EFFECT OF MILITARY TERRORISM ON PEOPLE

Q. Mr. Manly: What is the condition of your little town? Are the people nervous and terrified?

A. Oh, yes, most of the people are. With mother and the other girls at home, if they heard any dogs barking at night, they jumped out of bed terrified. When these men go along in the lorries on the road, they yell at them to put up their hands, and then shoot over their heads; and they are continually frightened that they will be killed.

Q. And the lorries are going along all the time?

A. Yes, all the time. Three or four a day, or maybe more than that.

Mr. Manly: That will be all. Thank you very much.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

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TESTIMONY OF PAUL J. FURNAS

Commissioner Addams, presiding: I think the next witness is Mr. Furnas from Philadelphia. Mr. Furnas is going to put in a report of the investigation made by the English Quakers, the Society of Friends in England. They made an investigation of conditions in Ireland last October, was it?

Mr. Furnas: The investigation was made the last part of September, but made public in October.

Commissioner Addams: We telegraphed the members of their Commission to come here, and they, unfortunately, were unable to do so. But Mr. Furnas was in London then, and he can state the conditions under which it was made. It was made by Englishmen.

(Mr. Furnas takes the witness stand.)

Q. Mr. Manly: For the sake of the record, will you give your name and address?

A. Paul J. Furnas, 501 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Q. Senator Norris: Let him give his age and profession.

A. I am treasurer of the General Food Products Company, and I am thirty years old.

Q. Where were you born?

A. I was born in Marion County, Indiana. I am a Quaker by conviction.

COMMISSION APPOINTED BY ENGLISH SOCIETY OF FRIENDS INVESTIGATES IRISH CONDITIONS

Q. Were your parents Quakers?

A. Yes. But in the hearings here, I appear as an individual and not representing any organization or the Society of Friends. I am simply able to give a statement as to who the Commission of the English Friends was composed of, and the circumstances under which they were appointed, and the circumstances under which they reported.

Q. Mr. Manly: Will you state those facts, please? First, how the Commission came to be created.

A. The Friends of England, known as the London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, have an *ad interim* executive body which is known as the Meeting for Sufferings. That body in its September meeting appointed a commission of three—

Q. Senator Norris: What year?

A. September, 1920. Appointed a commission of three to go to Ireland and make an investigation and report back to that meet-

ing. This commission was composed of John Henry Barlow, who was the chairman of the All Friends Conference, which was a world meeting of the Society of Friends in London in August of this year. He was formerly the presiding officer of the Society of Friends in England. He lives, I believe, in Birmingham. The second member of the commission was Roger Clark, who was an assistant chairman of the All Friends Conference held in London, and is the presiding officer, or what is known as the clerk of the London Yearly Meeting. The third member of the commission was Miss Edith M. Ellis, who is a prominent worker for peace in England and sister of Lady Palmore. These three people—

Q. They are all English people?

A. They are all English people, yes. This committee went to Ireland and met Irish Friends in Dublin. And then they proceeded to what I believe was approximately a two weeks' investigation, which took them both to the north of Ireland and the south of Ireland.

Q. Commissioner Newman: When was that?

A. This was the latter part of September, 1920. At the Meeting for Sufferings held on the first day of October, 1920, in London, to which I have already referred, this committee made its report.

Q. Mr. Manly: Do you know how long the committee was in Ireland?

A. About two weeks. I have here a copy of the report which was written out by John Henry Barlow following the meeting, which covers substantially what I heard him say in that meeting.

Q. Mr. Manly: He made the report for the committee?

A. He was one of two who reported. Now, I shall follow whatever course you indicate as to whether I shall read this report, or as to whether I shall simply identify it and leave it with you.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Is it long, Mr. Furnas?

A. It is four typewritten pages, written double space.

Senator Norris: I think it ought to be read in full.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Yes, read it. First, before you read it, is this report the report of the committee, or just of one member of the committee? Is it signed by anybody except the person who made it?

A. I have here only a copy, but I heard it made, and can testify that it is, as stated, by the member of the committee.

Q. Senator Norris: But what we want to get at is whether it is the report of the committee or just an individual.

A. It is the report of the committee.

Q. All right. They made an unanimous report, then?

A. They did make an unanimous report. I should say that I have here a report written by John Henry Barlow and one written by Roger Clark. They are in agreement and are supplemental. This report, written by John Henry Barlow, was a few days afterwards published in the *London Times*—I believe the *London Times* of October fifth. He started out by saying:

FRIENDS' COMMISSION MAKES THOROUGH AND IMPARTIAL INQUIRY

"At its September Meeting the Executive Committee of the Society of Friends (England) had before it the disturbed condition of Ireland. After serious consideration it was decided to send a deputation to visit the country to gather facts and impressions and report to a subsequent meeting as to the possibility of relief, reconstruction, and reconciliation. The deputation numbered three, of whom the writer was one. It may fairly be claimed that they went with open minds, anxious to receive light from whatever quarter it may shine. It is thought that some account of what was seen and what impressions were received may be of general interest."

That is his general introduction to what was made public.

"The chief centers visited were Dublin, Belfast, Limerick, Cork, visits being made also from these to places in the neighborhood. Our interviews were with men of every shade of opinion—Unionists, Nationalists, Sinn Feiners, Protestants, Orangemen, Catholics, Labor leaders. They included members of Parliament, bishops, business men, university professors, members of the Sinn Fein cabinet, Sinn Fein judges, journalists, working men. Altogether we had about sixty interviews besides attending groups and conferences. Everywhere we were received with unfailing courtesy and kindness, and every facility was given for carrying out our commission.

EIGHTY PER CENT. OF IRELAND RENDERS ALLEGIANCE TO REPUBLIC

"First of all as to what we saw. On the surface Dublin was quiet, but while we were in the north, Mr. Lynch was shot in a Dublin hotel, and one or two encounters took place between the Irish Volunteers and the military. It was in Dublin that we had our first experience of the curfew, and received particulars of the burning of the seventeen cooperative creameries. There, too, we found that there are two governments in Ireland, that of the Crown and that of the Irish Republic. Each has its cabinet, its executive, its

armed force, its courts of justice. It is no exaggeration to say that eighty per cent. of Ireland renders allegiance to the Irish Republic, whether willingly or unwillingly, and that in that area the authority of the British Government rests upon force and not upon consent.

DEVASTATION THROUGHOUT IRELAND

"In Belfast we saw something of the ruin caused by the recent outbreaks, but it was not until we visited Lisburn, a short distance from the city, that we began to understand how fierce the violence had been. House after house, shop after shop, burnt out completely, in some cases not even the walls left standing. The marvel was how the flames had been kept from spreading and the whole town saved from destruction. In the outskirts were all that was left of one or two good houses, standing in their own grounds—bare walls and heaps of debris. Going to Limerick we found several ruined houses where the work of destruction had been carried out with extraordinary completeness. Painted in large letters on the walls left standing were such sentences as 'The work of the Black and Tans,' 'The work of the R. I. C.' In Kerry Street, which had been raided but not burned, we found that practically every window, both glass and woodwork, had been smashed, doors burst open, and furniture, ornaments, earthenware—in fact, everything breakable—included in one common destruction. The accounts given were most graphic. Here it was a woman showing the remains of cherished ornaments and looking glass; there another lamenting over the shattered remnants of a wardrobe; and again another pointing to a plaster cast of the Virgin and rejoicing that it had been spared. Leaving this Via Doloroso, it was not surprising to read on the walls of some neighboring buildings such inscriptions as 'Sorrow to England,' 'Damn England.'

RUINED VILLAGES

"From Limerick we made a long round by motor car to visit three villages which had just been 'shot up.' These were Ennistymon, Lahinch, and Miltown Malbay. The first sign of trouble was cut telegraph wires. This had been done in two places. On entering Ennistymon the acrid smell of burning met us everywhere. Some of the ruins were still smoking, and here and there flame was flickering over the ashes. A man who had been present during the raid told us of the frenzy of the attack, the wild shouting, the blaz-

ing houses, the bullets whizzing past his head as he tried to bring two women from the street to a place of safety, the shooting of a man and the burning of the body in the flames.

THE COST IN HUMAN LIFE

“As we left the village a lorry passed us manned by armed police, and carrying on the floor two coffins. Presumably these were for two of a party of police ambushed and shot a day or two before. Lahinch had suffered more than Ennistymon. ‘Come this way, sir,’ said a man. We followed. There at the back of the house, in a low, poor shed, was a comparatively small chest covered with a white cloth, and on the top a few flowers. ‘He was burnt, sir, in one of the houses. He was a stranger. We don’t know who he was.’ This was all that was left. Now we were talking to a woman. ‘When they came to my house I begged and prayed them not to burn it. The man at the door was tall and fair. I could see him plainly, for it was bright moonlight, and there was the light from the burning house. I pleaded hard, “Don’t burn this house. There’s no one but women and children in it.” And they went away and did not burn it.’ Again we are questioning a man who had succeeded in putting out the flames in his house—a small inn. ‘I carried the water up here. I was afraid they would see me and shoot me. There were some visitors upstairs, and they helped them out with their luggage. They said, “It’s not women and children we want; it’s the men we’re after. We’re out for blood.”’ And now we leave the houses to go into the main street. A crowd is moving slowly from the farther end. A coffin carried shoulder high by the men of the village is being borne to the cemetery. With bared heads we join in the march. It is the funeral of one of those killed in the raid. A short interval and then a change. A motor lorry, carrying six or eight soldiers with trench helmets, bayonets, and rifles at ‘the ready,’ passes through the village. I stand looking hard at this symbol of physical power. The soldiers’ eyes range over doors, windows, and doorways, their fingers on the rifle triggers. I think of the charred remnants of the stranger a few yards away in the shed, of the coffin carried shoulder high; my eyes rest on the ruin left by the fires, and I cannot deny that a feeling of fierce anger flares up within me. And then like a flash comes the recollection of the lorry we have seen leaving Ennistymon, with its armed policemen guarding the two coffins; and I think of the murdered policemen, their widows and little children. And then, as in colors of flame, the conflict of the tragedy of Ireland is before me.

DESTRUCTION IN COUNTRY AND CITY

"Continuing our drive, we saw evidence that the reprisals had not been confined to villages and towns, but that isolated farms and cottages had been included. In other respects the country looked prosperous. The cottages and farm buildings are well thatched and cleanly whitewashed; and indeed we were assured from many quarters that Ireland is financially prosperous.

"On the last night which we spent in Cork, I was awakened at about two o'clock by an explosion. Springing to the window I looked out. There was a good deal of firing, the coming and going of lorries and armored cars, and a searchlight in the distance. Two or three times I got back to bed, only to hurry to the window again as a shot or shots rang out. Gradually matters seemed to settle down. Investigation in the morning showed that a large part of an extensive shop front had been blown out by an explosion, and practically every pane of glass on the opposite side of the street for a considerable distance shivered by its force.

A SINN FEIN COURT

"In Cork we had the opportunity of attending a Sinn Fein court. Three young men sat on the bench, and there were about forty people present. The cases related to the licensing laws, and the proceedings were conducted in a quiet and businesslike manner. From many quarters we received testimony to the efficiency of these courts, and to the impartiality with which they administer justice. They deal with criminal offenses, questions of rent, ownership and occupation of land. So much for what we saw. Now for a few impressions.

IRRECONCILABLE UNIONISM IS DEAD

"The old irreconcilable Unionism is dead, except in Ulster. The old constitutional Nationalist Party has gone also. One former Nationalist M. P. told me he doubted if he could find enough supporters to fill his nomination papers. Everywhere men talk of a Republic, a liberal measure of home rule, or Dominion home rule. It is not that Unionists think home rule the better policy, but that they regard something of the kind as inevitable. A measure of the kind that would have been fought five years ago would now almost certainly be accepted by Unionists with thankfulness.

"The Parliamentary Nationalist Policy was discredited because it was found to lead only to disappointment, broken Government

promises, bills withdrawn, Acts suspended. No one could trust the Government. In consequence practically the whole of the Nationalist following has gone over to Sinn Fein. We gathered, however, that while the extreme Sinn Feiners were apparently irreconcilable, and will accept nothing short of an independent Irish Republic, there is a large mass of moderate opinion which would accept a well-conceived liberal measure of self-government. Several expressed the opinion that the bestowal of this would kill the agitation for independence. However this may be, I must repeat that deeds, not words, are needed. Government promises are simply disregarded.

THREE COURSES OPEN TO ENGLAND

“Broadly speaking, the courses before England seem to be limited to three: (1) Repression and yet more repression, and all that this involves; (2) the gift of a liberal measure of self-government, including fiscal and financial control; (3) an independent Irish Republic. I am inclined to think England will rule out the first and third of these. What of the second? And what of the stopping of police reprisals, the withdrawal of the armed forces of the Crown as a pledge of the good faith of the Government, whose good faith also stands in need of some guarantee of the kind? I believe there is hope in this direction. But action must be prompt and decisive. Tempers are hardening. The door of opportunity is closing. Will the Government have the courage to act before it is again too late?”

The Witness: This completes the report as written by John Henry Barlow. There are just a few conclusions that were stated for the committee by Roger Clark that I might offer in addition if you wish them. There may be points in his conclusion that are also referred to here, but I think it might be of some interest to have them in the words of another member of the committee.

ENGLAND'S BROKEN PROMISES HAVE CONVERTED HOME RULE PARTY TO SINN FEIN

“We must endeavor to summarize briefly our general impressions on the situation. Politically it is clear that the constitutional Home Rule or Nationalist Party has entirely disappeared. One of the late Members for Cork told us that if he put up again as a Nationalist, he doubted if he would get enough support to fill up his nominations. Sinn Fein, originally a semi-literary movement to revive the old native culture, language and life, developed later into a political movement for complete national independence from Eng-

land. The Nationalist Party, disillusioned utterly by the repeated non-fulfilment of promises of self-government from England, has moved bodily over to Sinn Fein. The elected Sinn Fein members meet frequently in Dublin instead of coming to Westminster, and have set up a Republican Government, electing a Cabinet which functions through judiciary, police, army, etc. They have appointed agricultural and other commissions, on which prominent Unionists have been not unwilling to serve.

ORDER AND SAFETY IN IRELAND NOW FOUND ONLY UNDER SINN FEIN GOVERNMENT

“It is generally admitted by moderate people, including many Unionists, that the only protection they enjoy is from the Sinn Fein police. Their meetings are protected from interruption, stolen goods are found and returned, writers of threatening letters are dealt with and stopped, laws controlling the sale of intoxicating drinks are rigorously enforced. All this when it is a penal offense for a Sinn Fein Volunteer policeman to act as such. It is plausibly maintained that if the English garrison and armed police were to withdraw, the Sinn Fein Government could and would run the country, and that at present order and safety are only found in districts from which the English military and police have been withdrawn. Moderate people are already discussing to which Government they shall pay their next income tax. The English Government has ceased to function over at least eighty per cent. of Ireland. We were bound to recognize that a state of war is considered to exist, and does exist. The Irish Volunteers are the Sinn Fein army.”

ASHAMED AS ENGLISHMEN OF GOVERNMENT'S DEEDS IN IRELAND

The Witness: Here is just a bit of conclusion:

“As Friends we must deplore the violence and the bloodshed on both sides that take place in such a state of war. As English citizens we must surely chiefly feel the shame of the direct responsibility of our Government for the policy of reprisals by the so-called Black-and-Tans led by their officers, during which town after town is being ravaged and burnt, and women and children are driven terror stricken into the fields and woods to seek safety at night.”

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Did I understand you to say that that committee consisted of three people?

A. It did.

Q. What nation did they come from?

A. They are Englishmen.

Q. Were they all English?

A. All English. There were three of them, one living in Birmingham, one in a suburban town south of London, and Edith Ellis lived in London at the time I was there. They were all English people.

Q. And this report was made at the World Conference?

A. No, this was made following the World Conference of Friends, and was made to the executive *ad interim* body.

Q. Senator Norris: It was made to the same body that appointed the committee?

A. It was.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Did I understand you to say that you heard this report made?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. And you were in England at the time?

A. I was.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were there any objections made to the report?

A. There were no objections made to the report. There was a great deal of expression of commendation to the Friends who served on the committee, and under some difficulty and inconvenience went to Ireland to make the investigation. I can add, however, that there were some Friends in the meeting, who were in the decided minority, who were not clear as to the withdrawal of the English forces. That is, they had in mind the opposition of the people in the north of Ireland to the withdrawal of the English forces, and they said they did not see what was going to happen next unless it was civil war if they were withdrawn. I should say that there were from five to six people out of a committee of one hundred who expressed that attitude.

Q. There was no question raised as to the facts, but only on the policy?

A. Only as to the policy. I may say that these three Friends who made the report are generally considered among Friends to be as responsible as any three people could be. They have the highest regard and respect for them.

NO RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION OF FRIENDS IN IRELAND

Q. Do you know how many Friends there are in Ireland?

A. Not less than three thousand or more than five thousand. I do not know exactly.

Q. Where are they located? Do you know?

A. About Belfast and Dublin, and a few who are centered in the south of Ireland.

Q. Both in the north and south of Ireland?

A. Both in the north and south.

Q. Do you know whether any complaints have come to the Society of Friends regarding the persecution of the Friends in Ireland, or any violence toward them?

A. No; I know of no persecution of Friends. There have been instances in which the homes of Friends have been searched.

Q. By whom?

A. I think both by representatives of Sinn Fein and the English Government, but I am unable to give details. But in no case that I know of has violence been done or property destroyed.

Q. Do you know whether or not the Friends in the south of Ireland are as a class Republicans?

A. As a class they could not be said to be Republicans. They have in times past been Unionists or Nationalists. They are not now actively in Sinn Fein, but I know that a great many of them are very sympathetic with the Sinn Fein.

Q. But as a class they have, you think, been rather aloof recently from this more bitter political movement?

A. They have always been aloof from it, as far as taking any partisan part is concerned, because of the fact that their principles deterred them from being very partisan in the matter—that is, from taking an active part in it.

Q. Would it be your view then that the Friends would be as nearly impartial and unbiased as any group of people in Ireland can be?

A. I don't know whether my opinion is worth very much on that point.

Q. Well, you have stated the fact that their principles have kept them out of partisan politics to a large extent?

A. Yes, yes; that is correct. To a large extent.

Q. And would you draw the conclusion from that that they would be as impartial as a body of people could be?

A. Yes, yes. I think that is a warranted conclusion.

Q. Senator Norris: Do the Friends have churches in Ireland?

A. Yes, they have.

Q. Where are they located?

A. I am unable to give a list of places where there are Meetings, as they are called.

Q. But wherever they are, they have places of worship?

A. Yes, a considerable number of them. The chief places are Belfast and Dublin.

Q. Well, Dublin is a Catholic community and Belfast is a Protestant community.

A. Yes.

Q. Well, then, I wish you would tell the Commission of any cases that you know of where the Friends have been interfered with in their religious services.

A. I know of no such instances.

Q. Either in the north or south?

A. Either in the north or south.

Q. Commissioner Newman: If there had been, you would have heard of such disturbances?

A. I think I would.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OPPOSED TO ALL WAR

Q. Chairman Howe: Are the Friends fearful that if the Republican form of government comes about they will be interfered with in any way?

A. I have never heard any Friends express that. I know that there are some Friends in the north of Ireland who are fearful of the new government, but not on religious grounds.

Q. But your Friends in the south of Ireland, where the Republicans are in the great majority, have more reason to be fearful, in case there were to be any persecutions, than those in the north.

A. Yes, that would be so. But I have friends in the south of Ireland, and I have never heard them express anything that way.

Q. Commissioner Newman: What are the political affiliations of the Friends in England?

A. Before the war they were Liberals, but since the war it is hard to say. A great many of them are affiliating with the Labor Party.

Q. The Friends during the war supported the war, did they not?

A. I could not answer that question yes or no, because there were a good many Friends who did go into the army or did take part in the financing of the wartime work in England. But the attitude of the Friends as a whole was against the war and against military service, and they stood out publicly on it throughout the war.

Q. Mr. Manly: Their attitude, though, is not against this particular war, but against all wars.

A. That is correct.

Q. It is a long-standing principle that the action of the individual Friend is a matter of personal discretion in time of war.

A. That is correct.

Q. And it has been recognized by the government in past wars, has it not, that the Society of Friends is entitled to religious exemption?

A. It has been recognized, I would say, to a more or less degree, its recognition depending on how hard pressed the government was.

Q. That was true, though, in this country that there had been a recognition of the Society of Friends as one of the religious organizations which on principle was opposed to military activity.

A. That is quite true.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: How many Friends are there in England? Have you any idea?

A. About 18,000; possibly 20,000.

Q. Chairman Howe: How many are there in the United States?

A. About 100,000.

Q. Communicants, or members of meeting houses?

A. Yes, about 100,000, widely scattered.

Q. Commissioner Newman: The Society of Friends in the United States did not oppose military service, did they?

A. They took the same stand that the Friends did in England. I myself did oppose it. I will have to make an explanation in order to answer that question. I will make it as briefly as possible. The Society of Friends does not undertake to bind their members as to their individual procedure. It is supposed that they in a general way have convictions that are in harmony with the principles that have been set down as the principles of the Society of Friends. But they are not ordered to do anything, but are supposed to follow their convictions. And it would simply follow that if a person did not in general agree with the principles of the Society of Friends, it would be expected that he would eventually resign. But no Friends were discharged or dismissed from membership because they took part in the war, although at the same time the official attitude of the Society of Friends was against participation in the war, or against war in any form or in any circumstances as a method of settling any international dispute, both now and past and future.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

Q. Chairman Howe: Are there any other questions as to the Irish testimony? If not, are there any other witnesses this morning? Have you anybody else, Mr. Manly?

Mr. Manly: No, I have not.

Chairman Howe: The witnesses we expected to have this week are still on the seas. They are on the *Baltic* and the *Carmania*. They were expected to land this week, so that we could continue the hearings today or Saturday; but neither of these boats will land before Sunday. The Commission expects to continue its hearings on Tuesday or Wednesday of next week. We cannot set a definite day or hour now, but they will be announced in the press. The hearings will be held here in the LaFayette Hotel.

Thereupon, at 11:45 A. M., the Commission adjourned until the Fourth Hearings.

FOURTH HEARINGS ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND
Before the
AMERICAN COMMISSION ON CONDITIONS IN
IRELAND

Session One

JANE ADDAMS	}	COMMISSIONERS
JAMES H. MAURER		
OLIVER P. NEWMAN		
GEORGE W. NORRIS		
NORMAN THOMAS		
DAVID I. WALSH		
L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD		
FREDERIC C. HOWE		
<i>Acting Chairman</i>		

Before the Commission, sitting in Hotel LaFayette, Washington, D. C., Tuesday, December 21, 1920.

Session called to order by Chairman Howe at 10:20 A. M.

Chairman Howe: The hearings will come to order. The hearing of witnesses will continue the greater part of today, tomorrow, and Thursday. The witnesses who have come for today in response to the Commission's request are two English women who have made a personal inquiry in Ireland, which has been embodied in a report printed, I understand, and distributed through their organization. They have kindly consented to come over here and appear before the Commission and give evidence. The first witness is Mrs. Robinson. Mrs. Robinson, you can adjust yourself to your comfort, and if you can speak so that the audience can hear you, it will add to their comfort.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. ANNOT ERSKINE
ROBINSON

- Q. You will first state your name, Mrs. Robinson.
A. Annot Erskine Robinson.
Q. Your residence?
A. Manchester.
Q. Senator Norris: England?
A. England.

PURPOSE OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

Q. Chairman Howe: And you are a member of an organization in England that made an inquiry in Ireland?

A. Yes, the Women's International League.

Q. What is the nature of the Women's International League?

A. The Women's International League is a body of women which first came together in 1915 as the result of a congress held at The Hague. As a result of that congress bodies of women have been established in England as well as in America. The object of that organization was to try to establish the principle of cooperation in international affairs, to find some other way of settling the disputes of nations besides war. They held a conference at The Hague in May, 1915; and in May, 1919, a second international conference was held at Zurich in Switzerland, and it again discussed methods whereby nations could settle differences other than by war. Our British Section has carried on its work in Britain, and of course other sections have carried on their work in different countries.

REASONS PROMPTING INVESTIGATION OF ATROCITIES IN IRELAND

In the spring of 1920 the attention of the British Section was naturally much occupied by what was happening in Ireland. We believed that the principle of self-determination was a fundamental right of a people to ask and have put into operation. We also felt that the atrocities and reprisals happening in Ireland were building up a tremendous state of war and hatred and hostility between Britain and Ireland. Because of that, and because also of the suffering of the women and children, we determined in August to send a commission of ten to Ireland to determine what was happening, and Miss Wilkinson and myself were two of the members of that commission of ten.

Q. Commissioner Wood: May I ask how you knew of the suffering of the women and children before you went?

A. Well, of course, it is perfectly obvious, is it not, that when it is reported in the newspapers that homes were being destroyed, that women and children are going to suffer? I do not know that there was any particular statement of that suffering in the newspapers, but perhaps it was but our own imaginations that led us to know that what was happening there would cause suffering among the women and children. We knew that reprisals had occurred, and that they would fall hardest upon the women and children.

Q. You had no information from friends in Ireland?

A. Yes, the Irish Branch of the Women's International League was founded in 1915. The Irish women felt that they could not conscientiously set up a branch of the British Women's League. Miss Louie Bennett, a writer whose name you may have heard, became the secretary of the Irish International League. But it was not because of any appeal that they sent that we decided to send a commission to Ireland. It was as a result of our own consciousness of what we knew was happening.

Q. Chairman Howe: And the British Section that you represent is confined to England, Scotland, and Wales?

A. Yes. Then in October of this year we sent a delegation of ten women to investigate conditions in Ireland. We have distributed among the members of the Commission a little printed pamphlet that we issued as a result of that mission.

COMMISSION'S REPORT ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND ASTONISHES BRITISH PEOPLE

On our return from Ireland on the sixteenth of October, I, as Organizing Secretary, arranged a large number of demonstrations throughout the large cities of England, at which members of the commission spoke and gave their impressions from their visit to Ireland. I think at this juncture I ought to say that the commission did not go as one mission. Some of us went to one part of Ireland and some to another; and we endeavored at these demonstrations to present the impressions of those members of the commission which had visited the different parts of Ireland. We had demonstrations in London and Manchester and Bristol and Newcastle and Edinburgh and Leeds and all the big centers of population. And now, since Miss Wilkinson and I are over here, the series of demonstrations have been continued; and one reason that we hesitated to come was that we wanted to stay and try to inform public opinion by these demonstrations. We held this series of demonstrations in practically all the big cities of the country. At all those meetings we have had very large audiences indeed. At Manchester we held our meeting in the Free Trade Hall, which is a very well-known hall, an historic place, and holds about three thousand people. And we have had the biggest halls in most of these big towns; and we found a tremendous feeling of astonishment in Britain at what is happening in Ireland, and a great deal of sympathy with the Irish people in their demand for some recognition of their nationality.

LIBERAL ENGLISH PAPERS INFORM PUBLIC ABOUT ATROCITIES IN IRELAND

I do not know whether this is the place where I think that British citizens ought to make it perfectly clear that there are a great many influences in Britain at the present time that are working in the direction of obtaining some recognition of the nationality of Ireland. I think—of course I have not been in the fortunate position of being able to see the American papers, but I should imagine that that is a side of British public life at present that has not been well reported in the American press.

Q. Senator Walsh: Has it been in the British press?

A. Yes. There, of course, we have some newspapers in Britain that have done a very great deal about publishing the facts about what is happening in Ireland during the last few months. I think we have handed in to Mr. MacDonald a series of photographs published by the *Manchester Guardian*. The *Manchester Guardian* during this spring, and particularly during September and October of this year, sent over four of their best photographers and also press reporters to Ireland, who have made it their business to go to each locality where atrocities have been reported to obtain photographs and first-hand information from those who have participated in those outrages. The photographs Mr. MacDonald has. They appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*. The *Manchester Guardian*, of course, is a newspaper with a very great influence in Britain in liberal circles. Not only the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily News and Leader* have done that, but also the *Daily Herald*, the Labor newspaper, although it has not so much space to give in its columns, has reported very fully indeed the information about atrocities and murders in Ireland.

Q. Commissioner Wood: What is the circulation of these papers, Mrs. Robinson?

A. The *Daily Herald* now has 350,000, and it has a circulation among people who have very considerable weight in Great Britain.

Q. But it has a circulation only among one class.

A. Among one party, but not among one class. But I cannot go into the political side of it.

Q. But I wanted to know what that meant in formulating British public opinion.

A. I should state that not only the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily News and Leader* and the *Daily Herald*, but also the weekly *Nation*—I don't know how large its circulation is, but it has a circulation among some of the most thoughtful and influential peo-

ple, and it has done a very great deal of good. As to the exact circulation of the papers I have mentioned, the *Daily Herald* has a circulation of 350,000. You know, of course, that the *Daily Herald* is a Labor Party paper, but the Labor Party, when its new constitution was formed in 1919, extended its invitation to people who work with hand and brain; and it is not true to say that the Labor Party in England consists only of manual workers. It has also many representatives of professional people. It is therefore not true that the *Daily Herald* represents only one class—it represents one party, but it has all classes in it. Then the Manchester *Guardian* has a very great national influence. Although it is a provincial paper, it has a national influence, and represents national radical opinion.

UNITED STATES CONSUL SEEKS TO PREVENT WITNESSES FROM COMING TO TESTIFY ABOUT IRELAND

Q. Senator Norris: Now, Mr. Chairman, I would make an inquiry of this witness that I think might be part of her preliminary testimony. I have understood that you ladies had some difficulty in getting permission to come over here. Before you go into your testimony proper, if you had any such difficulty, I wish you would tell the Commission about it.

A. Yes. When the invitation was received from this Commission by our national executive that we should come here to give evidence before this Commission, our national executive had considerable difficulty deciding whether we ought to come or ought not to come. Obviously, it is a difficult thing to come out of one's own country into another country and discuss a matter that might be considered in some aspects as of domestic policy. On the other hand, as we were international and had branches in all countries, we realized that the Irish question was not only a question of national politics; it was also a question of international politics. And so we applied to our own Foreign Office for permission to come. When we applied to our own Foreign Office, the passports were issued without any difficulty; and we were told that our passports would have to be viséd by the American Consul in Manchester. I understood that that was a mere matter of formality, and therefore we did not apply as early as we might have done. The steamship on which we came, the *Baltic*, came on Wednesday, the eighth; and on the sixth we applied at the American Consulate to have our passports viséd. The visa is with ordinary officials supposed to go

through in the ordinary course of business; it is a mere matter of formality, after one's own government has issued a passport. But when we applied to the American Consul in Manchester to visé our passports, he refused.

Q. Senator Walsh: His name, please?

A. Mr. Wells. Mr. Wells came forward and said, "I refuse to visé these passports." Naturally, I was very much astonished, particularly in my own city of Manchester, where I am very well known. And I said, "Mr. Wells, we cannot accept that. Would you mind giving me some reason for such an extraordinary refusal?" And he said, "We are not encouraging inquiries in America into the state of affairs in Ireland." And I told him that I did not consider that that was a sufficient reply. And so I took the night train up to London, and called at the office of the American embassy and also on the American Consul-General. And I also saw some friends who had diplomatic influence in London. I was assured by the Consul-General (I am not sure whether it was the Consul-General or one of his assistants) that as far as he knew, he saw no reason why the passport should not be viséd by the American Consul at Manchester; but perhaps he was not satisfied with the *bona fides* of Miss Wilkinson and myself. He advised me to go back to Manchester and see him again. I traveled back, arriving in Manchester Wednesday morning. The boat sailed that afternoon. And Miss Wilkinson and I, with a friend, called again at the office of the American Consul and said that we had again come with reference to the passports. And then, after extracting from us a definite promise that we would not address meetings, engage in any propaganda, or grant any interviews while we were in America, he consented to visé our passports.

Q. Senator Walsh: Will you repeat that, please?

A. Having given a definite undertaking that we would not engage in any propaganda, address any meetings, or give any interviews while in America, he consented to visé our passports.

Q. What is his full name?

A. I do not know.

Miss Wilkinson: Mr. F. Wells.

Q. Is he an Englishman or an American?

A. I don't know, but I should judge by this gentleman's accent that he was an American, but his policy was rather English. He extracted from us that very definite pledge, and then we were allowed, three hours before the boat sailed, to come here.

Q. Senator Norris: Did you give that promise in writing?

A. No.

Q. Did he say anything to you in his conversation on either occasion that would give you information as to whether he was acting under instructions, or whether the action was taken on his own volition?

A. I don't know, but the Consul-General in London said he was sure that he was not acting on general instructions, but on his own initiative. And the intimation to me was that he had some terrible information about Miss Wilkinson and myself.

Q. Commissioner Newman: What information did you obtain from the American embassy in London?

A. I did not see the Ambassador, but a secretary told me that he was very much astonished that the visa had been refused.

Q. Senator Norris: Do you know whether the Ambassador at London communicated with Mr. Wells at Manchester?

A. Yes. I asked that he should do so, and left some money to pay for the telegrams.

Q. Commissioner Newman: Do you know what information he sent to the Consul at Manchester?

A. I was not informed. We only can draw an inference, as we say in Scotland.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Did I understand you to say that the embassy required you to pay money?

A. I was asked to leave a deposit to pay for the telegrams. It was later refunded. I asked for it back.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did Mr. Wells in Manchester say that he had heard from London between Tuesday night and Wednesday morning?

A. He did not say so, but I knew it indirectly.

Q. But after hearing from London, he made you extend certain promises?

A. Quite, quite.

Q. And your mouth is sealed from talking to newspaper men?

A. So. I might say that on the small slip of paper on which we were asked to put in our business for going to America, it is true I only wrote in the word "business," but I explained to the secretary very fully what I was going to do, and what I was going to state. But the Consul said, in spite of that, that we only had written the word "business" on that scrap of paper, and had not stated what that business was. But physically it was quite impossible to do so, for there was no room on that little piece of paper at all.

Mr. Manly: May I ask a question, Mr. Howe?

Chairman Howe: Certainly.

Q. Mr. Manly: Before you went to the Embassy you called upon some of the more prominent and influential liberals in London?

A. Yes, but I would not care to give their names.

Q. But you think it is very probable that they communicated with the Ambassador?

A. Yes. I felt that this situation was so peculiar that I should use any influence that I had.¹

INFLUENTIAL ENGLISH PERSONS AND ORGANIZATIONS PROMOTE PEACE WITH IRELAND

Q. Senator Walsh: Now, the witness can go back to the newspaper matter.

A. Yes. I was saying that the Manchester *Guardian* has a very remarkable influence in Britain, even though it is a provincial newspaper. As to the amount of its circulation, I don't know. The *Daily News and Leader* is at present the daily organ of the Free Liberals, and has a very large circulation. And these newspapers for the last few months, at any rate, have devoted a very large amount of space to the demand that the Government should reconsider its policy in Ireland. Not only have the newspapers been doing that, but organizations like our own are acting on the same policy. We not only have the Women's International League, but also the Peace for Ireland Committee. On that committee we have several very well-known politicians who are sitting, and also some very well-known men and women. And they have been sitting in a committee room of the House of Commons, and they are working very hard, by spreading literature and propaganda, to give a knowledge of what is happening in Ireland, and creating a very definite public opinion on the matter. And then, of course, we have the Labor Party, which, as you know, has sent several missions to Ireland, and is taking up the Irish question with a great deal of vigor at the present time.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I ask, for our benefit, if you will elaborate a little on that? Can you tell us who some of the people are on that Peace for Ireland Committee, and can you tell some of their names?

¹ Mrs. Robinson and Miss Wilkinson, at the request of the Commission, swore to the statements herein made concerning the attempt of U. S. Consul F. Wells to prevent their coming to America to testify, which affidavit was submitted to the U. S. Secretary of State December 23, 1920, for official action.

A. Yes. Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, who is a very well-known woman in Britain, a very well-known journalist and author, a well-known publicist. Lord Henry Bentinck is a member of it. He is a member of one of the established families, a life-long member of the Conservative Party, who has taken a very strong position indeed on this Irish matter. If any member of this Commission has seen the files of the London newspapers, you will see that Lord Henry Bentinck has asked questions almost every day on the Irish question at question time in the House of Commons. Sir John Simon is also a member—one of our best-known lawyers, and a leading politician; and he also has taken a very strong stand on this matter. Commander Kenworthy, who is a member of the House of Commons, a Liberal Member, has also devoted considerable time and very much attention to bringing out the facts about Ireland, such as he could obtain, from Sir Hamar Greenwood. And Miss Maud Roydon, who is perhaps known here as an eminent woman preacher. I should think that Miss Maud Roydon is one of the best-known women in England at the present time, and one of the most influential. Lord Buckmaster is also a member of it, and Miss Buckmaster is also acting as its secretary.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Mr. Hobson, the well-known economist, is also a member, is he not?

A. Yes, and Ramsay MacDonald and J. J. Mallon.

Q. Lady Courtney?

A. Yes, Lady Courtney, and Captain Fitzhodings Berkeley.

BASIS OF ANY SETTLEMENT IS SELF-DETERMINATION FOR IRISH PEOPLE

Q. Senator Norris: I wish you would give us an idea, if you can, of the position that these various persons named in these various organizations take on the Irish question. Do they stand for freedom for Ireland, or for some modifications of Ireland's demand for freedom?

A. I think at the moment what they stand for first and foremost is a reconsidering of the policy of the Government. And secondly, they want some settlement of the Irish question on the basis of granting self-determination to the Irish people. But I am quite certain that no further agreement would be found among these various names as to the form that this should take.

Q. Senator Walsh: There probably would be some disagreement on that?

A. Yes, I am quite sure there would.

Q. But they agree on these two things?

A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I bring this out further? Do they demand that the troops be withdrawn?

A. Yes, they demand that the troops be at least withdrawn to the seaboard; but whether they agree that the troops should be entirely withdrawn from Ireland I could not say. I might as well bring out here that you find the troops going about in small isolated bodies. The railroads, as you know, have refused to carry munitions of war or troops that are armed. That means that the troops must go about from point to point sometimes in quite small bodies. The policemen have also done that. And that has made it comparatively simple for a member, say, of some secret society in Ireland, if some such society exists, or any Sinn Feiner, if he feels exasperated—it provides opportunity for the murders that have occurred. Many of us have felt that it was a very unfortunate method for the distribution of the troops in Ireland. And I am sure that every member of that Peace for Ireland Committee would say that the troops should be withdrawn at least to the seaboard, and that the patrolling of lonely country roads should immediately cease.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Would they agree to the second point, that Ireland should be given some kind of self-determination?

A. Well, you see that I am not a member of that Peace for Ireland Committee. Therefore, while I am quite willing to answer general questions as to both our program and that of the Peace for Ireland Committee, I cannot speak with any certainty.

Q. You understand that in asking you, we are perhaps going ahead of what would be done in exceedingly formal legal testimony. But we want information along this line. It is peculiarly important for us to know what is meant in England by a reversal of the Government policy. Now, we know that there is probably no one opinion. We would be willing to assume that. But we want to get as clear a picture of it as possible. That is why I asked these questions.

A. Yes, quite. What we, the Women's International League, did was to send this committee to Ireland to get first-hand information and the facts, as well as they could be learned, about the situation there. We knew that the problem could not be settled all at once, but we felt that there were certain first steps that should be taken immediately. We therefore advocated the immediate release of Irish political prisoners and the offering of a truce, during

which all forces should be withdrawn, and the placing of responsibility for keeping order in the hands of Irish local bodies, thus making a situation in which the Irish people could determine their own form of government. And I should think you would find a universal opinion among those people I have mentioned that this should be done.

Q. Do you mean that these organizations favor withdrawing the troops from Ireland?

A. I believe that the presence of the troops in Ireland has led to very great bloodshed. My organization believes that they should at least be withdrawn to the seaboard.

Q. Do you mean by self-determination that the Irish people should determine their form of government, outside or inside of the Empire?

A. I do.

Q. Does your organization?

A. Yes. But I want to make it quite clear that I am not answering for all these organizations, particularly the newspapers. Of course you must remember that a very great number of people agree with Mr. Asquith, who has stood for the dominion form of self-government. That is a point of view which I should say is much more widely held by the bodies of which I have spoken than the other point of view, when I say that I and my organization favor self-determination.

Q. Senator Norris: That would mean giving Ireland the same kind of government that is given to Canada?

A. Precisely.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: You would say that the home rule policy of the British Government scarcely represents the mind of England?

A. Quite. I wonder if it would not be worth while to trace the stage where public opinion is at in England today?

Chairman Howe: That would be very interesting.

ULSTER REBELLION SUPPORTED BY ENGLISH ARISTOCRATS

The Witness: Well, in 1914, before the war, when the Home Rule Bill was placed on the statute books, although it was never made operative at that time, you had Sir Edward Carson and F. I. Smith, now our Lord Chancellor, who were the recognized leaders of the Ulsterites, protesting in the name of the people in the six counties (it was six at that time; now it is four), who protested that they

would not accept separation from Great Britain. And you had at that time the Ulster Volunteers very effectively armed and drilled. You had up in northeast Ulster a very well drilled and disciplined and armed body of troops. The arms, as you know, were obtained partly from big firms in Britain and partly from Germany when you had the gun-running at Larne; and at that time the lawlessness in Ireland was all in the northeast of Ulster. And lawlessness in Ulster at that time had the support of a certain proportion of the aristocracy and the Conservative Party, which represented the aristocracy in Great Britain. When you talk of the northeast Ulster situation, you must realize that a large section of Conservative and aristocratic opinion in England upheld them in their open rebellion against the Home Rule Bill. They imported arms and got ready to fight against its enforcement. And then came the war.

Q. Senator Walsh: That opinion is a powerful one?

A. Yes, it is an important factor.

Q. It has been more or less the ruling opinion?

A. Yes, yes. One feels that these questions can only be answered by paragraphs.

EXECUTIONS AND IMPRISONMENTS SOLIDIFY IRELAND FOR SINN FEIN

And then after that, in 1914, came the war. And Redmond, in the name of Ireland, called upon Ireland in the British Parliament to fight for the right of small democracies. And then after that very little about Ireland appeared in our newspapers. Naturally, the war occupied the attention of the great mass of people in Great Britain, because, of course, the war came into our work and family life, perhaps more than it did in this country. And after that came the 1916 Rebellion. Before the 1916 Rebellion the Sinn Fein movement was not a movement whose existence was recognized by many people in Great Britain. It was a literary movement, an educational movement. It was not, to the knowledge of most people, a political movement. And then after the Rebellion you had the execution of the leaders, which was protracted over a good many days.

Q. Chairman Howe: Just why were those executions protracted over a great many days?

A. I don't know.

Q. Just for terrorism?

A. I don't know. I have no opinion. And of course the shootings in cold blood after the Rebellion had been subdued, these executions naturally aroused a very great depth of feeling in Ireland.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was that without trial or court-martial?

A. It was under courts-martial. Ireland at the time, of course, was under martial law. Dublin was.

Q. Commissioner Wood: It aroused a great deal of feeling in Ireland, but not in England?

A. It aroused a great feeling in England, especially in Labor circles, and outside of Labor circles too.

Q. Senator Walsh: It almost immediately made Ireland Sinn Fein?

A. Yes, it gave support to the growth of the Sinn Fein demand for absolute independence in Ireland. Before 1914 there was very little talk of absolute independence in Ireland. After the 1916 Rebellion and the executions in Ireland, the demand for independence assumed very much greater importance, and the Sinn Fein movement spread. Then in 1917 and 1918 there were many arrests of suspected people in Ireland—people suspected of disloyal opinion.

ENGLISH VIOLENCE PRECEDES SHOOTING OF POLICEMEN

Q. Senator Walsh: How were these people treated? What method of trial did they get?

A. Well, that is answered by this summary which I have prepared:

In the year 1917 no policeman was killed, but the police and military raided private houses and arrested 394 persons for political opinions, deported 24 persons without charge or trial, suppressed meetings and newspapers, and killed several civilians. I think that is just as good a summary as I can give you.¹

Q. Commissioner Wood: Deported means deported to England?

A. Yes, deported to England and kept away from their own country.

Q. Chairman Howe: That is 1917?

A. Yes, 1917.

Q. Senator Walsh: From what source does that information come?

A. From the newspapers ordinarily.

Q. And from your investigations?

A. No, but it is a matter of general notice.

Miss Wilkinson: They were taken from a *White Paper* published by the House of Commons by a friend of mine.

Senator Walsh: Very well.

¹ See summary in Exhibit I.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO SUPPRESS ARMED REBELLION IN ULSTER

Mr. Basil Manly: May I ask a question?

Chairman Howe: Certainly.

Q. Mr. Manly: To go back to the Ulster movement, the Carson movement. Is it true that Sir Edward Carson defied the Government to impose its Home Rule Bill on Ulster?

A. Yes, it is true.

Q. Is it true that an army was raised and armed by Sir Edward Carson to prevent its enforcement?

A. Yes.

Q. Senator Walsh: Previous to the war?

A. Yes, previous to the war.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was there any action taken by the British Government to suppress that revolution or rebellion?

A. No, no action was taken.

Q. What action did certain sections of the British Army take, do you recall?

A. Yes, I recall, but my information of that was extremely hazy. It was said in the press, and it was not contradicted by the Government, that the soldiers at the Curragh Camp in Ireland would refuse to try to suppress the actions of the Ulster Volunteers if ordered to do so.

Q. Do you know of any punishment, any disciplinary action that was taken?

A. There was none.

Q. Senator Walsh: Now go back to 1918.

DESPITE MURDER, ARREST, AND DEPORTATION OF IRISHMEN, NO POLICE KILLED IN 1918

A. In the year 1918 no police were killed. One hundred and ten political arrests took place. Seventy-seven persons were deported without trial. Fairs and markets were suppressed, and five civilians were killed.

Q. Now, just for the sake of the record, is this information from the same source?

A. Miss Wilkinson: Yes, taken from a White Paper.

Q. Chairman Howe: White Paper being what,—a Government White Paper?

A. Yes, published in response to a Parliamentary request.

Mrs. Robinson: Yes, and it was published in the newspapers generally throughout England and not contradicted.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do you know whether up to this time the British troops had been stationed in Ireland in large numbers?

A. Well, there always have been these large British camps in Ireland. I do not know how many soldiers are habitually kept at the Curragh Camp.

Q. In 1917 and 1918?

A. Always. There always were.

Q. Commissioner Wood: When you say six civilians were killed—

A. Five civilians.

Q. Do you mean that they were killed by the Government forces?

A. Yes, or by the police in skirmishes. You see, in Ireland the police go about heavily armed. They are always a half-militarized force.

Q. Senator Walsh: And always have been?

A. They are not a civilian force. They are half military.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I go back to the question from which we started? About the development of British opinion: what was happening in Great Britain?

A. Yes, I was going on to 1918, was I not? After the armistice in 1918 we had a general election in December, 1918.

Q. Commissioner Wood: May I ask, before you go on to the armistice, in regard to the enforcement of conscription in Ireland, or the non-enforcement of conscription in Ireland, and what influence that had on British public opinion?

A. I think Miss Wilkinson could answer that better than I. I am quite sure she would be very glad to deal with that as part of her testimony. I do not feel that my impressions are sufficiently clear-cut to answer that.

COALITION'S KHAKI ELECTION VICTORY MAKES CARSONISM GOVERNMENT POLICY

Q. Chairman Howe: I would like to have the witness just continue this chronologically of what happened in Ireland. It will make it much clearer in the record.

A. Yes. Then in 1918 you had the general election, and you had the Coalition Government returned with a tremendous majority, and Sir Edward Carson and his Irish policy as an integral part of the Government.

Q. Commissioner Addams: That is, his policy was in a way approved by the election?

A. Yes, certainly.

Q. Mr. Manly: But the general election was not on that issue.

A. The general election was not on that issue. But, you see, the Coalition group had adopted his policy as its own in the agreements reached for the formation of the Cabinet and the fight over the general election; and it was perfectly evident that the Irish policy of Sir Edward Carson was adopted as an integral part of the Coalition policy for the British Government in order to secure the votes which he undoubtedly represented in the Cabinet and in the Government.

Q. Chairman Howe: I confess I have never been able to understand why Sir Edward Carson could exercise so much power and influence in the Government. What are the sources of his strength and power?

A. I am not a member of the Cabinet. I am afraid I could not say. All I can say is that in order to gain the support of Sir Edward Carson and all the aristocratic influences he stands for, in order to secure that, the Coalition Government adopted as an integral part of its policy the policy of Sir Edward Carson in Ireland.

Q. You were discussing the elections of 1918.

A. Under that is the point that the Commission ought to bear in mind, that the election of 1918 resulted in the adoption of the Irish policy of Sir Edward Carson.

Q. Senator Norris: Briefly, what was that policy?

A. At that time it was definitely the Ulster policy.

Q. Commissioner Addams: The Unionist policy?

A. Yes, the Unionist policy at that time. Since then it has been very considerably modified. Since 1918 very considerably modified. Then in December, 1918, you had very definitely the Irish Parliament elected and the Irish members of Parliament refusing to come to the British House of Commons, setting up an independent Parliament of its own committed very definitely to Irish independence; while you had the Coalition Government committed to Sir Edward Carson's policy. And the suppressions went on in Ireland.

REPUBLICAN ELECTION VICTORY IN IRELAND MARKS START OF WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

Q. Mr. Manly: Would it be accurate to say that the result of that 1918 election was that the Ulster policy secured control of the British Government and that the Sinn Fein policy secured control of the situation in Ireland?

A. Yes, as far as 82 per cent of the people of Ireland were concerned, the Sinn Fein policy secured the support of 82 per cent of the electorate of Ireland, further confirmed by the elections of January, 1920. The shooting of police did not begin until January, 1919; and the claim is made that the policemen attacked were policemen who had been especially active in hunting down Sinn Feiners.

Q. Commissioner Wood: When you say that the shooting of policemen did not begin until a certain date, did you get that information from any Government White Paper?

A. Yes.

Q. Senator Norris: That is an indisputable fact?

A. Yes, that is an indisputable fact. And, of course, it rather points to the fact that the shooting began in Ireland as a result of the outrages of the preceding three years.

Q. Commissioner Addams: At what date did the shooting begin?

A. In January, 1919. Of course, by January, 1919, you had the Easter Rebellion and the execution of the leaders and the 1918 elections, and afterwards the municipal elections of January, 1920, all strengthening Sinn Fein feeling in Ireland; and on the other hand, following the general elections, the acceptance of Sir Edward Carson as a member of the British Cabinet.

Q. Senator Walsh: That is the election of 1918?

A. Yes, December, 1918.

Q. Chairman Howe: And the acceptance of Carson in the Cabinet was construed by a great number of the Irish people as the end of dominion home rule and the end of their hopes for the rights of small nations?

A. Yes, right. And also the end of the possibility of constitutional agitation.

Q. Senator Walsh: You say that Sir Edward Carson was accepted by the Coalition Cabinet. Was that an action agreed to by the English people, or was it a political trade,—certain forces got together and went before the electorate, and he was one of the forces gathered together?

A. You could not legitimately call that a trick.

Senator Walsh: No, a trade.

The Witness: Yes, it was a trade.

Senator Norris: You see, a trade in politics is very often a trick.

The Witness: I presume you are a politician.

Senator Norris: No, I get that from observation.

Commissioner Newman: He is not a politician, Mrs. Robinson, he is a senator.

Senator Norris: That makes it still worse.

The Witness: Well, trade or trick, it was a legitimate deal for the Coalition Government as far as those things go.

Q. Senator Walsh: What I wanted to bring out was whether the mind of the people of England was concentrated on rendering a verdict on the outcome of the war, and the people were not mindful of the Irish issue.

A. To a very great extent, that is exactly what happened. The 1918 election was fought on war issues.

Q. And yet the make-up of the Coalition Government was such that it very definitely included a suppression of the home rule aspirations of the Irish people.

A. Yes, that is a fact.

Senator Walsh: That is the first time that has been presented to us.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Would it be true to say that war psychology determined that election; that the cry was to make Germany pay the cost of the war and hang the Kaiser, but the result was reaction in England?

UNINFORMED ENGLISH PUBLIC NOT AWARE OF IRISH CRISIS

A. Yes, that is what happened. But for myself I should not put it so crudely. I don't think that the average English elector in that election gave a thought to Ireland. I don't think that one elector out of a hundred was at all concerned with Ireland at all. But the master minds behind the election were. And that, therefore, when those atrocities began in Ireland, the average Britisher had no clew whatever as to why those atrocities should begin. And to the average British mind there is a very great repugnance to secret murder,—that is, murder in lonely places. The difference in the psychology between the two races might account for that. The average Britisher, however brutal he might be, would not resort to secret murder. And then when in 1919 those secret murders began, it created a state of feeling against Ireland which still continues. I hope I have made that clear, for it is a very important thing.

Commissioner Addams: You have made it very, very clear.

The Witness: You see, our newspapers had been very reticent about what was happening in Ireland. We did not see why the situation in Ireland should be so desperate, why policemen were

being shot, why these outrages occurred. Of course, the ordinary people thought we were treating Ireland quite well, and could not understand.

Q. Chairman Howe: Do you want to rest a moment, Mrs. Robinson?

A. No. But that is the end of that chronology.

PUBLIC MEETINGS IN ENGLAND TO INFORM PEOPLE

Q. You left some matters in regard to the organizations in England that are investigating the Irish question uncompleted.

A. Yes.

Q. Just what steps are they taking in regard to the Irish question,—the Peace for Ireland Committee and your own organization and the Labor organization?

A. Well, I have already indicated that our own organization is carrying on and actively conducting propaganda in public meetings. The Peace for Ireland Committee is holding wonderful public meetings also. They had a meeting in Manchester at which Sir John Simon spoke, and it drew one of the largest audiences I have seen there for any occasion.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND BROKEN DOWN SINCE 1918

Q. Senator Walsh: I am afraid that we interrupted you at the time of the elections in 1918. There is an intervening two years that is not covered. What was the development of opinion for the next two years?

A. Oh, yes. We came down to January, 1919, and the beginning of those atrocities. You had, of course, the Irish Parliament. Their M. P.'s did not come over to Britain, but organized their own Parliament in Dublin. Then you had further unrest and further oppression. And you see, we have reached the situation that exists today. I don't think there is anything of value to add to that sketch. I should think that what has happened since January, 1919, is what the Commission already knows.

Q. Chairman Howe: Well, assume the Commission does not know, Mrs. Robinson.

A. Well, beginning with January, 1919, you had a number of great movements of troops over to Ireland heavily armed. Those troops began the raids and the hunting up of Sinn Feiners. Then you had the complete breakdown of the British government over

the greater part of Ireland, and the growth of the Sinn Fein government, until you really have today two governments in Ireland, the Sinn Fein Government and the British Government. I spoke to someone who is in touch with the military in Ireland, and that was the expressed opinion of a man in fairly high position in the Army, that you have got two governments in Ireland, the Sinn Fein Parliament, of which Miss Wilkinson can speak much more accurately than I; and you have the British Government. And you have this policy of atrocities and reprisals. That is the situation now.

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS IN ULSTER

Q. Senator Norris: Then you think you are down to the place where you can describe to this Commission what you actually saw?

A. Yes. I shall not attempt to cover all of Ireland. I think Miss Wilkinson could describe conditions in the south and west. I did not visit those parts.

Q. But you could tell yourself what you saw in the parts you did visit.

A. Yes, in Ulster.

Q. Chairman Howe: May I raise one more question about public opinion in England? You said awhile ago that the original Sir Edward Carson policy has been modified by events.

A. Yes. Perhaps I can better explain that with my own experiences in Ulster.

Q. Yes, perhaps. But I only wanted to know, before you closed your testimony, why a policy based on absolute Unionism should become changed to something else.

A. Yes, I think that can be covered by my experiences in north-east Ulster, where in October I visited Belfast and Lisburn.

Q. Senator Walsh: This year?

A. Yes, this year.

Q. Senator Norris: When you were a member of that committee?

A. Yes. I visited northeast Ulster because I believe that a possibility of settlement lies in northeast Ulster.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Will you just give your experiences in Ireland then?

A. Yes, I think that will be best. The members of the Committee who went to Ulster were Mrs. Catherine Chisholm, M. Mewhort, Mrs. Agnes Dollan, and I.

Q. These were all English women?

A. Two of them are English and two Scotch. While we were

there we interviewed a good many people, a considerable number of Belfast city councillors, leaders of the Unionist Party. The co-operative movement is very strong in that part of Ireland. We devoted a fair amount of time and attention to the leaders of the cooperative movement and the leaders of the Cooperative Guild. Then we interviewed a considerable number of the Expelled Workers' Committee (I shall explain later what that is), and a number of representative citizens, so as to try to get an all-around view of the situation. In Belfast at the present time there is a very great number of soldiers, heavily armed, to be seen in the streets, and a very great number of heavily armed constables. Every town you come across is an exhibition of force, of military force. From all of those sources we got a pretty consecutive narrative as to what had been happening recently in Belfast. There was agreement as to facts, but there was not agreement as to the deductions from the facts.

UNIONISTS LOSE HOLD IN BELFAST ELECTIONS

In the local elections this spring in Belfast, which were held under the proportional representation act, for the first time a breach was made in the domination of the Unionist Party in the City Council. Out of sixty councillors elected, twenty-five represented Nationalists and Labor and Sinn Fein and Socialist opinion, —twenty-five out of sixty.

Q. Commissioner Addams: You mean twenty-five out of sixty?

A. Yes, twenty-five out of sixty. Up to this time there had been an unquestioned domination of the Unionists. This was a very great section of different opinion which appeared to act more or less together as a group.

SEMI-LITERATE BELFAST POPULATION MANIPULATED BY POLITICIANS

The reasons which were given for this very extraordinary change in public opinion in Belfast were rather conflicting. I think for a moment I had better digress. In Belfast, of course, you have a very strong Protestant feeling. On the gable ends of cottage houses you will find a huge painting. You will find these paintings outside nearly all the public houses. They are all the same. There is a large figure representing a man in a riding coat, bigger than life, with a cocked hat and brilliant feathers, crossing a bright blue stream with green banks. You will find that all over Belfast. And above it is written, "William III Crossing the Boyne, 1690." In

the streets of Belfast in school hours a very great number of children were to be seen, children of school age. As a teacher before my marriage, I was very much struck by that fact—the enormous number of children of school age that were in the streets of Belfast during school hours. And I made it my business to find out from a very well-known Belfast woman what was the reason for it. I was told that there were not nearly enough school accommodations in Belfast for the Protestant children, and that had been true for a great many years. That lady said that between two and three thousand school places were short in Belfast. That means that in the Protestant population of Belfast you are producing a semi-literate population, and they are being educated by these oil paintings. William III has been made a political figure, and it has produced in Belfast a population that is very easily manipulated by the politicians.

Q. Commissioner Addams: This school question has come up once before. The schools in Belfast are not built by public money. Can you tell us something about that?

A. You see, in England and Scotland there are school rates, which is a very important part of educational money. And that is supplemented by the national grants. In Belfast there is no rate for educational purposes. Although Belfast is a very wealthy city, there are no adequate provisions for education.

Q. Are there denominational schools in Belfast?

A. Yes, of course. The Catholic children and the Protestant children do not go to the same schools. And, curiously enough, the Catholic population of Belfast is very much better educated than the Protestant population.

Q. Senator Walsh: What is the reason for that? Is it because the Catholic Church is more active and more concerned in providing education in schools?

A. Yes, it is more concerned in providing schools for its children.

Q. Commissioner Addams: It is more accustomed to doing that, I suppose.

A. Yes. But, regardless of the reason, for a long time this is the fact: you have an insufficient number of school places for Protestant children, and not enough really for Catholic children.

Q. Senator Norris: The Protestant schools are provided for by the Protestants?

A. No, by some sort of grant. I do not know how, exactly.

Q. Are the Catholic schools provided for in the same way?

A. Yes, but the Catholic schools, I imagine, have been more largely supplemented by private subscriptions.

UNSCHOOLED CHILDREN BECOME CHEAP MILL LABOR

Q. Mr. Manly: May I ask a question? Are the industries in Belfast of a character to employ a large number of small children?

A. Yes, but they are not even employed at that. They are children running about the streets doing odd jobs.

Q. How old are the children?

A. Well, eight, nine, or up to twelve.

Q. Would they be permitted to work in the mills?

A. Not in England.

Q. In Ireland?

A. As far as I know, they would not.

Q. So there is a supply of child labor ready for the mills from this source?

A. Yes.

Q. Are the mill owners in Belfast active in politics? Have they dominated the government of Belfast?

A. Yes, undoubtedly the mill owners and the leading Unionists have been in control of the government of Belfast.

Q. Might not that be the reason for the failure to provide sufficient educational facilities?

A. Yes, I think so. But the point I wish to make is that you have had for a long number of years a semi-literate population which has been educated by these paintings and political speeches. I think that accounts for the ignorant population of Belfast, and the ease with which they can be manipulated.

Q. Commissioner Addams: But the same educational provisions do not apply to Ireland as to England?

A. No. As a matter of fact, the Educational Act of Scotland is different from that of England.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Do not some of these children get part-time education?

A. I could find no trace of that.

Q. No trace of that?

A. Yes, no trace of it. You see, a tradition in education has much to do with education. A certain section of Belfast does not worry about schooling, and you have an illiterate population.

Q. Chairman Howe: You said between two and three thousand seats short?

A. Yes, between two and three thousand. This lady told me that the accommodations for the school children were about two to three thousand places short.

SCANDALOUS WAGES PAID WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN BELFAST MILLS

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Have you during your investigations found out the average standard of wages for child workers in those mills?

A. The wages for children in the Belfast mills we did not go into, but of course notoriously the wages paid to women and children in the mills of Belfast have been a public scandal. They have been very scandalously underpaid. That has been true for years.

Q. Senator Walsh: Mr. Maurer, do you not think that we ought to go into that industrial question separately?

Commissioner Maurer: Well, I just thought that this might be connected up with the school question—the supply of child labor.

POLITICAL CHANGE IN BELFAST DUE TO LABOR IMMIGRATION AND ORGANIZATION

The Witness: During the war there was a period of very, very great industrial activity in Belfast. You had then linen mills and shipyards working as hard as they could work. You had many new people coming into Belfast during the war period. You had an infiltration of people with new ideas. And I think this infiltration of people with new ideas had very much to do with the change in the Belfast situation at the last election of the city council. Aside from that has been the very great activity among labor unions in Belfast. In Belfast the workers are very well organized,—unions like the engineers, or the carpenters and joiners, or the big unskilled workers' union, or the electrical workers' union,—bodies having their headquarters in England, although the local bodies are in Belfast. Well, you had a tremendous growth of trade unionism in Belfast. And in the spring of 1919 there was a strike carried through in Belfast for a forty-four-hour week; and in that strike the Roman Catholics and the Protestant Unionists and the Nationalists stood side by side. The unions for the first time were able to get united action between the workers of Belfast. That in my mind is an important factor—the very great growth of trade unions and labor feeling, as evidenced in the elections.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Will you repeat the date of this successful strike?

A. March, 1919. I don't know whether the strike was successful or not. The success that I am emphasizing is that you got all the workers to come out together and fight together in this one big strike. As to what the result of the strike was I did not take the trouble to ascertain.

GROWTH OF NATIONAL FEELING IN ULSTER

And then, as well as that, there was a great growth of national feeling. The Unionist began to feel himself an Irishman before he was an Unionist; and he was very nearly as critical of the English Government as the Nationalist,—for different reasons he was extremely critical of the English Government.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was Belfast put under martial law at the time of that strike, do you remember?

A. Not as far as I know. I do not think so.

Q. Commissioner Wood: When you say Unionist in this case it is referring to the labor organizations?

A. No, I mean Unionists in politics. Perhaps Orangemen would be better. The Orangeman was as critical of the English Government as was the Nationalist; and the Orangeman was beginning to realize that he was an Irishman as well as the Nationalist.

Q. Chairman Howe: Do you want to elaborate that?

A. I cannot elaborate it beyond saying that it was an opinion expressed to me by a great many prominent people in Belfast. But I want to say that the political change in the position of Sir Edward Carson and the support of Carson to the Home Rule Bill has been influenced by the forces of which I spoke.

Q. What changed the attitude of the Unionists and the Ulsterites toward the British Government?

A. Well, the feeling that they are Irishmen. They did not approve of the suppression in Ireland.

Q. They too are protesting against that?

GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONISM THREATENS HOLD OF CARSONISM ON ULSTER

A. To a certain extent; although I do not want to minimize the feeling that exists between Unionist and Nationalist. But to a great extent labor policy is acting as a solvent for that extreme bitterness and hatred.

The growth of a feeling of nationalism in Ireland is perhaps best

indicated by the local elections of 1920, which left only four counties in northeast Ulster with a Unionist majority.

Q. Senator Walsh: Out of how many?

A. Nine. And you know that in the Home Rule Bill before Parliament at the present time that a separate Parliament is to function for four counties of Ulster instead of six counties comprising the Unionist stronghold. To these Unionist counties Fermanagh and Tyrone have been added by the bargaining of Sir Edward Carson, although they are not Unionist counties. They are Nationalist counties with farmer constituencies. These six counties are coming under the Ulster Parliament because, in my opinion, there is a very real danger that when that Ulster Parliament is set up, you will have a majority of the Labor Party in the Ulster Parliament. Fermanagh and Tyrone have been included to be sure you will have an Ulster Parliament which Labor cannot control.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Those two counties are not Unionist?

A. No. Politically they are Nationalist, but economically they are capitalist and not labor, because of their agricultural holdings. And when the division comes between capital and labor, Tyrone and Fermanagh can be depended upon for some time to support the capital side rather than the labor side. When this Home Rule Bill was being discussed in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Carson insisted that this Parliament should have no power to make a levy on capital—on capital wealth—and that point was insisted upon by Sir Edward Carson.

The point I wish to make is that Carsonism and Unionism are becoming the stronghold of capitalism and aristocratic feeling; but their hold is being threatened by the growth of trade unionism.

Commissioner Maurer: Let us be careful that the record does not get trade unionism confused with political Unionism.

BASIS OF BELFAST SHIPYARD RIOTS NOT RELIGIOUS BUT POLITICAL

The Witness: As a result of these twenty-five people being returned to the Belfast City Council who were not Orangemen, open threats of retaliation were made by the Orange leaders. That was in June. And then July twelfth came, which is the anniversary of William III's crossing of the Boyne, and very often you have riots at that time. Citizens of Belfast told me that they looked forward with sickening apprehension of what might happen at that time, because of the great tension of this local election. But when July twelfth came, there was no trouble, no riots at all. But on July

twenty-first riots occurred in the great shipyards of Belfast. The shipyards, as you know, stand on an island and are separated from the mainland by a channel two hundred feet wide. On July twenty-first inflammatory speeches were made by speakers at the gates of the shipyards, and immediately after that the Orange workers turned upon their Nationalist fellow-workers and expelled something like four thousand of them from the yards. Some of the men tried to swim the channel, but were met by stones on the other side so that they could not land, and had to come back. Some of them spent hours in the water. Some of them, of course, were killed. This strike spread to the linen mills, where the Orange workers also expelled their Nationalist fellow-workers. This went on until, when I was in Belfast in October, more than twenty thousand expelled workers and their families were living on relief. That is, for more than four months they had been refused the elemental right to earn a living because of their political views.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were these expulsions limited to Sinn Feiners and Nationalists?

A. So far as I know.

Q. I note by the report, page two, that the expelled workers were either Nationalists, or those with Labor, Socialist, or Sinn Fein sympathies, whether Catholic or Protestant, as well as those expelled on religious grounds.

A. Yes, that is strictly accurate.

Q. That would seem to indicate, would it not, that this was not a matter strictly of politics, but is rather a matter of industrial purposes?

A. Yes, that is so. We have been asked in Great Britain to regard those riots in Belfast, when they have occurred, as an expression of religious and sectarian bitterness. Our people have read reports in their newspapers that the Protestants have expelled the Roman Catholics. The point I wish to make is that, although those riots are no new thing in Belfast, they were this time much more political than ever before. People were not expelled because they were Roman Catholics. They were expelled because they were Nationalists or Labor or Socialists in their point of view. The point should not be overlooked that more and more the Orange employee is becoming a supporter of capitalism as against the classes of labor.

Q. Senator Walsh: Behind this outbreak, what were the forces?

A. The Unionist and Orange headquarters in Belfast.

Q. So that it was entirely supported by political organizations?

A. Yes, in my opinion.

Q. Commissioner Addams: People were killed in those riots, were they not?

A. Yes. And then that night, on July twenty-first, there were more riots. In Belfast you have had the custom of Protestants living in certain parts of the town and Catholics living in other parts of the town. During the six years of the war that custom had been broken down, because of the incoming of so many new workers, and the people were much more mixed up. That night the women in one of these quarters heard about the riots that had occurred in the shipyards, and the rumor reached them that two hundred men had been drowned in the channel. The women armed themselves with stones,—the side streets in Belfast are paved with cobble stones. These women armed themselves with cobbles and waited for the men coming back from work. They stoned the tram cars continuously, and many of the men were injured. And riots of this kind between Orangemen and Nationalists, between Catholics and Protestants, have sporadically occurred ever since July twenty-first in Belfast.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES ENCOURAGED BY EMPLOYERS TO BREAK LABOR SOLIDARITY

Q. Commissioner Maurer: You said that during the war labor was well organized in Belfast?

A. Yes.

Q. Are they still well organized?

A. Well, you see, this is the most extraordinary condition you have in Belfast,—the most extraordinary situation I know of. You had carpenters and joiners working side by side, some Nationalist and some Unionist, who were members of the same labor union. And then you had members of the same union expelling other fellow-workmen and denying them the right of earning a livelihood, which of course is an elemental right.

Q. Commissioner Addams: On political or religious grounds?

A. Both.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Was not the feeling that some of them were going to lose their jobs at the back of it?

A. Probably, but it was not a dominant factor.

Q. If employment had continued as it was during the war, would there have been any riots?

A. I asked that, and I was assured that the shipyards were still very busy making up for the ravages of the submarines. I asked

that, and I was told that there was no great unemployment in Belfast.

Q. But you would think that the employers would not want such a situation.

A. Yes, but the excess profits tax entered in. Their profits were being taken from them.

Commissioner Thomas: British imperialism is just like every other imperialism the world over. They don't want to pay the expenses of the wars caused by their own system.

Q. Senator Walsh: There is an opinion in America that when the capitalistic members of a party see movements in that party tending to weaken their strength and influence, they raise financial, racial or religious issues that divert the mind of the voters,—the forward-looking voters of the laboring class,—and put them back into their own political organization by the cry of race or religion. That seems to be true elsewhere too.

A. Yes.

Q. I have been wondering if this employing class were not endeavoring to maintain their power by reviving feeling that was dying down.

A. Yes, I think that is true.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Did you get any first-hand evidence of that?

A. Well, I heard it expressed. The only evidence I have is that I heard that expression by a great many people in Belfast, people for whose judgment I have great respect.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Did you get any information from employers that there is a danger that they were raising something they would not be able to handle later on?

A. No. But there is this: that in some of the shipyards there have been established by the Orange workers what are known as Vigilance Committees. Those Vigilance Committees meet on the firm's time. They meet in rooms provided by the firm. And they discuss on what grounds a workman may be allowed to earn a living. They ask a workman to produce his baptismal certificate, or the baptismal certificate of his children or wife, for that matter, so that he must be beyond suspicion. If the employers are willing to provide the time and accommodations for these workmen to make these investigations, it shows a great deal of sympathy behind them from the employers.

SIR EDWARD CARSON'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN BELFAST

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I ask what Sir Edward Carson was doing during all this in Ireland?

A. He was very comfortable in England.

Q. Did he say anything about it?

A. No, he didn't wish to have anything to say.

Q. Chairman Howe: What are his connections?

A. He is very closely associated with the aristocratic section of England, and his interests are with that class.

Q. He is a barrister, is he not?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Manly: He has been the attorney for the large corporation interests in Belfast, has he not?

A. Yes, I understand so.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Did his Solemn League and Covenant, as such, figure in these riots?

A. No, not as such.

Q. How far has his interest in Protestants as such made him reconcile himself as to the fate of the Protestants in the rest of Ireland?

A. So far as I know, he is not interested in them and has taken no part in their fate.

Q. So far as Protestants in the rest of Ireland are concerned, he is not interested?

A. Yes. Miss Wilkinson has evidence that the Protestants in other sections of Ireland are not at all persecuted.

DIFFICULT POSITION OF BELFAST LABOR UNIONS

Q. Commissioner Maurer: You spoke about the committees in the mills, in the textile mills.

A. Yes, and in the shipyards.

Q. Do you know whether the labor unions still exist in these places?

A. The labor unions are in a very, very difficult position. They still exist, and the national headquarters are very much concerned with the situation. The Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, which is one of our very old and very well-organized trade unions, has been particularly active in this matter. When the expulsions took place, the national executive came over and had a sitting in Belfast. They called a meeting of the whole trade in Belfast. The carpenters and

joiners, of course, are a very important part of shipbuilding, and have a large number of well-paid workers. They called a meeting and engaged a hall to consider the situation. And the meeting was prohibited by the competent military authorities. The meeting was prohibited and could not be held. They again tried to hold a meeting and failed. And now they have taken a ballot. They said that if some of the members were to be expelled all must be called out. Those who remained at work are now regarded as scabs and black-legs, and are not entitled to further union work. That is how they have dealt with the situation. I don't think there is anyone more unhappy in Belfast than the average trade union official. He is in a very difficult situation.

Q. Senator Norris: I want to ask about this report on the desk.

A. Yes.

Q. It was signed by these officials of your organization, including yourself?

A. Yes.

Q. This is the report that the committee that went over to Ireland made to this organization in London?

A. Yes.

Q. And this is the result of this investigation in Ireland by the Women's International League?

A. Yes.

Senator Norris: I think, Mr. Chairman, it ought to be read or printed as part of this testimony.

Chairman Howe: Some of it will be read.

Senator Walsh: I move that it be printed at the end of the testimony of both these ladies.

Senator Norris: This ought to be printed, because it is probably as concise a report of this investigation as the ladies could give here. A great many will probably read that.¹

BELFAST UNIONIST LEADERS SPURN REST OF IRELAND BECAUSE OF CITY'S ALLEGED SUPERIORITY

The Witness: I think I ought to say that also in Belfast we interviewed several Orange leaders and tried to ascertain their point of view, why this sectarian bitterness had been continued so long, and why we could not achieve peace between the different sections. I am a Scotch woman, of course, and we have certain parts of Scot-

¹ The report referred to was duly incorporated in the evidence. See page 621 hereof.

land where the Reformation never reached. We still have Roman Catholic sections up in the remoter parts of Scotland where there has been Catholicism ever since Christianity came to Scotland. I never in my life heard of any bitterness between these sections,—even in Scotland, where we take our religion very seriously.

Q. Commissioner Addams: You yourself are a Presbyterian, being Scotch?

A. Yes. The other lady with me was also a Scotch Presbyterian. I do not think any of our Commission was Catholic. We had a member from the Society of Friends, but as far as I know, we had no Catholic on the Commission. And I asked one of these Orange leaders to state in a few sentences what he considered the Orange position was. And very briefly it was this: that Belfast was the largest city in Ireland. (It was the largest city in the world, according to some.) It was the largest city in Ireland; it had the largest shipyards; the largest distilleries and factories, and various things of that kind,—it was a very important and very large city. And the next thing they always said was that it had the lowest rates, ten shillings to the pound, compared with sixteen shillings in Dublin, and I am not sure about Cork. And that, of course, was because Belfast was a city of successful business men. They felt that the people of Dublin had no business capacity; and if the country was to be governed from Dublin, the country would be ruined within five years. I tried to point out that I have been very much interested in the tuberculosis problem; I was interested in education and in the wages of women, and so forth; and that I have always heard that you have a very high rate of death from tuberculosis in Belfast,—I think it is the highest in the British Isles,—and a very high rate of infant mortality, and very low wages to women; and that I thought it would be better to raise the rates and get rid of these things. Yet the fact remains that the average Orangeman thinks that Belfast is a very prosperous city, and that its rates are low, and for this reason they will not be joined with the rest of Ireland. And then one later proceeded to say that they would wade knee-deep in blood before they would be associated with the rest of Ireland. Orangeism in Belfast is becoming more and more associated with capitalism, with the money interests, with the big employing class.

Q. Senator Norris: When you say the rates are low, what do you mean?

A. The rates are local taxes,—taxes on rentals. I think our rates in Manchester are nineteen shillings on the pound. In Belfast they are only ten shillings.

Q. Commissioner Wood: That means that you must pay ten shillings on every pound of rent you pay?

A. No, no, no. Perhaps I ought to say ratable value. If my house was rated at twenty pounds, I would pay ten pounds to the city in Belfast.

Q. In other words, the inhabitant pays rent to the landlord and rates to the city. It depends upon what his house is rated as to how much he pays the city in taxation?

A. Yes, quite.

OPPOSITION TO UNION WITH REST OF IRELAND SPRINGS FROM CAPITALIST CLASS

Q. Major Newman: Did these Orange leaders also bring out that they were afraid of religious domination by the rest of Ireland?

A. Yes, of course. But I was surprised to find that it was much more an economic question than the question of religious domination, when you talked to them in private.

Q. Who were these Orange leaders you talked with?

A. I have their names in case I was asked. Several of them were city councillors representing the Orangemen on the city council.

Q. In private life were they employers?

A. Yes. One man I was asked to eat with was a brother of one of the leading lawyers of Belfast, and also president—voluntary president of one of the cooperative societies. That was one of the business men.

Q. You raised the point that you are of the opinion that the opposition was largely among the capitalistic class.

A. Yes, largely.

Q. What I wanted to get at was the information on which you base that.

A. Well, very largely the size of the rates. The lowness of the rates and the size of the rates are what occupy the big business men rather than a person who does not have very much money. The cry in our country, "Keep down the rates," is the cry of the very conservative business man. I do not suppose it is confined to our country.

DESTRUCTION OF HOMES MAKES OVERCROWDED HOUSING CONDITIONS IN BELFAST

In Belfast, again, there has been a very great deal of destruction of homes in these raids. A very great part of the city has been

destroyed, or else burned out. You have public houses looted and burned, and shops looted and burned. You have had a very great deal more destruction of property in Belfast,—mostly these workmen's homes,—than I had thought of. The result was that you had two or three families crowd into one house. Housing conditions were very bad in Belfast before. The overcrowding that has been caused by this destruction of property has caused a very serious situation indeed. And then into Belfast have gone the refugees from Lisburn.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Would this overcrowding in Belfast be confined to one quarter, or would it be general?

A. No, to a great extent it would be in the Nationalist quarters, since the houses were destroyed there.

Q. Mr. Manly: Who participated in those riots?

A. They were participated in very largely by the people.

PARTIZAN ADMINISTRATION OF LAW AND ORDER IN BELFAST

Q. Were there police there also?

A. Yes. You see, in Belfast after the hours of curfew the city is entirely in the hands of the military and the police. The Orange workmen were heavily armed in 1914, and those arms have never been confiscated. A certain proportion of the Orange workmen go heavily armed to work, carrying their revolvers, which can be plainly seen through the dungaree suits that they use. We were rather surprised because the workmen had those arms, and I asked them why they carried them; and they said it was to protect themselves against the Nationalists. Then at night, after darkness comes, the soldiers and police go to the Nationalist quarters searching for arms. They do not go to the Orange quarters. I have not found one instance of their going to search Orange houses. They go in the darkness, of course. And it is said,—and I think quite likely, because it is dark and they are very often partly drunk,—that very horrible things occur.

Q. Commissioner Wood: So the destruction is more confined to these Nationalist or Catholic quarters?

A. Almost entirely. I spent a whole week walking around Belfast trying to find that out. Only where the quarters joined each other would there be some overlapping.

Q. Commissioner Newman: That is the custom for them to be segregated, is it?

A. Yes.

Q. Senator Walsh: You say some very violent things have happened?

A. Yes, that is what I heard.

Q. And impropriety against women?

A. No. I made a special point to ask about that, and I did not hear of one single instance about that.

Q. Can you dilate upon that a little?

A. I would rather not. You see, I didn't see any of that myself. And although I was convinced of the truth of many of the brutalities reported to me, I do not see that it would serve any good purpose to relate them to this Commission.

Q. Are you convinced that soldiers and police armed by the authority of the government have committed brutalities against innocent women and children?

A. Oh, yes, quite. These houses were burned, you see, and women very sick and very ill and children were turned out on a moment's notice; women in bed connected with childbirth, and things of that kind. Some horrible things have occurred,—perfectly dreadful.

SURPRISING GROWTH OF SINN FEIN MOVEMENT AMONG BELFAST PROTESTANTS

Q. Commissioner Wood: Mrs. Robinson, did you find any evidence of personal friendships breaking over these barriers and these prejudices?

A. Oh, yes, quite, quite. Protestants and Catholics who are Nationalists and Sinn Feiners are quite friendly. And there is a very strong Sinn Fein movement in Belfast.

Q. Senator Walsh: Among Protestants?

A. Yes, Protestants and Catholics work together in the Sinn Fein movement.

Q. Chairman Howe: The Sinn Fein movement in Belfast is working underground?

A. Yes, underground entirely. I do not understand how it is so successfully done.

Q. It has reached up among the business and professional classes?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. Senator Walsh: You say that is one of the things that surprised you?

A. Yes, I do not understand how it has been done. It is impossible to quote any figures, but I was surprised at the extent it had been done.

Q. Commissioner Newman: Is it quite general among the Protestant workers?

A. I would not say quite general. One cannot say, because no one in Belfast goes around advertising the fact that he is a Sinn Feiner.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Did you find any evidence, I meant, of very real friendship between Catholics and Protestants, and where they protected each other?

A. Yes, yes. There are very beautiful instances of the protection of each other by reason of their personal friendships.

BAD CONDITIONS AMONG WOMEN MILL WORKERS AND IN HOUSING

Q. Commissioner Maurer: You spoke of the conditions of women workers in Belfast. What were they?

A. Yes, there were very dreadful conditions among women employees of the linen mills; and also in the housing conditions in Belfast.

Q. I think it would be well for you to describe what sort of housing conditions you found.

A. There are two and four rooms. A very common type is what is called the kitchen type, with two rooms in front and a couple of rooms up on back; and very large families sleep in these rooms. The kitchen house is a very normal type of working-class house in Belfast,—two up and two down.

Q. Did many of them sleep in the cellar?

A. Perhaps. Yes.

Q. Are these houses generally owned by the mill owners?

A. Not as far as I know. I do not know. There was no control by the mill owner; but the connection between the house and mill was not very close,—not like you would find in the mining districts, for example, where the mine company owns the houses, you see.

BOY SOLDIERS IN IRELAND NERVOUS AND HYSTERICAL

I should like at this point to say that we were all very much impressed by the youth and inexperience of the soldiers in Belfast. Actually boys,—boys of seventeen and eighteen. None of them looked like men.

Q. Senator Norris: Where were they from?

A. From London, in England. These boys, these boy soldiers, I think, are the most pitiable figures in Ireland at this time.

Q. Senator Walsh: Why?

A. Well, they are boys. They have been brought straight from home, and with no knowledge of life. They are under military discipline, and believe they are in the midst of a hostile population. Many of them are absolutely nervous and hysterical.

Q. Has the drinking habit become very common among them?

A. Well, there is nothing else for them to do.

Q. Did you find in Belfast, as the testimony shows in other parts of Ireland, that there was an open bar in the barracks in Belfast?

A. I should imagine that that was quite true, but I was not in the barracks.

Q. The testimony shows here that the R. I. C. in the large cities have an open canteen in their barracks.

A. Yes, everybody says so. It is the accepted thing, I believe, but I did not go into that. I must say that, as a woman with children of my own, it is a very great crime to begin boys in life like that.

Q. Chairman Howe: Have they been recruited for that purpose?

A. Yes, I think that in a majority of cases they are boys who have had a difficulty in finding a job, and have gone into the army as a result of the inducements of recruiting.

RELIEF BADLY NEEDED BY EXPELLED WORKERS OF BELFAST

Q. Who administers the relief in Belfast?

A. The relief is administered by what is called the Expelled Workers' Committee. I have distributed some sheets on that point. They have collected money all over Britain. An enormous amount of money has been contributed over Britain. The representatives of those committees have visited a good many of our trades councils in Britain and laid the position of these workmen who are not allowed to work before their fellow trades unionists. And very large contributions have come in this way.

Q. Senator Norris: These contributions have come very largely from working people, the union people?

A. Yes, almost entirely. I imagine some of it may have come from America. Sir Horace Plunkett tells us relief is needed in other parts of Ireland as well as the north.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Who administers this relief?

A. The Expelled Workers' Committee. They have a very marvellous system of bookkeeping, and it is very well done; very well done indeed.

Q. Would these be Catholics or Protestants administering this relief?

A. Both. Both. This report is signed by a Roman Catholic archbishop. Bayer is a Protestant. There were both Protestants and Catholics on the administration, and both Catholics and Protestants are receiving relief.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Both are in need of relief?

A. Yes. A large number of Protestants are, because they were Nationalists or Sinn Feiners. They were expelled, you see, on account of political belief.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Do you know whether they have collected sufficient funds to do for the present winter?

A. No, no. Relief is still badly needed. The need is very great. I don't think I have anything further to add about Belfast. I should be glad to answer any questions.

Q. Senator Walsh: Has not this situation that you have described in Belfast had a tendency to even further extend the Sinn Fein influence, even further than it was?

A. Undoubtedly. Undoubtedly.

Q. So that sober-minded people have had their minds turned to studying this movement and have become Sinn Fein as a result?

A. Quite, quite. Undoubtedly.

Q. And I suppose that is true in England even. The English people have begun to look more closely into the political causes, and have come to have more sympathy with the underlying principles of the Sinn Fein movement.

A. Quite. Quite. But, as I said before, public opinion in England is only waking up.

ATTITUDE OF PROTESTANT CLERGYMEN IN BELFAST

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I ask if you had any conversation with Protestant clergymen in Belfast?

A. Yes, I did. I also went to church and heard their sermons.

Q. From the gospel?

A. Yes.

Q. May I ask if the Protestant churches have taken any action on this matter in Ulster?

A. No. Not as far as I know. Of course, it is true that some of the Protestant clergymen in Belfast have tried very hard to exert a moderating influence. It is not fair to classify them all as in sympathy with what has happened there.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: That is what I thought. When you were there did you hear of an Ulster delegation made up of Protestant clergymen which came to this country?

A. No. I heard since that it was here.

Senator Walsh: It was here and has gone back last summer.

Commissioner Thomas: It has returned now to Belfast.

The Witness: Yes. I think it is only fair to state that many of the Protestant clergymen regret very much what has happened. It is a result of the past, is it not, as well as the present?

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Has there been any action, as far as you know, to condemn what has happened?

A. Not as far as I know.

Q. Chairman Howe: Did they stimulate it in any way?

A. Well, I should imagine that the tendency was in that direction. You have a narrow Protestantism there that reminds you of the age of the Covenanters,—of a stage that the rest of Britain has grown out of.

POORER REPUBLICAN WORKERS FORCED TO LIVE IN GHETTO

Q. Mr. Manly: This report says that the Republicans in Belfast are compelled to live in a ghetto as strict as that in any of the European cities.

A. Yes, that is absolutely accurate.

Q. They have been herded from where they lived into this ghetto section?

A. Yes, and that is where the overcrowding is most hideous.

Q. And is that true of all classes?

A. No, it is only true of the workers. It is not true even of the better off workers or the professional classes.

Q. If you have a sufficient amount of wealth you will not be herded with the workers in these ghettos?

A. Quite. But of course you must act extraordinarily careful in what you do and say, or you might be.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I refer again to this question: Has there been any movement in England, particularly in the Anglican Church or the Nonconformist churches, against these atrocities?

A. No. Of course individual members have gravely protested against it. But I know of no expression of opinion on the part of the church as a whole against what is happening in Ulster.

Q. I can understand that you might have strong Unionist sym-

pathies and yet feel very strong abhorrence against what is taking place where Protestants are taking the aggression and Catholics are the victims. Has such a protest been made?

A. Not that I have heard of. It may have been made, but I have not heard of it.

Q. Mr. Manly: By what authority are these people compelled to live in certain districts?

A. Largely by the authority of the Orange leaders. And unfortunately the police and soldiers are not regarded as a neutral body. They are not so regarded by the Orangemen. They are regarded by the Orangemen to a very great extent as being there to uphold their views as against the others. They are not a neutral body. And unfortunately that view has made it possible to enforce these ghettos.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Have you any idea of the number of people living in these ghettos?

A. That I should think would be very hard to obtain, except by a house-to-house canvass. When I was in Belfast I saw the relief books, and there were more than twenty thousand people being maintained on the books as a result of these outrages.

Q. That was in July?

A. In October of this year.

Q. Do you not have what are called doles in Belfast?

A. Yes, the unemployment insurance. But these people have escaped the benefits of that because the expulsions came before that Act became operative.

Q. Did you not have some Act before that?

A. Yes, but only for a small proportion of the workers from the trade unions.

Q. Has that been honestly administered?

A. Yes, as far as it goes. But then, of course, some of the trade unions are not paying their benefits because of the political opinions of their members.

Q. Do you not have in Belfast what are called the ordinary charitable societies? Are they functioning?

A. Yes, they are to some extent. The Saint Vincent de Paul Society is administering some of these relief funds, but I don't think that our charitable societies in Ireland compare with what exists in America. We have been much more in the habit of administering unemployment doles, as you called them, through unemployment societies, rather than through charitable organizations.

REPUBLICAN HOUSES OF LISBURN BURNED AS REPRISAL FOR ACT OF STRANGERS

In addition to Belfast, I also visited Lisburn. Lisburn was a very prosperous linen town just outside of Belfast. In September of this year District Inspector Swanzy was in Lisburn. I believe that some time this week you are to have evidence offered by the relatives of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, Mayor MacCurtain. Well, when Mayor MacCurtain was murdered in Cork, the Sinn Fein organization and the local authorities, I believe, through such evidence as they could get of the death of Lord Mayor MacCurtain and the attempt on Professor Stockley, found out who some of the parties responsible for the murder were. The police who took part in the murder of the Lord Mayor have been tracked down by Sinn Fein. I was told that District Inspector Swanzy was one of the persons responsible for Mayor MacCurtain's death. After his death Swanzy was removed from Cork and sent to Lisburn. He was coming out of one of the chief Protestant churches in Lisburn one Sunday when three motor cars came up filled by men who were veiled, by men who were strangers to the district. They held up the congregation and District Inspector Swanzy was shot dead as he was coming out of church. In that district you had a mixed population, an Orange population and a Catholic population. The Orange population rose against the Catholic inhabitants of the town and the Sinn Fein and Nationalists leaders, and burned their houses, although the murder was admittedly committed by men who were strangers in the town. The town burned Sunday night and a large part of Monday, and no attempt was made to extinguish the flames, although Lisburn is quite near to Belfast, and the skies were lit up for miles around.

As we walked into the town our attention was directed to a poster on which the ink was absolutely fresh and new. It was on the morning of October thirteenth. That notice said:

"The Scriptures said, 'An eye for an eye.' But we say, three lives for every life of a member of the forces of the Crown who may be killed or injured on the streets of Lisburn."

As we walked through Lisburn we saw remnants of the same notice. It had been posted that morning, and had been pulled down by the police.

As we walked into Lisburn, we stood at the top of the main street of the town and looked around and down on the town. And I should say that one house out of three had been destroyed. Some of them were simply heaps of stone, and from other houses the

walls and windows were gone. The picture was one of absolute devastation. It reminded me of pictures I had seen of the northern district of France after the German invasion.

PITIABLE CONDITION OF HOMELESS REFUGEES FROM LISBURN

The people seemed to be very suspicious of us as we questioned them, so we just walked around and asked a few questions and left. I wanted to find out what had happened to all the women and children expelled from this town. I went back to the Expelled Workers' Relief Committee in Belfast and asked to see them. I was taken to Falls Road. It is part of the constituency in Belfast which is represented by Mr. Devlin. Falls Road is a long street with tram cars running through it, and intersected by cross streets. Those cross streets are cobbled. And in all these cross streets the cobbles have been torn up at one time or another for ammunition for fights. It seems to me that with all the soldiers and police around there, it would have been very useful if they had been put to work cementing them down for the preservation of the peace.

I was taken to a long hall in Falls Road operated by Catholic sisters. There were three long rows of beds, and sitting on the edges of them were some of the women who had been driven out of those houses in Lisburn. I spoke to one old woman of seventy, very infirm, who never had any bad words with her neighbors, and who was driven out of her house and could not get permission to take a thing with her. All her possessions, the accumulation of a lifetime, were lost in her house. I spoke to another woman, a widow with four children; and to another one who had lost all. I saw the Belgian refugees who came to us in Manchester. But those people were absolutely the most hopeless-looking lot of people I have ever seen. You see, in the northeast it is almost impossible for a boy who wants to enter a skilled trade to get a place if he is known to be a Catholic. If the parents of the boy wished to give him a trade, they would send him to Dublin or Cork or some other city,—that is, if they could afford it. He could not get into a skilled trade in Belfast. And, of course, those women were the wives and mothers of unskilled laborers; and it has been very difficult for a woman in that life to get a decent home together. A woman who has got such a home together and reared children has given up a very great deal of her vitality and strength. And, of course, those women were in that condition. I wish I could convey to this Commission the saddening depression that the sight of those women gave

to me. They lacked life. And then the children. They were absolutely without anything to do. The children had no toys or anything at all. The misery in that hall was very, very depressing.

Q. Senator Norris: How many people were in that hall?

A. I really could not say. I did not want to count them. And, of course, there were many, many more. But I did not want to see them. I felt that was quite enough.

LONDONDERRY LIKE A BELEAGUERED CITY

I did not go to Londonderry. Some of the members of our Commission went to Londonderry, where, of course, you have a very extraordinary situation. The city corporation is evenly divided between the Sinn Fein and the Unionists. The mayor of the city is Sinn Fein. That, of course, is like a beleaguered city. The streets are dug in trenches, and the people go about wearing steel helmets and the like. But I did not see that, and so I don't want to say anything about it.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Mrs. Robinson, you are still secretary of the Women's Trade Union League?

A. Yes, organizing secretary.

Q. And Miss Ashton, did she go?

A. No, she did not go. She is not well.

Commissioner Addams: I think it might be interesting to know that Miss Ashton is a sister-in-law of Lord Bryce, who was here.

ENGLISH LABOR PARTY COMMITTED TO SELF-DETERMINATION FOR IRELAND

Q. Chairman Howe: In the beginning you spoke about the different organizations that were protesting against conditions in Ireland. You said that your committee was holding meetings and issuing literature. What attitude does the Labor Party take?

A. Well, the Labor Party, as you know, has a mission now in Ireland, and has had several others over there. But having left England on the eighth of December, I do not know what they have done.

Q. But what have they done before that?

A. They have held demonstrations and issued a report. I understand that they have issued instructions to all their branches throughout the country to hold demonstrations and take action upon it. I imagine that probably the influence of the Labor Party is the greatest tool and the most effective weapon that can be brought to bear upon the Government to change its Irish policy.

Q. To what extent has it committed itself on the question?

A. It has committed itself by many resolutions, on the occasion of all of its meetings, to Irish self-determination. And the Labor group has not only to face the question of independence for Ireland, but the split in Belfast, which, of course, is a negation of trade union principles.

Q. Is there any other group besides the Labor Party?

A. Yes, the Free Liberals, led by Mr. Asquith. The Society of Friends also sent a commission to Ireland.

Q. Are the Free Liberals doing anything now?

A. They are for dominion home rule. But, of course, they are numerically a very small party in British politics.

Q. Even numerically they are very small?

A. Yes, smaller than the British Labor Party.

ENGLISH PEOPLE MISLED BY OFFICIAL PRESS AND REPORTS OF IRISH STRUGGLE

Q. Commissioner Addams: Is there a feeling that the Government is not supported by the mass of the English people, on account of the elections being held on a different issue?

A. I could not say that, because, of course, the people do not know. The reports of shootings and reprisals and all that have been published only on one side. On that side you have the great mass of official papers and official reports, which make the people believe that the shootings and the atrocities in Ireland have been wholly unprovoked. And that, of course, is very harmful on the attitude of the people.

Q. But if the shooting of policemen did not begin until 1918 or 1919, what appeal or argument did these same newspapers take towards Ireland?

A. Well, of course, there was no mention of Ireland in the newspapers until 1918. And then to the average reader, when these murders were mentioned, they appeared to be entirely unprovoked.

LABOR INFLUENCES A SOLVENT FOR ULSTER PREJUDICES

Q. Chairman Howe: You have been giving us the testimony of others on the religious situation. Now, do you mind briefing your opinion as to the extent to which the religious issue figures in Irish politics? It is emphasized very much in this country. Now, what is your own opinion? Do you think it is an artificially created issue?

A. You mean as regards England?

Q. England in Ireland. Is it a faked issue? That is what I mean.

A. Well, no. The issue of religion is a very real issue, of course. But, as I pointed out, it is largely kept alive by the political influences, by the economic influences headed by Sir Edward Carson; kept alive for political reasons. If it had not been for anybody's political advantage to perpetuate this difference, I think to a very great extent it would have died down.

Q. Commissioner Newman: But these differences are there?

A. They are, of course. But I should think that the labor influences are a very great solvent. In spite of what happened there the twenty-first of July, they will be a very great solvent.

Q. Chairman Howe: Is Ireland drifting to a labor basis?

A. Northeast Ulster is. The rest of Ireland is not. As I pointed out, Sir Edward Carson has safeguarded the interests he represents against any possible capital levy by a labor-controlled Ulster Parliament by including in the new Home Rule Bill an express provision against it, and by including the anti-Labor counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh to guard against any capital levy. Of course, otherwise Tyrone and Fermanagh would not have been included at all.

PRESENT HOME RULE BILL DRAWN TO PROTECT ULSTER PROPERTY INTERESTS

Q. Commissioner Newman: Mrs. Robinson, what do you mean by a capital levy?

A. A capital levy is a tax on wealth to pay for the war. It is an integral part of Labor political policy.

Q. And this is inhibited in this present Home Rule Bill?

A. Yes, it is. And there is another thing that ought to be emphasized, and that is that the only party in Ireland that is supporting the present Home Rule Bill in British politics is the Ulster faction. In 1914 the Ulsterites said they would not accept home rule, and armed themselves to rise in rebellion against it.

Q. What was the real reason for that opposition then?

A. Well, you see, as I have said, it threatened certain property interests in Ulster. These interests have been protected as far as possible in the present Home Rule Bill, which exempts them from a capital levy to pay the cost of the war.

Senator Walsh: I suppose there are people in the British Government, as there are in the American, that would sooner give their sons to war than their money.

The Witness: Quite right. Quite right.

AMERICAN RED CROSS NOT DOING RELIEF WORK IN IRELAND

Q. Commissioner Maurer: These women you described awhile ago are living on charity?

A. Absolutely.

Q. And did you find any sickness among them?

A. Yes, there is sickness.

Q. They are very helpless?

A. Absolutely helpless. You see, not only their homes are destroyed, but everything they owned was destroyed. Their whole hold on life has been taken away from them.

Q. Now, in this country we have the Red Cross as a relief agency. Has it done any work in Ireland?

A. No, it has not been in Ireland.

Senator Walsh: I understand that the Red Cross has taken the position that they cannot function in any country or government without the consent of the authorities of that government.

Commissioner Maurer: Indeed?

Commissioner Wood: You are speaking about the British Red Cross, are you not, Mr. Maurer?

Mrs. Robinson: The Geneva Red Cross, perhaps.

Commissioner Maurer: But in my contributions to the Red Cross I thought they ought to function anywhere in the world where there was need of them to relieve human misery and suffering.

Senator Norris: Yes, exactly, without any consideration of the politics of the sufferers.

Commissioner Maurer: Yes, indeed. I know one physician from my home who volunteered to go when the war broke out. I knew he was a pacifist, and I said to him, "Where are you going?" And he said, "I don't know and I don't care. I only know there is suffering, and I am going where it is to help." Now, is it possible, Senator, that with all this suffering in Ireland, the British Government would not allow the Red Cross to go to Ireland to help these people?

Senator Walsh: I don't know. But I do know that Miss MacSwiney and Mrs. MacSwiney called upon the American Red Cross while they were in Washington, and they were informed, as I said, that they could not operate where the government did not give its consent.

Senator Norris: Do you mean the British Government would not give its consent to relieve that suffering?

Senator Walsh: I do not know.

Senator Norris: According to that, either the British Government or the American Red Cross is at fault, and I would like to know which.

Commissioner Maurer: So would I. If we are to support an organization which is to be a political tool, I think we ought to know about it.

Senator Norris: So do I.

ENGLISH PUBLIC BEWILDERED BY TRUTH ABOUT CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Q. Commissioner Wood: You spoke about the demonstrations being held in England.

A. Yes.

Q. Are those meetings well attended?

A. Very well indeed. I think they are the most crowded meetings I have ever seen.

Q. What was the attitude of the people who attended them?

A. Tremendous sympathy and utter bewilderment. You see, in England we have a very great number of British Irish. Take Manchester, my own home. There is a very great number of Irish people there who have come over from Ireland. There is a very large branch of the Irish Self-Determination League. On the occasion of the death of Lord Mayor MacSwiney of Cork there was a procession five miles long in the streets of Manchester. And these people know all the time what is going on. Of course, there is not quite the same bewilderment among them that there is among others.

Q. Of course, we have that common meeting point of an Irish population. But do you think that your meetings have been largely made up of the Irish population in England?

A. No, no. We have had a very large proportion of other people.

Q. You think that a large part of them is made up of people who were ignorant of this subject?

A. Yes, certainly. And certainly there is a rising tide of public opinion on this matter. And people everywhere are saying that whatever can be done to restore peace in Ireland should be done.

Q. Senator Walsh: What is the feeling of the English people in regard to this Commission?

A. I don't think there is very much known about it at all. At the same time, at the meeting we held in the Free Trade Hall on the twenty-first of September, there was a motion that someone from that meeting ought to be sent to testify here. Among the members

of the Irish Self-Determination League there is a very great feeling and a very great hope built up on the outcome of the findings of this Commission.

Q. You mean on public opinion in America?

A. Yes, and I should think and hope that it should have a very great influence on public opinion in England.

ENGLISH ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN INQUIRY INTO EVENTS IN IRELAND

Q. Commissioner Wood: Did any reference or publicity about the meetings of this Commission here appear in the English papers?

A. Oh, yes, yes, yes. But the papers, naturally, were papers like the Manchester *Guardian*.

Q. Do these organizations recognize that there are a very great many people of Irish extraction in the United States?

A. Oh, yes, it is recognized by many of the people. I knew it, and Miss Wilkinson knew it. But I doubt if it is very popularly recognized.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Your statement that there was such interest taken in your meetings in Manchester might be accounted for in part by the fact that a large section of the population in Manchester is of Irish extraction.

A. Yes. But of course there were many, many others there too.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: As far as you are aware, there is a comprehension of how inevitably this matter must enter into American politics and shape our actions?

A. That, I think, is very clearly recognized,—its effect on American politics.

Q. We do not want to use you—to talk at you in this matter, but some of us feel that the English people do not realize just how near home to us the events in Ireland come. For instance, there was an English editorial quoted in one of our American papers called "Damned Impudence." There is a feeling on the part of many of us that "Damned Impudence" might very possibly result in worse things.

A. Well, you see, I have been very, very closely associated with the groups I have been discussing with you, and I don't know about the other side. The best persons to explain that attitude would be persons associated with the other side.

Q. We have tried to get them to come and testify, but they will not do so.

A. Yes.

ENGLISH NEWSPAPER MEN PROTEST AGAINST TREATMENT IN IRELAND

Q. Senator Walsh: To what extent is the present news going from this country distorted and colored?

A. Very, very greatly.

Q. Mr. Manly: May I ask a question? During your investigations in Ireland, did you learn anything of interference with reporters of newspapers in their getting news?

A. No, I did not come across that. Miss Wilkinson would be very much better able to tell you about that than I. That was in the south of Ireland.

Q. Had a committee of newspaper men protested against their treatment in Ireland before you left London?

A. Yes, they certainly had protested against the treatment of Hugh Martin.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

Chairman Howe: The meeting will adjourn until two-thirty, when Miss Wilkinson will give evidence.

* * * * *

2:36 P. M.

Commissioner Addams (presiding): If the Commission will be in session, Miss Wilkinson will begin.

TESTIMONY OF MISS ELLEN C. WILKINSON

Q. Will you give your name, Miss Wilkinson?

A. Ellen C. Wilkinson.

Q. And your address is Manchester?

A. Yes, 18 Alma Road, Manchester.

Q. May we ask your occupation?

A. I am a trade union official.

Q. What is your position, please?

A. I am national organizer for the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees.

Q. Are you representing any organization here?

A. I represent only the Women's International League here.

Q. The English League sent a mission to Ireland, of which you were a member?

A. Yes, of which I was a member.

Q. We have been asking people for their religious affiliations. I don't know why we have been doing it, but may we ask you?

A. I am a Wesleyan Methodist.

SCOPE OF EVIDENCE AND INVESTIGATIONS

Q. Miss Wilkinson, will you begin and make the statement that you had outlined of your experiences in Ireland.

A. Well, I thought it might be better if I divided my evidence into sections. I thought perhaps that if I had one section on the economic blockade of Ireland, one section on the raids, lootings, and sackings, one section on the southern Unionists, with whom I took a great deal of care to get in touch; and then, if time permits, the consideration of the military organization in the south of Ireland,—I might proceed in that way if that covers the case.

Commissioner Addams: I think it does.

The Witness: Then of course you will ask questions.

Q. Then you will begin with the economic blockade?

A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: You don't mind our asking questions?

A. O no, not at all. I might say that I, with two members of the Society of Friends, covered Dublin, Limerick, Galway and Tuam; and then on up the west coast of County Clare to Ennistymon, and then to Cork and Mallow. When we went to Limerick, of course, we found that the proposition of traveling on the Irish railways was very difficult indeed, and we motored over a good deal of Western Ireland.

Q. What date was that?

A. The first two weeks of October, 1920. We returned October seventeenth.

BRITISH ECONOMIC POLICY IN IRELAND

First of all, as to the policy of the British Government in Ireland. It seemed to us that there was a policy behind the Government's economic blockade of Ireland. Lord French, who is the Viceroy of Ireland, made a speech in which he said that the trouble with Ireland was that there were two hundred thousand too many young men in Ireland. Of course, as you know, emigration to America was stopped. Previously it had been the custom for a great number of young men and women to emigrate every year. And Lord French assumed that these young men and women, many of whom had gone to fight in the war, with which they were not very sympathetic, were the cause of all the trouble. And I learned that it was the policy of the British Government to get the young men out of the way. I don't mean to assume that Lord French was a blackface at all, but that he felt that it was a great deal better to get the young hotbloods to America than to have them remain in Ireland and make trouble.

DESTRUCTION OF IRISH AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY

There is another thing. At the beginning of the war, agriculture in Ireland was more prosperous than it ever was before. They had developed dairy farming and cattle raising for the English market. And of course, during the war we were rather more polite to Ireland than we have been since; for of course Ireland could have blockaded us, and could have made a very serious difference to our food supply if she had wanted to. Of course, since the war, Ireland has not been important in that respect.

First of all regarding agriculture. When I was in West Clare and Limerick there was a wholesale burning of hay ricks. That was extremely important, because on the hay ricks depended the cattle, and hence the creameries. And of course, in burning the hay ricks, you destroyed the very foundations of Irish agricultural prosperity. It was said by the British military authorities that these were reprisals against Sinn Feiners; but that was not so, because in Pallaskenry, in Limerick and places in Kildare which are Protestant settlements, their ricks were burned too.

There was a great deal of difficulty, too, in importing cattle fodder. I have with me a clipping from the *Irish Independent* of October 8, 1920, in which it is stated from a Belgian paper that the British Controller General had issued a proclamation against the importation of cattle fodder into the United Kingdom, and that that prohibition of importation was absolute against Ireland. The Irish farmers, after their own hay had been burned, had been importing cattle fodder from England. That meant that they could not get feed for their cattle at any price.

Then another very serious blow to the agricultural prosperity of Ireland was the prohibition of fairs and markets. The British Government felt that the fairs and markets were breeding-grounds for sedition. However that might be, they were also the ordinary mediums of exchange, where the British buyers got into touch with the sellers of Irish cattle. And that, of course, made the situation of the farmer a great deal more difficult.

Q. Commissioner Wood: May I ask if that prohibition of the importation of cattle food from Belgium was to prevent the spread of the hoof and mouth disease, and that was on a different basis from the prohibition of the holding of fairs and markets?

A. No. The British Government openly said that the prohibition of fairs and markets was to prevent people coming together to breed plots against the British Government.

Q. There was no reason given for the prohibition of importation of food stuffs from Belgium?

A. No, of course there was not. And of course these things are

not done openly. You only find out they are going on when you try to import cattle fodder. This thing came to light because the Irish farmers were trying to get cattle fodder to replace their ruined hay.

IRISH PACKING AND MILLING INDUSTRIES CRIPPLED BY NON-IMPORTATION ORDER

The next thing was the importation of cattle. I interviewed a number of the most prominent employers of Limerick in this industry. One of the most important was Mr. O'Mara, who was a very prominent member of the Irish Party in the British Parliament. He has one of the largest bacon curing factories in Limerick, and he told me that the average killing of pigs there had been two thousand a week, and that since the blockade they were only able to get six hundred. And he said that the reason for that was that when his buyers went around the country, they could not go to the markets, because these had been suppressed, and they had to go to the individual farmers. They had been shown telegrams by the Irish station masters on the Irish railways that no cattle or pigs could be received. Limerick, I must explain, is one of the danger points in the west. I do not know why it should be, but it has always been the center of very bitter feeling. There was practically an economic blockade going on. And of course that resulted in a large amount of unemployment. For of course Mr. O'Mara was only one of many bacon curers, and a large number of his men were unemployed, as were others too.

Then Limerick was a large milling center. The ships which were bringing flour to Limerick were diverted north. Mr. O'Mara said that he was under the impression that the big business interests in Belfast had a big trade hold on the Dublin Government,¹ and that they were able to cut off supplies from southern firms. He knew that the pigs he wanted to buy were being diverted north, and that the flour his mills needed was being diverted north. And he felt that the big business interests of the north had the aid of the Government in diverting the flour and the bacon they needed in Limerick. That, of course, again caused unemployment,—the flour being diverted north.

PARALYSIS OF RAILWAYS AND RESTRICTION OF MOTOR TRANSPORT CAUSE ECONOMIC CRISIS

Then comes the railway situation, which is one of the most serious unemployment situations Ireland has to face. As you know, the

¹ The reference is to Dublin Castle, the seat of Imperial British Government in Ireland.

British Council of Action, as the result of the British railwaymen's action, has decided that it would not ship munitions of war to Poland to aid in the war against Russia. The Irishmen applied that to their own country, and said they would not engage in the shipment of arms or armed troops in order that the Irish war could go on, as they put it. That for a time was effective. But a sort of *modus vivendi* was arrived at, and the policy of the Government was changed. The munitions were sent by road. The Ministry of Transportation, under Sir Eric Geddes, carried this policy through, and determined that this could not go on, and that the Irish railwaymen must carry whatever they were given to carry. And therefore an arrangement was made between the British Ministry of Transportation and the Irish railway companies, which of course are dependent on Government subsidies, because the Government took over all the railroads during the war and gave them a subsidy from which to make up their profits. This arrangement was that any railwayman or guard who refused to carry munitions on an Irish train should be dismissed when he reached the end of his journey. It has been only a question of time as to how soon the railways in Ireland should be completely stopped. I know once or twice when we were traveling on the main line from Dublin to Galway, once or twice soldiers got on the train; and if they got on carrying their rifles, then the Irish railwaymen would not carry them. But if they had no arms, the railwaymen would carry them. For instance, Limerick, which is the most important commercial center on the west of Ireland, had only one train a day into and one train a day out of it, and you could not tell when that would run. And sometimes it wouldn't run at all. The only train you could depend on was the one o'clock train on Sunday, on which soldiers did not ride. And of course business men know what such a situation means to trade. Limerick is on the west coast, and Galway is just fifty miles north. Galway is the next important center to Limerick, and obviously the commercial communications between those two towns are considerable. If you wanted to go between these two places, you had to go all the way east across the country to Dublin, and then back again to Galway! It meant hours, of course, instead of just a little trip. If we had a map here, you would see what an absurd, roundabout way of travel this was.

The stopping of the trains meant a serious lack of food supply for the larger towns. The Irish, of course, tried to meet this by organizing a motor transport, as the English Government had done at the time of the railway strike. And this was immediately replied to by a government order refusing to allow the free use of motor transport. No person was allowed to drive or have a motor without a motor license. And it is impossible,—not theoretically but practically it is impossible for a Sinn Feiner to get a license. And

the O'Mara people again, who are wealthy people in Dublin, got a new car; and as soon as they had it delivered, a British officer appeared and took away the important parts of it. He apologized, but said he had to demobilize the car. It was only with the greatest difficulty that we could get a motor to do our work.

That means that the railway transport is shut down and the motor transport is shut down. And that means an economic blight upon the country. Is that clear?

Q. Commissioner Addams: Yes, I think so. Are there any questions to be asked about this economic blockade?

Commissioner Thomas: Do I understand that there was a rule, either legal or practical, which prevented a motor being driven more than a few miles in a day? One of our other witnesses has referred to that.

A. Yes, not more than twenty miles from the town of the owner. That is true, but that is not so difficult to get out of as in getting a car at all. Unless you are known to be a strong supporter of the British Government or a part of the military government, it is almost impossible to get a car at all.

HAY RICKS AND HOUSES BURNED BY BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Commissioner Newman: You spoke about the burning of hay ricks. Have you any idea of how extensive that is?

A. While we were there, all the hay ricks from Limerick up the coast to Ennistymon were burned. And since we got back, in Galway and Tipperary too. It is not true that all the hay ricks in Ireland have been burned, as some have said. But an enormous quantity has been lost.

Q. Senator Norris: That was out in the country, of course.

A. Yes.

Q. What organization did the burning?

A. The Black-and-Tans.

Q. Commissioner Wood: How much of this did you see yourself?

A. Well, of course I saw a fair amount of hay burning.

Q. Actually burning?

A. Yes, actually burning. When we went to Limerick, for instance, we were taken to Brennan's farm, five miles out of Limerick. It was owned by a widow. Her two sons were heroes in the countryside. One of them, Michael Brennan, is chairman of the Clare County Council. Of course they are both on the run. And the English officers, rightly or wrongly, put down many of the occurrences in this community to them. So the English officers went to

the house, told Mrs. Brennan to get out immediately, and burned the house and the hay.

Q. Senator Norris: The house was destroyed?

A. Yes, all destroyed. And when we motored around the country, we saw many charred stacks of hay, some of them still burning.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Was it only a rumor that the Black-and-Tans did that, or did you actually see them?

A. No, of course I didn't see them. Only in Cork was I actually in a scrap myself. All these things went on at night, and you saw the evidence the next morning. But everybody in the country declares it was the work of the Black-and-Tans.

Then another question is Irish industry as apart from Irish agriculture.

Q. Mr. Manly: Are you leaving Irish agriculture now?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you come to the burning of Irish creameries?

A. Well, I put creameries under industries. It is a very artificial division. It merely keeps my mind tidy.

CRUSHING OF IRISH INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENT AND BURNING OF CREAMERIES

The question of Irish industries is important in this sense. I dare say a good many people here have read the books on the Irish renaissance and the new life that was just springing up before the war. The great idea of the Irish patriachs was, of course, to start industries in the villages in order that young men and women might be kept in the villages and keep Irish life alive. They saw that that was the only way to keep the young people from emigrating. That led to the encouragement of manufactures and the cooperative creameries movement. The creameries, of course, were started by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society under Sir Horace Plunkett. And the idea was that, instead of having the difficulties and waste under the individual farmer trading system, to collect the milk and produce—milk especially—of the farmers, and make it into butter or condensed milk or any of the various dairy products. Now, these creameries were very largely cooperative. There were a few capitalist ones, but most of them were built by the farmers themselves. They would raise money on their land, or raise it in other ways, and put it together and buy the machinery. And these creameries gave a great deal of employment, especially to the women in the countryside. Then there were such mills as the hosiery mills at Balbriggan and various other mills. Then just at the beginning of the war, there was a very important commission known as the Industrial Development Commission started, which was later made an official commission by Dail Eireann, the Irish Parliament. And

their idea was to map out Ireland and consider just where they could start industries. Darrell Figgis was head of this commission; and he was arrested, of course, and the documents of the commission confiscated, and the movement crushed. Then, of course, there was in Ireland the general cooperative movement along the English lines.

The terrible thing is that a great many of the Irish people feel that this crushing of the new industrial movement and the burning of creameries and factories is part of England's policy toward Ireland. And of course everyone who knows history knows that during the time of Mercantilism England did ruin the wool industry of Ireland, and gave it the linen industry in its place. But to me it seemed that the idea of the English Government was to break down the morale of the people and cause unemployment and get the young men out of the way, rather than a deliberate policy of ruining Irish trade and industry. Of course that is only my own opinion. And the Irish people have much to support their view.

Edward Lysaght started a cooperative industry near Limerick,—a very interesting man who was on the run and managed all this business during the day. He was trying to raise up a feeling for peasant crafts, and to get a market for them. And all his works were burned down. That was pretty rotten.

Q. Commissioner Newman: When was that?

A. That was just after we left Limerick,—the beginning of November.

Q. Commissioner Wood: You say creameries have been generally burned? Do you know how many have been burned? How many cooperative creameries were there in Ireland, in fact?

A. I believe there was just over a hundred, and forty-five of them have been burned, I believe.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Is there any chance of getting compensation for the loss of these creameries?

A. Yes, that comes under the Malicious Injuries Act, and according to that, the people who suffer the loss appeal to the courts, and the damages are assessed upon the inhabitants. The result is that in Limerick, with 44,000 people, over fifty thousand pounds of damages have been done. And it meant that any person who appealed to the courts would get their damages very liberally assessed, but they had to be paid by the people.

CREAMERIES BURNED BY BLACK-AND-TANS, DESPITE DENIALS OF GOVERNMENT

Q. Senator Norris: Who burned these creameries, the Black-and-Tans?

A. Yes, the Black-and-Tans. Many of them have been investi-

gated by Sir Horace Plunkett, and many of them have been proved to be done by the Black-and-Tans and soldiers, proved by eye-witnesses.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: What explanation did Sir Hamar Greenwood give of these burnings of creameries in the House of Commons?

A. First of all, he said it did not occur. And when we showed him pictures, he said it was done by the Irishmen. And when we produced evidence by eye-witnesses that they were burned by the armed forces of the Crown, he said the managers were Sinn Feiners. He also tried to prove that they were used as Sinn Fein ambushes. Well, of course, we all laughed at him, for Sir Hamar Greenwood is a kind of a joke. You see, Sir Hamar Greenwood is put in the position of either having to say that he doesn't know, or to try to explain. He has usually had to take refuge in diplomatic silence and say he doesn't know. But of course these creameries were not used as Sinn Fein ambushes, and many of the managers are Englishmen and have nothing to do with Sinn Fein.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Were the burning of these creameries done as reprisals, as the result of "exasperation past endurance," as it has been put? And were any officers in control of these parties?

A. It is very difficult to say, because many of these officers do not wear any officer's dress. The Black-and-Tan's uniform is a very mixed sort of thing. According to Irish witnesses themselves, some of them have been done without officers and some of them have been done with officers.

Of course, in regard to reprisals, that excuse hardly holds against cooperative creameries, which are owned by people of all political opinions. The manager of the cooperative creamery at Limerick was an Englishman, a Protestant, with very little interest in Irish politics. He went there to start cooperation in Limerick. I went to interview him, and he said that he and his assistant were taken out of their house and beaten; and they told him that his creamery would be fired. And he said he was an Englishman; and they said he had no business in Ireland starting the cooperative movement.

With regard to compensation: even when the owner appeals to the courts and is given damages against the town under the Malicious Injuries Act, of course the people do not pay. They cannot pay. And in addition the British Government is withholding certain grants that it is not paying. No matter what the reason or excuse is, the present situation simply means the destruction of Irish industries for the moment.

ENGLAND DESTROYS IRISH TRADE BY STOPPING SUPPLIES

With regard to Irish trade as apart from Irish industry, the two great difficulties have been the stoppage of supplies from England and the burning of business premises.

With regard to the stoppage of supplies from England, the evidence is this: we were shown certain letters from English firms in reply to orders from Irish firms, stating that they could not supply Irish firms; they were sorry. And of course in September and October there were notices in English post-offices saying that no one could send a parcel to Ireland, not even personal parcels to Ireland. And of course that is ruinous to trade.

Q. Commissioner Addams: What articles does Ireland import from England in the way of raw material?

A. Ireland does not import much raw material. She imports manufactured articles.

Q. Senator Walsh: Clothing is imported also?

A. The heavier clothing, the woolen clothing is, of course.

Mrs. Robinson: I know that in the case of Belfast, there has been a very great boycott of the leading articles imported from England and the English stores which sell them, which of course is ruining the English trade.

The Witness: Quite. And in addition the English Government is preventing free trade relations between Ireland and other countries.

BLACK-AND-TANS BURN AND LOOT BUSINESS PREMISES

Then with regard to the burning of business premises, there is a large bakery owned by a man named Daly and a large tannery owned by a man named White which we visited. These had been burned by the Black-and-Tans,—the lower floor soaked with petrol and set afire to, and about seven hundred pounds' damage done. A part of the tannery that was dry did burn; the rest was saved. Mr. White was wanting to increase his premises, and of course he could not do this.

Then about the looting of shops. In Galway the Black-and-Tans used to hold up the public houses and get what drink they wanted merely by threatening to burn the place down. We went to a public house there called The Bow, which is just out of Galway on the north road. There there is just a girl and her mother in charge. And the police came one night after dark and locked up the girl and her mother in a room and took what drink they wanted. And then of course they took pot shots at the glasses and windows.

Q. Commissioner Newman: Is there any part of this loss insured?

A. Yes, of course, but the English companies will not pay on this damage at the present time unless it is especially covered by special insurance. They will not pay under the ordinary policy. You must insure against malicious injuries. The curious thing is that the insurance rate against damage by Sinn Fein is about one-half what insurance against damage by the Crown forces is.

Q. Senator Walsh: So the business house must take out two policies, one to protect it against loss from the Sinn Fein, and another policy to protect it against loss from the Crown forces?

A. Yes, but one can say which he wants.

Q. And if he wants to insure against loss by the Crown forces, he must pay twice as much as against loss by the Sinn Fein forces?

A. Yes, exactly.

Q. Senator Norris: As a matter of fact, do the business houses take out insurance against loss by Sinn Fein?

A. Most of them take out a general insurance policy. Some houses in the north take out insurance against loss from Sinn Fein.

Q. That would indicate that some of these buildings were burned by Sinn Fein?

A. I am just thinking of a case in point, where people who were very notoriously with the English force, people who were in touch with them, or people who were giving information against Sinn Fein, they were burned down too. And of course there is cattle raiding and destruction in that sort of way. If they wanted to take it against you for giving information against Sinn Fein, they could take it out of you in that way too.

Q. Commissioner Newman: Do you know of any case of that kind?

A. I am just thinking of a man in the west who had English officers staying with him. He was a very prominent English sympathizer, one who was formerly known as an absentee landlord. And his cattle were driven away.

Q. Was that known to be done by Sinn Feiners?

A. Well, obviously it would not be done by the Crown forces.

Q. That is the only case of which you know where the damage was done by Sinn Fein?

A. Yes, that was the only case in the south. But in the north—I will speak of that later.

Then there was, in addition to this looting, the smashing of windows in business houses. And that made it difficult for business to be carried on. And then, of course, if there was a row—a pitched battle between the Crown forces and the Sinn Feiners, business houses would get the worst of that too.

DESTRUCTION OF IRISH PROSPERITY A PART OF ENGLISH CAMPAIGN AGAINST SINN FEIN

That pretty well covers what I had to say with regard to the economic blockade and its effects on industry, business, and trade. But I don't want to misuse the word blockade, to make it sound as if there had been a formal declared blockade. It is much more the cumulative effect of a policy of preventing the young men from working, and preventing Dail Eireann from building up the industrial prosperity of Ireland. And the military authorities have struck everywhere at the business houses and the mills as a part of clearing Sinn Feiners, as they say, out of the country. That is all of that.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Thank you very much. And what next?

A. I was wondering if you wanted me to go to the subject of the raids.

TERRIBLE SUFFERING FROM UNEMPLOYMENT AND DESTRUCTION OF INDUSTRIES

Q. Mr. Manly: Before we leave industry, would you tell us what you saw of the effects of the destruction of industry in the form of suffering and unemployment that would make the people need relief? Were those effects really apparent?

A. Yes, I am glad you mentioned that. I should have put it in. The unemployment of the men of Limerick was quite terrible. One of the large employers said it was very different from the lack of demand for clothing, which was shutting up the mills in the big towns. Their trouble was that they could not get the necessary materials, and so whole factories had to shut down. Then, of course, there was a tremendous number of railway men who were unemployed, amounting to three thousand, I believe. Of course the English Railwaymen's Union did not recognize what is called the unemployment strike, and they would not pay unemployment insurance to these men. And that left it to the national railway employees of Ireland, and they are levying upon themselves an assessment of eight and sixpence a week to help these men. That may not seem very much, but the wages you get in America are much larger than theirs, and it was an enormous amount to those men.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do you know what the weekly wage is?

A. I think that the minimum rate for the railroad men under the recent agreement was sixty-eight shillings.

Q. And they levied on that eight shillings and sixpence?

A. Yes, eight shillings sixpence.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Would it be possible now, since a

map has come, to indicate on that the area most seriously affected and needing relief on account of these various measures you have described?

A. Well (indicating map) here is Limerick and here is Galway. I visited around here, and then here, and through to Cork. Kerry was quiet when I was down. All those terrible things that have happened there have happened since. West Galway was one of the poorest parts of Ireland formerly, but that has been improved since the war and under the Land Acts, which enabled them to get their own buildings. Now, the burning of their hay throws them back to the pre-war poverty, which is a very terrible thing. Then Limerick, which has always been one of the prosperous parts of Ireland. They are very bad off in Clare, because Clare is very poor land. The stones are very near the surface. You really scratch your living off the surface of the land. Then, of course, to burn the hay of Limerick is to destroy the agricultural resources of the richest part of the country. I believe there has also been a very large amount of hay burned around Cork and Tipperary and Kildare.

May I say about the railways, while we have the map here? Here is Galway and here is Limerick (indicating on map). And here is Dublin. And then, in order to get from Galway to Limerick, you had to cross to Dublin and then come back to Galway.

INHUMANE CONSEQUENCES OF BURNING OF CREAMERIES

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I ask, while we have the map, if these forty-five creameries which were burned were pretty well distributed all over Ireland?

A. Yes, they were pretty well distributed all over the south and west of Ireland. Creameries have been burned here, and here, and here (indicating), and at Mallow, where the big milk condensing factory was. That was a pretty bad burning from the humane point of view, because people in Europe are dying for want of milk. I was talking to one of the men at the head of that works, and he said they could not get the machinery together again to replace it inside of the next ten years.

Q. How many years?

A. Ten years.

Mr. Manly: Ten years!

The Witness: I think the export trade has been affected most. Another difficulty is that there is now a very large amount of raw milk left on the hands of the farmers. Because of the creameries, the farmers had concentrated on providing milk for the creameries. And that was a very well worked up trade. Now they cannot stop the cows producing milk, and this is wasted. Of course, the towns in Ireland need milk, but often they are not near the dairy centers.

Q. Then you have a surplus of milk in the country and a famine in the cities?

A. Yes, quite. I expect places like Dublin and Cork are suffering terribly. But the country towns have a surplus of milk, which they cannot use.

I was just getting back to the raids.

POSITION, COST, AND ORGANIZATION OF BRITISH FORCES IN IRELAND

Q. Commissioner Addams: Perhaps you can tell of the organization of the military before you come to the raids.

A. Yes, yes. With regard to the organization of the military, it is of course difficult to get exact information. The military question is one of the most difficult of all. And this, of course, is the difficulty with regard to English public opinion. After all, the armed forces of the Crown in Ireland are our own men. And any English audience to which you talk will say, "Well, my husband is there." And as far as that is concerned, my own brother, a boy of eighteen, was stationed at Ennis during the latter part of the war. Therefore, I want to be fair in dealing with this question. It is difficult to make English people understand it. And it is also important for people who are looking at matters not from the standpoint of any country or any government, but from the human point of view, to realize that the military authorities in Ireland are concentrating on propaganda amongst these men, which is producing a mentality that makes them believe that every Irishman is a murderer. If you are going to consider the Irish problem, it seems to me that you cannot get away from the mentality of the English soldiers who are over there.

First of all, the British Government, in answer to a question that was asked in Parliament, said it was spending on the military organization in Ireland (that is, of course, apart from the Black-and-Tans and the police), one and one-half million pounds a month, which at the par rate of exchange would come to, I believe, about \$90,000,000 a year. That means that there is an enormous number of soldiers in Ireland.

Q. They are not Black-and-Tans entirely, either?

A. No, I am not considering the Black-and-Tans; they are not considered soldiers. Apart from that, there is the Royal Irish Constabulary, which was always there. The Royal Irish Constabulary has always been to an Irishman an armed garrison force. The British Government always sent the southern Irishmen to the north, and the northern Irishmen to the south. There has been, as you know, a large number of resignations from that organization. Then the British Government has organized the Black-and-Tans. The officers of the Black-and-Tans wear black Sam Brown belts and

black caps and black ties,—if they wear any uniform; which, with the regular tan clothing of the British army which they wear, led to their being called Black-and-Tans. Like other cases of half-breeds, they combine all the defects and none of the virtues of either soldiers or police. There were two divisions of these. One was a flying column division. When we were motoring in West Galway, we would come across lorry loads of these men drawn up along the roadside asleep. They were not confined to barracks. They were sent out in flying columns and sent on from place to place, and got their rest along the roadside. That was to prevent them from getting in touch with the population, as the troops who are quartered in one place often do. Then there were also those which were confined to operations around barracks. They are the army auxiliary force, who get very good pay, one pound seven a day, I believe. They enlist as sergeants. They do the intelligence work and do the raids on the better class people, like the raid on Professor Carroll in Dublin.

Q. Major Newman: They are under the military rather than the police, are they?

A. Well, of course they are under the military now. Even the police are now. But they are directly under the military.

GOVERNMENT DELIBERATELY INCITES TROOPS TO VIOLENCE

These men are living under very bad conditions. We were told that a barracks in Dublin that would ordinarily hold one hundred fifty men was now crowded with several times that many. It is impossible for them to live very regular lives. And besides this, they are kept in a very excited state of mind. There is a publication called *The Weekly Summary* given by the British Government to the Black-and-Tans in Ireland, and it purports to give a list of all of the crimes of Sinn Feiners against the Government. It is, of course, a deliberate incitement to violence. Copies of this have been produced in the House of Commons, and the Government has been very severely criticized about it, but without much result.

Q. You say it is a direct incitement to violence. What is published in it?

A. Well, you see, Sinn Fein is not supposed to have any arms in its possession at all. You are liable to arrest if you are found with them. For this there is a continuous search for arms. And on the other hand, there is a continuous carrying of arms from one place to another,—there is an “arms hunger” on the part of the Sinn Fein population. For that reason you get ambushes to get arms. The individual murders of policemen and the finding of arms are all printed in this *Weekly Summary* with—from the British point of view—appropriate comments.

REMOVAL OF BRITISH FORCES FROM IRELAND THE CONDITION PRECEDENT TO PEACE

The position of the British soldiers in Ireland is very difficult. They are not fighting an enemy that they can see. They are in a hostile atmosphere. They are fighting everything around them. I don't know whether it would be of interest or not, but I have brought with me a cutting. It was sent to me by a service man on December 4, 1920. It is therefore very recent, and it seems to me to give the psychology of the British soldiers now in Ireland very well:

"Only those who have experienced the thrill of patrol work and raids in Ireland can realize the strain on the nerves. At any second we may meet an active antagonist. In Ireland the enemy is a shadow. A sinister death, rarely seen until it is too late to advance or retreat, may lie just around the corner. Many of our fallen comrades never saw the enemy that shot them down. Any civilian who passes you by may swing around on his heel and surprise you. The enemy has no position to assail, no uniform to identify him, and no rules of warfare to be observed. There are no rest periods. We are liable to be shot on duty or off duty. A crowd at a football match suddenly begins to spit bullets at us. We are like targets there in our khaki. If we return the fire, it is claimed that every person wounded is an innocent person wilfully put to death by the armed forces of the Crown."¹

That is the situation. Of course, the Irish cannot fight openly because there is three million population against an Empire. And then, of course, the soldiers are in a disadvantageous position. I remember that my brother said, when he was stationed at Ennis before things were so bad, that if a soldier were set upon in any way, they were ordered to go around the streets knocking people off the pavement, and that sort of thing. The removal of the soldiers is the condition precedent to any kind of peace. For of course, while British soldiers are being shot, you cannot do anything with British public opinion. Of course the Sinn Feiners say, "Well, if British soldiers were not getting shot, you would say we are all happy, and would pay no attention to us." The whole thing is a very vicious circle, as always happens when you resort to violence.

I tried to get in touch with some of the parents of the victims. You cannot always do it, because many of the Royal Irish Constabulary are single men stationed in the barracks. But in our hotel in Limerick we got in touch with a mother whose boy of eighteen had

¹ The reference obviously is to the Croke Park football match, when Crown forces without provocation fired upon the spectators, killing 14 and wounding 60. The soldier here is expressing the British Government's justification for this massacre, which is disproved by the evidence collected on the spot by the British Labor Commission and the testimony of Thomas Nolan herein contained.

been shot in one of these raids. The English authorities said that the leaders were known and would be punished. I think her reply deserves to be quoted. She said: "I don't want Irish boys to be punished for what happened to my boy. I want the fathers to settle and put an end to this horrible work."

EMPLOYMENT OF SPIES AND "AGENTS PROVOCATEURS"

In addition to this, there are spies and *agents provocateurs*. We were held up in West Galway and got away by saying that we were English. You dare not keep a scrap of paper around. The difficulty of the spy system is this: the intelligence service of Sinn Fein is almost perfect, because they are dealing in a country where everybody is sympathetic. But there are now a great number of British spies in Ireland who are tracking down the men on the run,—that is to say, the men who cannot sleep at home at nights because they are wanted by the police. And so there are an enormous number of people engaged in holding down Ireland. And one of the arguments we are using to the taxpayers is that we are paying for this enormous body of men who are engaged in holding up the policy of Sir Edward Carson.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Are you sure that these *agents provocateurs* do exist?

A. Mrs. Robinson: I think I have with me a copy of a document that was widely circulated in Belfast saying that if information was given about people who were wanted, a large reward would be given. I have seen these notices myself.

Q. Of course that would not be the employment of *agents provocateurs*.

A. Miss Wilkinson: I was thinking of special agents employed for this purpose. In our hotel we met a group of officers who were engaged in this work; and they were very bitter because they said enough information had not been sent in. But the British intelligence service is now being perfected, I believe, by the Government.

"MURDERS" OF POLICE USED BY GOVERNMENT TO JUSTIFY OPPRESSION OF IRELAND

Q. Major Newman: Miss Wilkinson, did you obtain while in Ireland, or is there available as far as you know, any figures regarding the number of ambushes or the killings of constables? That is, killings under circumstances such as are described in that circular by this soldier?

A. No, I don't think there is any list, because they are taking place every day. The difficulty is that a lot of killing is going on that does not come to light. Somebody is being killed all the time.

Q. Commissioner Addams: On both sides?

A. Yes, constables are being murdered and Sinn Feiners are being murdered all the time. It would be very difficult to get figures except from the statements issued by the British Government.

Q. Mr. Manly: The British Government does issue such documents, does it not?

A. Yes, but the Sinn Feiners claim they are not true. And the Sinn Feiners issue statements that the British Government says are not true. I have a statement issued by the English. There were something like five hundred murders up to November, 1920. The British Government claim that something like five hundred individual constables and military had been killed. There is a difference between the British Government figures and the Sinn Féin figures, because the British Government includes people killed in an ambush, while the Sinn Fein count only individuals killed separately. They count persons killed in an ambush as killed in an act of war.

Q. Major Newman: What were the dates covered by this five hundred?

A. From the beginning of the killings to November, 1920.

Mrs. Robinson: Those figures have been published by the British Government. To date I think there are about six hundred.

Q. Commissioner Addams: In your report you say that they count lives lost in the storming of barracks as not murdered because they are killed in an act of war.

A. Mrs. Robinson: Yes, but our Government does not take that attitude. It depends upon the point of view.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did not Lloyd George say that there was a condition of war there?

A. Yes, but that is not the accepted idea.

Q. Commissioner Newman: The British Government figures include everybody killed in Ireland?

A. Yes, on their own side.

Mr. Manly: Yes, and those figures are also disputed by Sinn Fein as to the total number.

Q. Senator Walsh: Sir Horace Plunkett is quoted as saying only yesterday that if the British people knew the number of lives lost in Ireland, there would be a very greatly aroused public opinion in England on conditions there. Do you know on what figures he bases that statement?

A. The Witness: I am not quite so sure it is the number as the conditions in which it is done. If you take the British press, it is almost quiet on the subject except when a policeman is shot, unless it is some big figure like Mayor MacCurtain who has been shot. The English attitude is that they are murders in the case of our men, but only the killing of trouble-makers in the case of the Irish. If

you had American soldiers in Mexico, and if your American papers reported that your men were being sniped from behind houses and so forth by these murderers, whom we will call X,—that is the opinion that is being crystallized in England behind Lloyd George. That is why there is no great popular indignation that Britain, who went out to fight for the rights of small nations, is crushing a small nation right at her own doors. I think that the early murders did give the Carson and Lloyd George Government the very excuse from keeping their promises that they wanted. And while I think that English opinion at last is being aroused, they say that our own boys are being killed, and we don't think that our own boys would do the terrible things that you say they do, anyway. And we say that when you get these boys together and talk to them and fill up their minds with the idea that every Irishman is a murderer, you bring about a war psychology, and then you get the atmosphere that makes it possible for these things to be done. And that is why I say you must blame the Government rather than the boys who are doing these things.

Mrs. Robinson: Irish history is not very well known in England. The situation in Ireland is very different from that of Scotland or Wales. You will find Scotland very well contented with the Union and Wales very well contented. You will find in England very little realization of the condition actually existing in Ireland; with the result that even though Home Rule was granted in 1914, it was granted without a realization that Ireland wanted to express her nationality quite apart from her individual rights. This Commission must take into consideration that there is a very large section of public opinion in England that does not realize what Irish history means and what Irish aspirations have been. And a very large section of our people are led to believe that the trouble in Ireland is due to the extreme demands of a very small part of the Irish people and not the demands of the Irish nation as a whole.

SOLDIERS IN IRELAND ARE MERE BOYS

Q. Commissioner Addams: What was your impression about the age of the soldiers?

A. Miss Wilkinson: Yes, as Mrs. Robinson said this morning, many of them are mere boys. Many of them, like in the camp at Athlone, are very, very young. Of course you must remember that we have no regular army in England now. The regular army was wiped out those first few months of the war. It is the boys who are being sent to Ireland now because the old army is dead.

GOVERNMENT AWARE OF AND ABLE TO STOP CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Q. Commissioner Newman: Is there any doubt that the Government is cognizant of what is happening in Ireland?

A. Of course they are. But the reports that are being sent are reports that are given from the official point of view. But that is no excuse.

Q. No, I didn't mean whether they are justified or not, but whether they are cognizant of what is going on.

A. O, I am perfectly sure, perfectly sure. And they could stop it if they wanted.

CURFEW A COVER FOR DEPREDATIONS OF BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Commissioner Wood: May I ask another question before you go on? You said that they are increasing the intelligence department with a view to tracking down men who are on the run. Now, as I understand it, these men who are on the run are tending to their own business in a perfectly orderly fashion during the daytime, but at night are liable to arrest if they could find them. Did you get any evidence as to why this was? Is that a terror policy or a safety policy? Why is it done?

A. I don't know exactly why it is done. For instance, in Limerick the councilman Clonan, who is a member of the trades council and city council, tends to his business in the daytime and is arrested sometimes at night. Of course you must understand that when any kind of disturbance happens, curfew is immediately placed on the town. That means that the life of the city stops immediately at ten o'clock, and everything is absolutely dark. And that gives the Black-and-Tans an opportunity to do exactly what they like without anything happening to them. If they do anything, the people are asked, "Have you any proof that it was the Black-and-Tans?" No, of course not, because citizens found out after ten o'clock without a permit are liable to be shot. And it is of course impossible to get any evidence about what the Black-and-Tans do after ten o'clock.

I know that at Limerick we were going out, and everything was going on splendidly; and then at ten o'clock the soldiers went on the streets and you were challenged by, "Who goes there?" Of course that is the point of the British soldier: he does not know whether the man who is coming toward him is concealing a revolver to shoot him unless he orders him to put his hands above his head. And if the man doesn't do it, the soldier shoots. And that has caused the shooting of a large number of innocent people.

RESIGNING BLACK-AND-TANS REPUDIATE SYSTEM OF TERRORISM

Q. Did you find any evidence of any Black-and-Tans or any other Englishmen resigning because they will not continue in this situation?

A. Of course, a soldier cannot resign. He must obey orders or go to prison or be shot. Several Black-and-Tans have resigned and have published in the English papers the reasons for their resigning.¹ They say their position is simply terrible.

Q. Of course soldiers do resign as conscientious objectors, or take the penalty for going to jail.

A. I don't know how it is in America; but it is one of the standing jokes in England about the man who joined the army and then sent in his resignation. In the English army if you join the army and do not obey orders, you will be jailed or shot.

Q. Of course it is a variety of mutiny. We heard that the British troops refused to embark for Russia, but we have not heard about anything like that in regard to Ireland.

A. Of course those things have to be done on a large scale to be effective. Of course if the British soldiers refused to go to Russia (Mrs. Robinson doubts that), they did it because they had no heart in the fight with the Russian people. But the British soldier goes to Ireland and gets caught up in the thing and loses himself. There were a couple of soldiers who came to us on the train for sympathy because they heard our English voices. One of these soldiers was telling us what he would do to the people at Athlone if he had a chance at them. And he was engaged to an Irish girl! You do not get any contact, any human relationships between the Irish people and the British soldiers. And that is why they are moved from place to place. And of course what you are suffering from in Ireland is a lack of human understanding. It is a case of power and undiluted militarism.

Q. Commissioner Newman: Did you find any soldiers who look at this affair like a sport,—like a big time for them?

A. Well, there are one or two stories told about it, but I put them down as exaggerations; because when people's nerves are on edge like the Irish people's nerves are, you must expect some exaggerations. For instance, there is the story of the soldier who stood at one end of the street and simply potted at the civilians for fun. We did not find any eye-witnesses about that. The soldiers that we were speaking to were absolutely sick unto death of the whole business. I should need very conclusive evidence before I believed that there is very much fun in it for them.

¹ The Black-and-Tan is nominally a constable, and hence able to resign at will.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do the letters which show the reasons for the resignations of the Black-and-Tans which were printed in the British papers indicate repudiation of the whole Black-and-Tan system.¹

A. Yes.

Q. It is a condemnation of that method of trying to restore peace there?

A. Yes.

Mrs. Robinson: One of those letters I saw myself. It emphasized the great lack of discipline among the Black-and-Tans. There was no discipline, no rules for obeying orders. And for a certain type of man that was an unendurable position.

Miss Wilkinson: And of course a great deal depends upon the type of man. There have been cases where the military have been able to enforce orders on the Black-and-Tans. Of course it is a great deal easier to say that the men have broken discipline, and I think the British Government is taking that as the easiest way out.

WHY THE RECRUITING OF BLACK-AND-TANS IS EASY

Q. Commissioner Thomas: What makes the recruiting of Black-and-Tans so easy,—general dissatisfaction after the war or unemployment or what?

A. Well, of course, many ex-sevice men come back and are unable to get into the regular army because the British army has raised the standards for service. And of course there is no such physical standard for the Black-and-Tans. Many service men have come to the end of the period for their war-time pay, and the work in Ireland pays well and the food is good. And then there is the love of adventure; and there are the black sheep you will find anywhere who always love to fish in troubled waters. I think there are a great many people who are looking for that sort of thing; for you cannot switch off a man's moral nature like you would an electric light. You have produced these feelings by what has recently happened. You have brought these men up to use force during six years of war, and then you cannot expect them to switch themselves off in a moment.

Q. Chairman Howe: Have you any approximate figures as to the approximate number of Irishmen that have been killed?

A. I am sorry I have not.

Q. Is it more than six hundred?

A. That covers only the English.

¹ The more recent resignation of General Crozier, for the reasons made public by him, is the worst possible indictment of undisciplined military frightfulness in Ireland.

Q. I thought you might have a memorandum there.

A. I am sorry I have not. I thought I had it with me in my notebook, but I have not.

Q. Senator Walsh: Perhaps Mr. Manly has some figures.

A. Mr. Manly: I am having compiled for the Commission now a detailed statement giving names and circumstances of each individual which the Irish government claims has been murdered by the British officials,—a statement which is complete.¹

Q. Since 1916?

A. Yes, since 1916; and giving also the names and places of the creameries burned, and the arrests without warrant, and all those other facts.

REMARKABLY LITTLE SEX CRIME

Q. Commissioner Wood: May I ask Miss Wilkinson a question further? You mentioned the moral deadening which I am sure we all feel that the war has produced in the natures of men; for of course you cannot snap off men's moral natures like you would an electric light. Did you say that there is no sex crime in Ireland?

A. Well, when we were there, we made very careful investigation, and we found no cases whatever of outrages on women. We have been told since that such cases have occurred. We have been told by Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, for instance (she is a prejudiced witness, of course), that outrages have occurred on women. But we found no case at all where sexual outrages on women have occurred. We have had cases where women have been roughly handled, of course. And even that would happen where the men were sober; although such cases usually happened when the men were drunk. When I speak of rough treatment, I mean that the men come in the middle of the night, and the women are driven from their beds without any clothing other than a coat; they are run out in the middle of the night and the house is burned. For women in delicate health that, of course, is terrible. And for women expecting children the mere fact of men coming like that and the nervous tension is terrible, of course. It would not be so bad if the raids took place in the daytime. But we have no evidence of sexual outrages taking place.

Q. It is a very remarkable tribute if such is the case. We have had no instances of it from either side.

A. Of course, to be quite fair, the Sinn Feiners themselves began the cutting of girl's hair. When in certain cases the Irish girls went out in the evening with English soldiers, the Sinn Feiners signified their disapproval by cutting off the girls' hair. And of course in some cases reprisals were taken by the English soldiers cutting

¹ See Exhibit II.

off the hair of girls who would not go out with them. And of course strong Irish opinion came out at once against it, and it was stopped.

PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES ON IRISH ATROCITIES BOYCOTTED BY ENGLISH PRESS

Q. Chairman Howe: Have the facts such as you have related been discussed in detail in the House of Commons?

A. By means of questions and in debate, of course.

Q. The debates have been pretty full on the Irish question, I suppose.

A. Yes, Commander Kenworthy did take that young girl who was shot, I believe, and she gave her evidence before a select committee in a committee room in the House of Commons. But there has never been anything like the political situation we have in England before. For the first time there is no effective opposition in the British Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George got an overwhelming majority behind him. And of course very many other questions than the Irish question come in when there is any division on Ireland; for by our constitutional custom, when the cabinet is defeated on one serious issue, the Government on that day resigns. Well, of course, that puts men in a position where they have to face the question whether they want to turn the Government out. And on that issue the Carsonites have held the Coalition Government together, so that you get only Labor and the Free Liberals discussing when these matters are debated in the House of Commons.

Q. We have seen only the reports of Mr. Asquith's speech on the Irish question, and possibly a few questions in the House of Commons. But there have been other speakers also?

A. Oh, yes, a very large number. Mr. Henderson and the leaders of the Labor Party and a very large number of other Liberals,—Mr. C. F. G. Masterman and Sir John Simon and other prominent men. I don't know whether you read the English *Nation*, but there was an analysis in the English *Nation* of the space given by the Harmsworth and Coalition papers to the speeches given on Ireland to the space given to any other question that might come along. You see, there is this boycott in the English papers, and it is difficult to get people to realize it.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you see anything of the interference by Dublin Castle and the forces under their control with the newspaper reporters in Ireland?

A. We did not see it personally, but of course we did hear a great deal about it, especially the interference with Mr. Hugh Martin.

Q. I was wondering if you had met Mr. Hugh Martin?

A. No, I did not meet him while I was in Ireland. The facts of that, of course, were very fully published.

Mr. Manly: They have not been published very fully in the United States.

Commissioner Addams: They came before us once.

The Witness: I would rather, if I may, keep to the things I have actually seen.

RAIDING AND BURNING OF HOUSES AND FARMS

The next heading is raids. In this connection I have handed in to Mr. MacDonald a large number of photographs. I am not sure how much you have heard about this already from the other witnesses.

Commissioner Addams: But those things you have seen would be interesting.

The Witness: Well, first of all, in Limerick.

Q. You are not Irish?

A. Oh, no; I am from Lincolnshire. I believe I have some Irish blood from somewhere, but it happens to be Orange. With regard to Limerick. Of course, one has to realize that for each case that we investigated, a reason was given by the English press for it. That is to say, it was in the nature of a reprisal for some damage done. Brennan's, near Limerick, I have already described, where the house and hay were burned down.

Q. What had the Brennans done?

A. Well, the two sons of the old lady were on the run. Miss Brennan had managed the farm for two years. The military were endeavoring to find where the Brennan boys were, because the Brennans were important people from the Sinn Fein point of view. And they also wanted to cut off their supplies, because these men were being supplied, naturally, from their own farm. The Black-and-Tans came up in lorries and the women were turned out on the road and the house was set on fire. While we were there the house was still smoldering and the hay was still burning.

We saw a number of similar cases in Limerick. A man named Cain, a man with eight children, was taken out of his home, and they were going to shoot him, but his wife begged for his life, and they did not. Then when we went on to Ennistymon and Lahinch, we found a number of houses burned there. At Miltown-Malbay a Captain Lendrum had been kidnapped, and the soldiers threatened reprisals if he was not returned; and his dead body was laid in a coffin and returned to them. Of course that made the soldiers very, very excited. The Catholic priest tried to intercede, but the soldiers were out of control. At Lahinch the houses were only left as a shell. The soldiers went along the street and burned every house,

as the small photos I have given you show. Then the draper's shop, which had no connection with Sinn Fein, because it was owned by a widow who was keeping her son in college,—that was burned. Then the concert hall was also burned.

Then we went to Ennistymon, where the town hall was burned and a large amount of property demolished. That, of course, was a reprisal. We saw a great many farms that had been burned in the area all around Miltown-Malbay, and Lisdoonvarna also, but that we did not see. The people there were in a very terrible state. They had to go out onto the seashore because of the destruction of their homes.

BRITISH MILITARY SUPPRESS PUBLIC INQUIRY INTO GALWAY OUTRAGES

At Galway what had happened was that a soldier was shot at the station. The Sinn Fein version of the story was that the man had been shot while shooting at civilians. I don't know. But anyway, this soldier named Krumm was shot. And then the police and soldiers went out that night and took three men out of their homes,—one was named Quirk, and two others were taken out and shot. Then the town was afraid of reprisals. And they decided to hold a public inquiry and to invite the police to give evidence. Mr. Louis O'Day was the solicitor for the town, and led the case for the town.

Q. Major Newman: Who decided to hold an inquiry?

A. The municipal authorities of Galway, who were all Sinn Fein, of course. The town authorities wanted to hold this inquiry. Of course, any kind of assembly in Ireland now is illegal unless it is held with a permit. So the town tried to hold this inquiry, and soldiers came and dispersed the assembly, and Mr. Louis O'Day would not go home. But that night his home was entered and demolished; and the office of the *Galway Express* was demolished because it had printed the speech which Mr. Louis O'Day had intended to deliver at this investigation. The curfew was put on for three weeks. It was not on when this happened, for Galway had been very quiet. Following this there were a number of reprisals in Galway; houses were burned, and Mr. Walsh, who owned the Old Malt House, was taken out and killed and his body thrown into the river.¹ I mention Galway because the excuse of the military authorities is that they cannot get a jury because, of course, no Irishman will serve on an English jury. But here was a case where there would have been an investigation by the municipal authorities of the town, but the military authorities broke it up. Then, of course, there was the breaking up of that shop called the Bal in Galway.

¹ See direct evidence of Miss Nellie Craven.

DEVASTATION IN TUAM

Then we motored to Tuam. Tuam was in a horrible shape. The houses and shops were destroyed. I had an interview with the Archbishop of Tuam. He does not want his name mentioned in any way, but he gave me certain signed statements of atrocities on civilian people, some of them by the military and Black-and-Tans and some by R. I. C. men. Some of these statements are in the handwriting of the parties making them. The only connection that the Archbishop has with them is that of guaranteeing their authenticity; but he does not want his name mentioned with them in any way.¹

Q. Commissioner Addams: Do you want to read them for us?

A. Well, they are very long. I think you might consider them yourselves. I just handed those in.

Q. Thank you. Were they all in the town of Tuam?

A. They were all in the town of Tuam.

Q. They have all been printed?

A. They have been printed. Of course, they are only a repetition of what you must already have had. Of course I can read them if you want.

NIGHTLY TERRORISM IN CORK

My friend and I went to Cork the night after the burning of the city hall. We had always come just after things had occurred, but we got to Cork at a very tense moment. We asked the driver to drive us to a hotel right near the city hall. He protested violently, but he finally took us to the Imperial Hotel right near the city hall. Curfew was at ten o'clock. We went to our room. According to law, no one is supposed to have a light or look out of the window. But we turned out our lights and wrapped ourselves up and went to the window.

Q. Major Newman: What date was this, Miss Wilkinson?

A. This was October eleventh, I think.

Major Newman: That is near enough.

The Witness: First of all there came the soldiers in extended formation, each one of them wearing tin helmets—the shrapnel helmets—and carrying guns with fixed bayonets. And then came three armored cars packed with soldiers. And then after them came a lorry which had petrol in it, I suppose.

Q. Were these soldiers or Black-and-Tans?

A. As far as we could gather, these were soldiers. There may have been Black-and-Tans among them. Everything we saw was by the aid of a searchlight at the end of the street. But those who were marching were all soldiers. They went on by, and when they

¹ The documents are incorporated in Exhibit III hereof.

came back they fired into the houses at a certain level. We saw the bullet marks the next morning. That, of course, is a terrible thing. Many people have been killed on account of this indiscriminate shooting from motor lorries. And then they withdrew to the city hall. It was not blown up that night., It was blown up later. But it was an extraordinarily eerie experience, this absolutely quiet street, and then these soldiers coming along, and these bullets whizzing past your head. This had happened, it was said, on account of an ambush of police or soldiers in Barrett Street, a poor section of the city where the houses had been burned. And these soldiers were ambushed, it was said, from these burned houses. It was pretty terrible altogether. The day we came, the military had broken up several shops.

Q. Commissioner Wood: How long did this last,—your personal experience?

A. It lasted from ten until three. There was the roaring and the shooting and the calling of "Who goes there?"

Q. Major Newman: Was there any retaliation from the Irish people?

A. Not that we could see. But there has been, of course. But that is not usually done in the towns but usually in the country, because it leads to such terrible reprisals. This ambush in Barrett Street was quite unusual. Usually ambushes take place in the country.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Did there appear to be officers in command?

A. Yes, of course there were officers in command. This was a disciplined motion of troops through Cork, and the officers were very clearly with the men. As far as I know, there were no burnings that night, no burnings of houses. The city hall has been blown up since, but it was not done that night. One could just go along with instances like that. But the number I have handed in rather includes most of those I know of.

REPRISALS VICTIMIZE INNOCENT WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Q. Commissioner Addams: Those were your own personal investigations, of course.

A. Yes, my own personal investigations. What is happening, of course, is that whenever ambushes occur or soldiers are killed, the reprisals take place on the community immediately. What happens is that the women and children are thrown out, petrol is sprayed on the house, and it is burned. One could just go on multiplying instances. They all conform to the same type.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Did you discuss with any of the civilian population as to what their attitude was toward the strategy that provokes such terrible reprisals?

A. Yes, we tried to. But of course you must realize that it is difficult to get information in Ireland now. And then we were English, and as the Irish woman we talked to said, she made it very clear that she was not going to give in because her house had been burned down. But if she had felt very different she would not have said so to us. Of course, that is the difficulty of any investigation in Ireland. It is hard to get any information at all.

ATTITUDE IN BELFAST TOWARD ATROCITIES

Mrs. Robinson: In Belfast I was met with the statement that as far as the north is concerned, those who were killed were murderers who were executed. The result is that there are two governments in Ireland, two sets of laws, and two sets enforcing these laws. And the police, I was told, were simply seeing to it that the Sinn Fein laws could not be carried out. It is, of course, a most impossible situation.

Commissioner Addams: Are there any questions to ask Miss Wilkinson?

SOUTHERN UNIONISTS RIDICULE DANGER OF CATHOLIC USURPATION

The Witness: I will then go on to the question of the Southern Unionists. We considered that very important, because they are three hundred thousand of the population in the south. And of course at one stage of the Ulster agitation great play was made of the fact that an Ulster Parliament alone would not settle the matter, because you would then leave these Southern Unionists to the mercy of the Irish. That was a great point prior to 1914.

My brother happens to be a Wesleyan minister, and he gave me introductions to Wesleyan ministers in Ireland, and I had conversations with them. And I found that they entirely ridiculed the idea that the southern Unionists were in any danger from the southern population. And if you take Limerick alone, many of the most prosperous business places in Limerick are owned by Unionists. And this minister said that, generally speaking, the Irish people trusted them completely, and they had no trouble at all. And generally speaking, they were much more fearful of what the Crown forces would do than what the Sinn Fein forces would do. I pressed him to know what he meant, and his wife gave this example: when they were firing one place, there was a Protestant store just opposite which had two young men, assistants, living in it (which, of

course, is the custom in Ireland). And these young men came and tried to help extinguish the flames. And the British soldiers tried to set a light to their place to give them something to do in their own premises, although it was owned by a Unionist and a Protestant. And he spoke of the gun-running at Larne. And he said that gun-running was the worst mistake that the Government had made; and they could never get any peace in Ireland at all until the troops were taken out. He said that the agitation for Home Rule was mere sentiment on the part of the Irish, because there was no reason why they could not live as comfortably within the Empire and united to England as the Scotch. But since they would not, the only reasonable thing was to give them what they wanted.

POLICY OF GOVERNMENT IS ALIENATING UNIONISTS

He gave me another case that shows how the policy of the Government is turning many of the Unionists against it. There were two Protestant business men whose property was destroyed. And one of them wrote a letter to the military authorities complaining of the destruction of his property. And the response was that the officer in charge on that occasion was not quite responsible for his actions since he got back from the war, that he was a little bit queer. And that was the only answer he got!

JUSTICE OBTAINABLE IN SOUTH ONLY THROUGH SINN FEIN COURTS

Then, with regard to the courts and the doing of justice. The Sinn Fein courts work in secret. It is not possible to get justice in the southern part of Ireland at all except through the Sinn Fein courts. At the time of the death of Lord Mayor MacSwiney the Prudential Assurance Company was actually pleading through a Sinn Fein court. I asked these men if they had ever been in a Sinn Fein court, and they said they had. One of them had a case of petty theft of some rugs that had been left outside his place, and he appealed to the Sinn Fein court to get the goods restored. They were restored, and he was told that the culprits had been punished. All of the Unionists whom I saw in southern Ireland said that it was impossible that home rule should not come to Ireland now. They were very bitter over what they called the selfishness of Ulster; that when they saw home rule was coming, they simply wanted Ulster cut off, and left the rest of them to their fate. That, of course, has been strongly put in the House of Lords by Lord Middleton. They feel that the only thing, under the present situation, is to give Ireland dominion home rule as soon as possible. I think that that is all on that subject.

NO PERSECUTION OF PROTESTANTS IN CATHOLIC SOUTH

Q. Commissioner Wood: Did you find any cases of religious intolerance on the part of the Catholic majority against the Protestant minority?

A. No. That is surprising. There is no complaint of it whatever. The Methodist ministers told me to emphasize that whenever I could, that the Protestant people had always had the most courteous treatment from the Catholic population. I think that is important, because in the south there is no reason to fan the flame of religious intolerance. Because, of course, if the Unionists had fanned the flame of religious intolerance there, they would have been the ones to suffer. I interviewed the Lord Mayor of Limerick, and he said that on the relief committee formed for these unemployed workers there were both Catholics and Protestants, and that nobody in southern Ireland would ask you your religion any more than they would in England.

IRISH PARLIAMENT ALONE CAN DECIDE RELATION OF IRELAND TO EMPIRE

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Did you talk to any Sinn Feiners who told you that dominion home rule would not be enough?

A. I don't know as I would care to answer that. Sinn Fein demands, of course, complete independence. Many of them demand to leave the British Empire altogether. Many of them say that that is the maximum demand, and that there might be something between that and the utterly inadequate home rule bill before Parliament now. Does that answer your question? I don't think that it is our business to say what Sinn Fein will or will not accept. It is a matter for them to decide among themselves.

Q. Is there a general disposition to say that that is a matter that can only be decided by the Irish Parliament?

A. Well, that, I think, is very certain. I don't think that any real peace offer can be made from England or from Ireland unless it is made through Dail Eireann, because the Irish Government is undoubtedly the *de facto* government of Ireland, and proposals can only come through that.

Q. May I ask about the English Government? When British Labor made resolutions about self-determination, did they mean absolute self-determination, or self-determination within the British Empire?

A. I should say that British Labor is divided on that point; the Socialists and the left wing would say to give Ireland absolute right to say what she wanted. But there is a very considerable, well-informed body which say that to have a lot of little nations like we

have in Central Europe and Czecho-Slovakia, none of whom are strong enough to maintain their independence, is simply an invitation for a stronger power to be their master. And this section claims that Ireland would be far safer, and that we would be far safer, with her in the Empire. We do not hold Canada by force, and we do not hold Australia by force. And we could not do so. They remain in the Empire not because they have to, but because they want to remain in. And of course, the unfortunate thing is that the policy of the militarists in Ireland and the policy of the Ulsterites is driving the Irish people to want to go out of the British Empire altogether. But, of course, whether British Labor would agree to Ireland's going out of the British Empire, I could not say. The general trend of the resolutions is largely to shelve that issue and get the two sides together and get something done.

REMOVAL OF TROOPS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD PEACE

Q. Chairman Howe: From what you say, I take it that the first step is to get out the troops.

A. Yes, yes. The contribution of our League was that the local government, during the period of the truce, should be left to the local bodies. Where Sinn Fein had a majority, they should say; and where others had, they should say.

It might be well to say here that the Dublin Metropolitan Police, after some of them were killed, plead for their own disarmament. And since then none of them have been killed. And I am perfectly sure, apart from the hatred for the Black-and-Tans, after the British soldiers were disarmed they would be quite safe. Of course that would be laughed at, I am afraid, by a large number of people.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Of course, what it amounts to is that you have troops and Black-and-Tans sent to preserve law and order in Ireland, and they create the very disorder they are sent to keep down.

A. Yes, but of course that happens in labor disputes too. The police that are sent in labor disputes to quell disorder usually create it. That always happens with the use of violence and physical force.

TRAGIC NEED OF RELIEF FOR VICTIMS OF REPRISALS

Q. Commissioner Wood: In the districts in which you were, you saw a very considerable need for relief in those sections?

A. Well, of course, the need for relief is simply something terrible. I was in touch with some people who were giving out the relief. These people's homes are destroyed. Everything they had

was destroyed. The only thing they have is what they stand up in. They have no hope of compensation, because if they apply for compensation, it only means that their neighbors have to pay it. The situation is terrible.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Is relief being administered by this committee in the north?

A. No, that is purely a local thing. That is only for the expelled workers. Generally speaking, it is administered through the Irish societies.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Are there any English or Scotch societies administering relief?

A. No. Of course they are contributing to it very largely. There is only one exception, I believe. The Society of Friends is giving relief, and certain members of it are thinking of arousing English opinion by persuading individual English towns to adopt Irish towns. And we were opposed to that because we said that relief of that kind was simply a salve to the British conscience; and if people wanted to give relief, it should be given in justice and not in charity.

Mrs. Robinson: I understand that Miss Louie Bennett, secretary of the Irish branch of the Women's International League, is also coming to give testimony. She would know a great deal about that, you see, because she is occupied with that work at the present time.

MILITARY STATUS OF BRITISH RED CROSS PRECLUDES ITS HELP

Q. Commissioner Wood: Did you see any evidence of the British Red Cross or the International Red Cross doing work in Ireland at all?

A. No. Of course our idea of the Red Cross is quite different from yours. The Red Cross service, as far as we are concerned, is only a branch of the military organization.

Q. It is not connected with the military organization?

A. No, it is a part of the military organization. I do not think anybody would dream of appealing to the Red Cross in Britain. It is formed by the army officers and the fashionable people. Nobody has thought of appealing to the Red Cross at all.

Q. Is there any difficulty about sending in relief, except perhaps the taboo on the sending in of packages?

A. No, I don't think so.

Q. No difficulty put in the shape of transport of food by lorries, and that sort of thing?

A. Well, of course there is not a shortage of food in Ireland, for it is largely an agricultural country, so much as the difficulty of distribution of food and clothing and providing buildings. But in

actual practice you could not send things by rail because the railways will not run.

IS AMERICAN RED CROSS RELIEF PARTIALLY OR POLITICALLY ADMINISTERED?

Q. Commissioner Maurer: But the Red Cross of England, as you understand it, is part of the military organization?

A. I don't know anything about the English Red Cross whatever. I would rather not answer questions about it, Madam Chairman.

Commissioner Addams: Very well. I realize that it is a military organization.

Commissioner Maurer: The reason I am asking this question is that I want to know about our own Red Cross. I inquired this morning from you (indicating Mrs. Robinson) if the Red Cross was doing anything in Ireland. I was told by Senator Walsh that the American Red Cross had been appealed to, to do relief work in Ireland and said it could not do it. I was told later by a newspaper correspondent here that the American Red Cross in Russia is feeding the people on one side of the line and not on the other. Now, if the British Red Cross is part of your military machine and does not operate except in case of war, then it would be interesting to know why the American Red Cross refuses to take action.

Senator Walsh: I ought to have added that it is claimed that our Red Cross in America is a governmental institution; that its president is the President of the United States; that its ex-officio officers are governors of states; and that international complications would be involved in its operation in any country of the world without the consent and permission of that country. And I think that that situation existed at the time of the war; and before we entered the war, in 1914 and 1915, our Red Cross was unable to do work in Germany because of this official relationship. And there was organized a neutral organization not governmental in character known as the American Relief Commission in Belgium, which got permission from the German Government to operate in Belgium. And it is my opinion that there can be no effective relief work done in Ireland unless there is some American Commission such as the American Commission for Relief in Belgium organized, and permission is secured from the British Government to do work in Ireland.

Commissioner Maurer: Thank you, Senator, for the information. Another point: during the Denikin and Wrangel and other generals' drives in Russia, I was informed by the press that the Red Cross was in that particular part of Russia that was trying to oppose the Soviet Government. And yet at no time did I read that any Red Cross was up in the other part of Russia where the Soviet Government prevailed.

Mrs. Robinson: May I interrupt just here. I think that the Red Cross in Russia was the Geneva Red Cross.

Commissioner Maurer: Pardon me. I think the American Red Cross was in Russia too.

Commissioner Addams: I think that is a domestic affair.

Commissioner Maurer: I also understand that our Red Cross was not in that particular part of Russia where the Soviet Government ruled. Now, I would like to find out if this Red Cross of ours in America is partial or political. I want to find out now, since they could go to some particular part of Russia but not to other parts, and cannot go to Ireland,—those are the things that interest me. Perhaps some day I will find out.

SOUTH IRELAND WILL MAKE CONCESSIONS TO ULSTER

Q. Commissioner Wood: May I ask if you found in the south of Ireland, Miss Wilkinson, any fear of Ulster domination? Do they look at Ulster as a big industrial group in Belfast? Did you hear of any fear, in case they combined with Ulster, that Ulster would dominate them?

A. Oh, no.

Q. That is, that being a big industrial group with large numbers of factories, that they would dominate Ireland?

A. No, quite the contrary. As far as I could gather from the Sinn Fein judges and politicians, they were prepared to go to very great lengths to overcome what they called "Ulster prejudices" so long as Ulster would remain in Ireland and thus keep Ireland united. They were prepared to give Ulster any kind of government she wanted, any kind of taxation she wanted. But they wanted Ulster in Ireland because they believe that once the English influence was removed from Ulster, that in time the two sections would get together. And they feel that if Ulster has a Parliament of her own, she will be controlled by England, and that will only cause further trouble in the country. But of course there is no fear of Ulster domination at all. The fear is on the other side. The Ulster politicians fear a Catholic domination.

MAJORITY OF ENGLISH PEOPLE OPPOSED TO GOVERNMENT'S IRISH POLICY

Q. Commissioner Wood: Now, to turn to the English side. You have been addressing large meetings in England on the Irish question. What has been the reaction at these meetings as you have told of your investigations in Ireland? Has it been incredulous enthusiasm or suppressed indignation?

A. Well, generally speaking there has been very high indignation. Great indignation has been expressed when we have told of

the actions of the military in Ireland. And great astonishment has been expressed when we told about the general situation in Ireland. I am perfectly satisfied that if any referendum could be taken, the majority of the English people are not behind the Coalition Government on this issue. The Coalition Government was elected on a very different mechanical issue, and had nothing to do with this question. It stays in for five years from 1918; and until that time it can do as it likes because it has a Parliamentary majority. I feel that there is a very grave feeling against the Coalition policy; and it would have been very much greater if it had not been complicated by what is called the murders of policemen.

SOURCES OF PREJUDICE AGAINST IRISH IN BRITAIN

Q. Do you feel that what is called the religious prejudice bulks large in English public opinion?

A. I think there is a great deal of prejudice against Roman Catholicism, but it is not very bitter except in places like Liverpool, where there are, of course, as many Irishmen as there are in any Irish city. And again, there are a good many Irish who have gone as laborers to Presbyterian Scotland. And there is a very large amount of prejudice against them for this reason: until just prior to the war the Irish were very badly off in their own country and were forced to emigrate. The country could not keep them all. Ireland says that that was due to the crushing of the country's industries. The English Government says that Ireland could not keep that number of people. These laborers were taken, for instance, to Dundee, Mrs. Robinson's home, and put to work in the jute mills. That problem was much like your Japanese problem in California, I should imagine. The Irish came in and accepted lower wages and much lower standards of living; and that made popular prejudice against them. But of course, during the conditions growing out of the war, the Irish Transport Workers were able to organize the workers. The Irish workers got used to a much higher standard of living; for of course they had not accepted a lower wage in England because they wanted to, but because they had to. That has been stopped, I think, by the N. U. R., which has been able to get a very much better wage for the railwaymen; and other workers have been able to do this also.

Q. You think this economic grievance has been stopped since the war?

A. Very largely. But these two factors, the religious prejudice and the economic aspect of employment at low wages, have caused a certain amount of feeling against the Irish in some sections in England.

Q. I don't think Mrs. Robinson gave us the information this morning about the effect of conscription in Ireland upon the situation.

A. Well, I think Mrs. Robinson meant that I had had trade union experience. You see, in England conscription was not popular before the war. And since the war a very strong feeling has set in against it. If you say, "Is there a feeling against Ireland because she did not send soldiers to fight?" I would say that now that does not exist among labor people at all, because the reaction against the war among labor people has wiped that all out. Does that answer your question?

Q. Yes. It is frequently said here in America that Ireland did not stand by England during the war. She would not accept conscription.

A. I think that was very strong in England during the war. Most of the English people regarded the 1916 rebellion as a stab at England in the back just when we were at our darkest hour in the war; because 1916 was a terrible war year for us. And I think on account of that, the English people acquiesced in the shooting of the leaders of the rebellion; because, as many English officers have told me, it was treason for the Irish not to fight with them. But I think in a very curious way the English people have come to realize that it was not altogether their war; and the English people have come to recognize that feeling on the part of the Irish. I don't think that prejudice exists now except in military circles. Take, for instance, our treatment of conscientious objectors, which is almost a parallel case. They were released shortly after the peace, and there isn't any organized prejudice against them at all any more. I think the position regarding Ireland is the same case.

Mrs. Robinson: I think I should go further and say there is an understanding of the Irish position during the war now.

MORE CIVIL LIBERTY IN ENGLAND THAN IN AMERICA OR IRELAND

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Can you hold meetings and say anything you want to about the Government policy now? Can labor unions meet and criticize the government?

A. Yes, of course, in case you do not get up and urge the overthrow of the Government by force and revolution.

Q. Did you have during the last few years a great deal of trouble from so-called Reds and Bolsheviks, and all that?

A. What do you mean? Miss Addams, explain it for me.

Q. No, I am trying to find out something about England. I am trying to compare American democracy with British democracy. And you say that your conscientious objectors were given their freedom completely after peace was signed?

A. Yes, yes, indeed.

Q. And do you have any political prisoners still in jail?

A. No.—Yes, O well, there is Sylvia Pankhurst. But you can say almost anything you want to about the Government providing you use common sense. But of course you cannot do it in Ireland.

Commissioner Maurer: Well, we cannot do it in America.

Q. Senator Walsh: Do you say that the anti-militaristic forces in England have increased tremendously since the war?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. So that your people are pretty much set against militarism in their Government?

A. Well, I don't want to be too definite. I mean every kind of peace society has increased its membership and has increased its power, and there is a very real revulsion against war. There is not one of us, not a home that has not given something,—that has not gone through a very terrible experience. When the Polish war came along, the British Council of Action really expressed the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the country that we were not going to have another war. And all those influences united, and kept us out of that war. I do not say, of course, that the jingo press would not be able to fan up flames for another war; but there is a tremendous feeling against militarism.

Senator Walsh: I think that answers my question.

VARYING SENTIMENTS OF ENGLISH PRESS

Q. Commissioner Wood: Mrs. Robinson spoke of three or four papers that carried some reasonable amount of correct Irish news. The rest of the press is not all Coalition press, is it?

A. O, no.

Q. The Northcliffe press is one group that criticizes the Government considerably in regard to this, is it not?

A. Yes; of course there are the Northcliffe papers and the papers owned by the Coalition Government; and then papers like the *Daily Chronicle*.

Q. But do the Northcliffe papers criticize this Irish policy?

A. Well, the Northcliffe press speaks with so many voices; it is very difficult to say of the Harmsworth press that it has any steady policy. As far as the *Times* is concerned, it has stood very consistently for moderation and home rule. But as regards the *Daily Mail* you could not say that.

Q. Now, as for the voices from the colonies, is there any particular comeback from the colonies?

A. As far as I know there has been nothing done in the colonies at all; nothing official in the way of proceedings.

ULSTER ISSUE AN INSINCERE EXCUSE FOR GOVERNMENT'S IRISH POLICY

Q. Commissioner Thomas: It is often said in this country in the name of England that the whole question would be simply solved were it not for Ulster; that England stands ready to give Ireland anything if only Ulster were out of the way. I don't mean to ask you whether the people who say that are sincere, but whether it really does bulk large in the minds of the English people.

A. To say that is to say, suppose that English history had been entirely different. You see, this policy has gone on for several hundred years. The policy of the British Government for all these generations has been to keep the Protestant minority in Ireland dependent entirely on England. So you have got the Pale around Ulster.

Q. May I interrupt? The Pale was Catholic until the Reformation, was it not?

A. Yes, the Pale was. And there were plantations under the most Catholic Queen we ever had,—Mary II. And the Pale was included then. But the O'Neals of that time came from Ulster,—and Ulster is the place of the great Irish heroes. But when it came to plant Ulster, the Irish were driven off the land more completely than in any other part of the country. And so Ulster has been kept dependent on the English ascendancy, and Ireland has been kept divided most wonderfully. Of course, this is not a British policy. The policy of Divide and Govern is an old one.

Q. Senator Walsh: The regular imperialistic policy.

A. Yes, the regular imperialistic policy. So that you see it is quite impossible for a British statesman to get up and say, "If only the Irish could agree among themselves, we would be prepared to give whatever they wanted." The answer to that is the attitude of the Coalition Government toward the Convention.

Q. You mean the Horace Plunkett convention, for the sake of the record?

A. Yes, quite. There was the Horace Plunkett Convention called by Sir Horace during the war. From what he said to us, they got far beyond their expectations in getting the Ulster leaders to admit that the Irishmen haven't horns and tails. And just as they were giving their report,—the very same week Mr. Lloyd George came forward with his plan of conscription for Ireland. That was tearing up his promises to the Convention. And of course the whole thing fell through on that. Now, then, if the British Government were sincere that they would give Ireland what it wants if it can agree, they should not do things that make it impossible for that agreement to be reached. I think it is sincere when a good many people say it, because they do not understand the history of Ireland. I don't think it is sincere when the Coalition Government says it.

“SAFETY OF THE EMPIRE” ARGUMENT

Q. Commissioner Wood: Is there a feeling that Ireland, if it were allowed to go on its own, would adopt some new experiment in government?

A. I think there is that feeling very largely in England. But the much more real fear in England is that Ireland would be used by an enemy for a submarine base. It was said by the British Government that Irish creeks were used by the Germans as submarine bases during the war. I don't know how true that was. Of course, the Government says it was a German submarine that landed Sir Roger Casement. That is a real danger, I suppose.¹ But we are doing so much harm by keeping the issue alive. Ireland can be won. We can win Ireland to friendship if we set about doing it.

Q. I was wondering if you had heard, in your public life in England, any discussion about that.

A. Well, I think it is being said, of course, just as the submarine scare is being used.

Commissioner Wood: Thank you very much.

Senator Walsh: Miss Addams wants to put something into the record.

Commissioner Addams: Perhaps Miss Wilkinson would read it (handing letter to Miss Wilkinson to read).

Miss Wilkinson (reading):

“Dear Miss Addams:

“I regret that personal reasons make it quite impossible that I should be one of the party which goes over to give evidence before the American Commission on Ireland. I made it particularly my business to enquire into the effect upon the economic situation in Ireland of British policy, and for this purpose interviewed business men and women who had taken no prominent part in politics, and some of whom had been Unionists, although not politically active.

BRITISH POLICY OF TERRORISM AND ANARCHY CAUSING ECONOMIC RUIN

“I found a universal conviction that Great Britain's policy had in the past been directed to limiting or even hampering Irish economic development in the supposed interests of Brit-

¹ Eamon de Valera, elected President of the Irish Republic, in his letter to President Woodrow Wilson of Oct. 27, 1920, transmitting *Ireland's Request to the Government of the United States of America for Recognition as a Sovereign Independent State*, specifically pledges the readiness of his government to give adequate guarantees, as part of a treaty of peace between Britain and Ireland, that Irish harbors shall never be used as bases for aggressive warfare.

ish firms. They were of opinion that the British Government was now pursuing its policy of terrorism and anarchy in complete disregard of the economic ruin it would cause in Ireland. I was shown evidence by Mr. Riordan, secretary of the Irish Industrial Development Association, that British firms were refusing to supply goods to Irish firms as far back as August, 1920, because the British Government had laid an embargo on them. This evidence consisted in copies of the letters written by the English firms making this statement.

"I append a resolution passed by the Council of Cork Industrial Development Association (whose treasurer, Mr. Coleman, has recently been murdered) which clearly shows the prevailing impression to which I allude.

"I was in Cork the night (October ninth) that an attempt was made to destroy the City Hall. An incendiary bomb set one wing alight, and it was gutted; but the fire brigade was able to prevent the flames from destroying the whole building. The explosion occurred at about 4 A. M., and astonished no one, as there had been the assassination of a soldier (aged seventeen years and five months) the day before in a Cork street, and reprisals were the rule.

OUTRAGES AT MALLOW COMMITTED BY BRITISH SOLDIERS

"I visited Mallow and saw the eight houses, the Town Hall, and Cleeves' Creamery, which had all been gutted by fire. There was no single person I spoke to who had the least doubt that this outrage was carried out by soldiers from Mallow, Buttevant, and Fermoy. The Black-and-Tans here tried to check the arson. Men using a hose were fired on by soldiers. I had interviews with the parish priest (Canon Corbett) and Mr. William O'Brien (late Nationalist M. P.), and they gave exact details of the raid by Republican forces on the Mallow barracks, for which the sacking of Mallow was revenge. Canon Corbett told me that the poor people, women and children, flocking up the hill to take refuge in his church, were fired at by snipers hidden behind walls, and he was convinced that they were soldiers. While in Mallow a lorry load of some dozen Royal Irish Constabulary men in dark green uniforms motored through the little street, all the men seated with their faces turned to the footpaths and their rifles on the knee, pointed at the footpaths. I saw no firing, but was told by Mr. O'Brien that there had on previous days been firing into the ruins of the houses.

"I found Dublin in a state of the highest nervous tension,

armored cars and tanks patrolling the streets. The unarmed police seemed the safest people.

"I am yours very truly,

"H. M. SWANWICK,

"Chairman, British Section, Women's International League."

Miss Wilkinson: There is appended to this a list of the people interviewed by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick with the express purpose of hearing the opinion of non-political people devoted to the financial, industrial, and agricultural development of Ireland: Sir Horace Plunkett of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society; George Russell, known as Æ., the editor of the paper of the Agricultural Society; Mr. Riordan, Secretary of the Irish Industrial Development Association and author of "Modern Irish Trade and Industry"; Liam de Roiste, Secretary of the Cork Industrial Development Association; Mr. Smith-Gordon, of the National Land Bank, Dublin; Mr. Thomas Johnson, of the Transport Workers' Federation; and Miss Whitby, of the United Irish Women.

The resolution of the Council of the Cork Industrial Development Association reads as follows:

"At a meeting of the Council of the Cork Industrial Development Association held on Monday, September twentieth, the following resolution was passed:

"This Association, representative of the commercial and industrial interests of Cork, expresses its pleasure at the advent of the ships of the United States Mail Steamship Company to the Port of Cork, which we feel confident will lead to a big development of trade and intercourse between Ireland and America.

"TRADITIONAL REPRESSIVE ECONOMIC POLICY" OF ENGLAND

"We condemn the action of the British Government authorities in their prohibition against American passenger vessels entering Cork Harbor on the east-bound voyage. We regard such prohibition not as an isolated incident, but as part of the traditional English policy of maintaining control of the seas and preventing the shipping expansion of other nations. We also regard it as part of England's traditional repressive economic policy against the development of Ireland's trade and commerce, which policy ruthlessly pursued has reduced the population of our country from eight millions to four millions within the past seventy years.

"We look to the United States administration, and in particu-

lar to its Shipping Board department, to insist upon freedom for its vessels to enter Irish ports, and we are sure the whole Irish people will cooperate with any action taken by them in this respect, as it is to the interests of our country that its ports be free to all vessels, and it is our desire to maintain direct intercourse with all nations."

Commissioner Addams: Thank you very much, Miss Wilkinson. (The witness was thereupon excused.)

Are there any announcements to be made for tomorrow, Mr. Howe?

Senator Walsh: First I want to thank these ladies for their splendid, impartial testimony, and especially to commend their courage—for I think we can all appreciate that they required courage, and their love and devotion to humanity in general, which I think is apparent to all from their testimony here.

Commissioner Addams: I am sure we are all very glad to hear Senator Walsh say that. It is what we all think.

Chairman Howe: The hearings will reconvene tomorrow morning at ten o'clock, and the witnesses are—

Mr. Manly: The Misses Walsh, the sisters-in-law of the murdered Lord Mayor MacCurtain of Cork, Miss Anna Walsh and Miss Susanna Walsh.

Chairman Howe: Are there any other witnesses?

Mr. Manly: There will be, if there is time for them.

Chairman Howe: The session is adjourned.

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REPORT OF CONDITIONS IN IRELAND MADE BY THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

(Incorporated in the record by direction of the Commission.)

"The following report of conditions in Ireland was published by the English Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom after the return of ten members who had formed a mission last October to visit Ireland to collect first-hand evidence of the condition of the country, and come back to tell British people what was being done in their name.

"The Irishwomen's International League was communicated with, and cordially welcomed the mission, giving every possible facility for obtaining information. The first portion, consisting of Mrs. Watts (Manchester Honorary Secretary) and Mrs. Swanwick (Chairman of Executive Committee) went on October fourth. There followed Mrs. Annot Robinson, Dr. Catherine Chisholm, Miss Amy Herford, Mrs. Gee, Miss Wilkinson, and Miss Melland, all of Manchester; Miss Mewhort and Mrs. Dollan of Glasgow.

“The Mission felt a special international responsibility to inform itself of how the nations within the British Empire are being treated by our Government, and although its members endeavored to discover the truth in all cases, they do not pretend to have gone to Ireland with minds bare of principles. They are women organized for constructive peace, and as such, they hold that freedom is the first condition of peace. They are against violence in all forms; they would welcome the disarming of all men; they regard killing and maiming and terrorism, *by whomsoever it is practiced*, as barbarous and politically vicious.

INQUIRY COVERS DIFFERENT PARTS OF IRELAND

“Different members of the Mission went to different parts of Ireland in order to cover the ground as quickly as possible. The towns and villages were: Belfast, Derry, Lisburn, Dublin, Balbriggan, Limerick, Lahinch, Ennistymon, Tuam, Cork, and Mallow.

“The situation in northeast Ulster was, as they were aware it must be, widely different from that prevailing over the whole of the rest of the country. But those who visited Belfast, Derry, and Lisburn came to the conclusion that differences between the Irish people there would be much more readily settled if Great Britain ceased interference.

SINN FEIN GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED BY ENORMOUS MAJORITY OF PEOPLE

“In the whole of the rest of Ireland the conditions resembled each other and were different from those in Belfast. The Sinn Fein Government has the enthusiastic support of the enormous majority of the population. To a degree never witnessed before by any of the women, it is possible to say that Dail Eireann governs with the consent of the people. Although members of the Government are proscribed, their courts illegal, and their revenues forfeit, one can truly say that without them Ireland would be given over to sheer anarchy.

WAR

“Without expressing any opinion on the matter, the Mission records the fact that all Sinn Feiners regard themselves as at war with the British Government of Ireland, and look upon any deaths that may occur in raids upon barracks or armed soldiers and police as ‘casualties of war,’ whether these ‘casualties’ are on their own side or the other. This fact must be taken into account when estimating the deaths on either side. Sinn Fein asserts that in nine months of 1920, 62 civilians have been murdered by the forces of the Crown, while if they were to add to them the number of Irish who have fallen ‘in war’

these would run into hundreds. In the Government estimate, on the other hand, all members of the forces of the Crown who have been killed, whether by assassination (like Mr. Bell in Dublin) or in 'war,' are added to the account of 'murders' carried out by the 'murder gang.' The Mission does not justify either 'war' or 'murder.' It draws attention to the fact that the Irish people draw a distinction between the two, a distinction which common opinion does justify.

"Members of the Mission spoke personally with many of the surviving relatives of men murdered by the forces of the Crown, or with men whose assassination had been attempted and failed. English papers for the most part do not record these, while they record and amplify all on the other side.

"The Government campaign against Sinn Fein is carried out in the following ways:

- "(1) Terrorism;
- "(2) Destruction of Irish Agriculture and Manufacture and Trade;
- "(3) Propaganda.

TERRORISM

"They found in the East, West, and South that the so-called 'reprisals' against the civilian population were sometimes organized by the soldiers who are English, and the majority very young indeed); sometimes by the Royal Irish Constabulary (who are largely Irish); and sometimes by the new armed forces attached to the constabulary, who are mostly English ex-service men, many of them ex-officers). It was not infrequent that where one of these bodies had organized a bombing and incendiary party, another had tried to protect the people and their houses. Sometimes evidence was clear that the military or police were drunk; sometimes equally clear that they were sober. Sometimes there was method in the destruction, only known sympathizers with Sinn Fein being attacked; sometimes the destruction was perfectly indiscriminate; sometimes, as in the murder of Mr. Lynch in Dublin, it seemed likely that the man was killed in mistake for another. It was perfectly clear that many of the raids were authorized and were not due to the men getting out of hand. Military lorries, incendiary bombs, petrol and ammunition are not at the free disposal of the private soldier at his own caprice. Terrorism has been increased by the prohibition of inquests and the holding only of Courts Martial by English soldiers.

"In addition to innumerable outrages by Government forces which have left 'devastated areas' resembling those of Belgium in all the places the Mission visited, the regular raids by police and military are conducted in such a way as to strike terror as widely as possible. After curfew, when the streets are in pitch darkness and no civilian may be abroad without a permit, the

military lorries, armored cars, and even tanks rattle through the streets carrying armed search parties. They batter at doors, and if the inhabitant take so much time as is needed to slip on shoes and a coat, the front door is smashed in and the house filled with armed men. They lock the women and children away, frequently with no covering but their night-dresses, and search with the utmost brutality, tearing up mattresses, breaking open locks; frequently the Mission had evidence of very serious thefts and of the wanton destruction of pictures and ornaments in houses where nothing incriminating could be found.

"The presence of secret agents, spies, *agents-provocateurs*, was a frequent subject of conversation, and added greatly to the prevailing state of nervous tension. The Mission heard many stories of the placing of incriminating evidence (such as arms, ammunition, or seditious papers) in a raided house by some secret agent of the Government, who came as 'guide' or as secret service man.

DESTRUCTION OF IRISH TRADE AND INDUSTRY

"The Mission has to record that it found a conviction among the Irish people that it is the purpose of the British Government to ruin Irish trade and industry in order to drive the young men to emigrate. The destruction of creameries, which are entirely unpolitical, of factories (such as Balbriggan Hosiery Factory), and of hay-stacks by the score, is inevitably leading to the unemployment of large numbers of people. It was pointed out that Queenstown Harbor has been closed to eastbound traffic, but is open for west-bound traffic; and Lord French's indiscreet speech (when he said that the present trouble was due to the presence in their own country of two hundred thousand young men who would 'normally' have emigrated) was quoted everywhere as showing the real object of the Government in what seemed otherwise a purely motiveless mischief.

"When a business concern or farmer makes a claim for compensation for destruction by the forces of the *British* Government, the sum awarded is laid (by the 'Malicious Injuries Act') upon the *Irish* people for payment.

"On the day of the departure of the Mission, Ireland was greatly concerned at the threat to hold up altogether the railway and postal services in reprisal for the refusal of railwaymen to carry British soldiers and ammunition, and for the raiding of the mails by Sinn Feiners.

ANTI-IRISH PROPAGANDA

"The Mission found the Irish people indignant at the use of the press and public platforms for the suppression and distortion of news, and for the fomenting of hate toward the Irish

people. It was shown copies of a printed sheet called the *Weekly Summary* supplied by the Government to the Black-and-Tans, and filled with incitements to bad feeling; this sheet persistently identified the whole Sinn Fein movement with what it called the 'murder gang.' Attention has been drawn to this abominable sheet by people of decent feeling, and later numbers have been more circumspect. No. 3 contained the following passage: 'They (the Black-and-Tans) will go on with their job, the job of making Ireland once again safe for the law-abiding, and an appropriate hell for those whose trade is agitation and whose method is murder.'

"The Mission had repeated evidence of the attempt of the British Government to fasten upon Sinn Feiners the responsibility for outrages of which the Government forces were guilty, and Mr. George's speeches were frequently cited as gross instances of distortion of fact, when he suggested that the Government forces were only defending themselves from attack, and entirely ignored the sacking and looting, the 'murder and arson' (to use Judge Bodkin's words), of which there were scores of examples in all the towns and villages visited by the Mission.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION

"Based on all the facts collected, the devastated areas the Mission saw, the conversations they had with Sinn Feiners, Dominion Home Rulers, Unionists, business men, mothers and widows of murdered men, workers of both sexes, they formed certain conclusions:

"(1) Ireland at the General Election, 1918, by constitutional election chose her own Government. A majority of over 70 per cent. was cast for Sinn Fein, and by the overwhelming consent of the people the Irish Parliament (Dail Eireann), meeting in Ireland, rules over the Irish people.

"(2) As a necessary consequence, the British Government, attempting to rule against the will of seventy per cent. of the people, can do so only by force complicated by fraud. Spies and informers are an essential part of the Government where the mass of the people are hostile. There is no cooperation between governors and governed, and the army of occupation (whether military proper or armed police) is demoralized by perpetual and agonizing fear and the constant use of debasing methods of espionage and lawless intimidation and revenge;

"(3) This state of affairs can lead only to the economic ruin of Ireland and great economic injury to Great Britain; to a still more disastrous moral injury to Great Britain and to her reputation in all the world;

"(4) The Mission therefore advocates the immediate liberation of Irish political prisoners and the offering of a truce during which all armed force shall be withdrawn, and the keeping

of order be placed in the hands of Irish local elected bodies, thus creating conditions under which the Irish people may determine their own form of government.”

(Signed by the above-named members of the Mission.)

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FOURTH HEARINGS ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Session Two

Before the Commission, sitting in the Hotel LaFayette, Washington, D. C., Wednesday, December twenty-second, 1920.

10:40 A. M.

Commissioner Addams in the chair.

Commissioner Addams: The Commission will be in session, please. The first witness is Miss Walsh from Cork, Ireland. You are representing Miss Walsh, are you not, Mr. Walsh?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Yes, I am.

SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD FALSELY REPUDIATES WITNESSES

Madam Chairman and Members of the Commission: Subsequent to the last hearing an article appeared in a great many papers of the country, especially the *New York Times* and others, in which it is stated that the witnesses who appeared here and testified as members of the Royal Irish Constabulary had been repudiated by Sir Hamar Greenwood, and the insinuation made by him that they were not members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. So we want to offer before this Commission absolute proof of the claims of these witnesses that they were members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The first evidence is a parchment certificate of character to Mr. John Joseph Caddan. This is a certificate of character that is only given on application, and he was the only one who applied for one. You will note that they say that his conduct during his service was an exceptional one. And the others have a certificate of appointment to the Royal Irish Constabulary duly signed by the proper officials of the British Government. Mr. Caddan, whom I believe was the most important of these witnesses, has a character certificate in addition to a certificate of appointment.

Q. Senator Walsh: Have you a copy of the statement whereby it was claimed that they were not members of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Mr. F. P. Walsh: No. The statement was that Sir Hamar Greenwood had repudiated their testimony as members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and that he asserted that there were no members of the Royal Irish Constabulary in this country, and that passports had been given to none.

Senator Walsh: If you will produce those statements, the Commission will cable, calling upon him to substantiate them.

Commissioner Addams: We will be very glad to have the record clear on this.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I will undertake to get the articles in question.
 Commissioner Addams: Now we may proceed with the witnesses.

TESTIMONY OF MISS SUSANNA WALSH

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: State your name to the Commission.

A. Susanna Walsh.

Q. Where do you reside?

A. In Cork, Ireland.

Q. You arrived in this country when?

A. Day before yesterday.

Q. And you sailed from where?

A. From Cork.

Q. On what date?

A. On Sunday week.

Q. Are you related by marriage to the late Lord Mayor MacCurtain?

A. Yes, my sister was his wife.

Q. Were you a member of the household at the time he was killed?

A. Yes.

Q. Where were you born?

A. I was born in Cork.

Q. Have you been in Cork all your life?

A. Well, I have been on the continent. I had traveled in France, Spain, and Italy, and I came home on a holiday just before the war started.

Q. What war,—the great war?

A. The great war, yes.

Q. And you have been in Cork ever since that time?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you engaged in some business or some profession?

A. Well, after school I went to France and took up a position as a teacher of English in a French family. I had been two years in France, and I came home, and my mother, who did not like my being with foreigners, put me in business. But I had no taste for business. And then after that I went to Spain, where I lived for five years. That young lady I taught there learned English in a very short time, and the gentleman paid for a trip for us in France and Italy. And I came home to be pulled up a bit—my health was not good; but since then I have been pulled down.

MANAGED BUSINESS DURING BROTHER-IN-LAW'S IMPRISONMENT

Q. What business are you in now?

A. During my brother-in-law's absence in prison he wrote to me to ask me to superintend his business. He did a big wholesale flour

and feed business. I joined about that time the society called *Cumann na m'Ban*, which was formed for the sole purpose of helping the Irish Volunteers. That society of *Cumann na m'Ban* was formed by literary women and working girls, and they all did their best to help the Volunteers. And then my brother-in-law asked me to live with his family and manage their business.

EFFECT OF MURDER ON HEALTH OF FAMILY

Q. Have you photographs of your late brother-in-law and his wife?

A. My sister has them.

Q. I believe I wired to your sister and asked her to come over here and give testimony.

A. O, she could not come on account of her health. Shortly after the murder she gave birth to two babies. They had been dead for some time. And her health is broken down.

Q. So she was not able to travel?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that a true picture of your brother-in-law?

A. Yes, that is a true likeness.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I want to offer that in evidence (handing photograph to Commission). We are having copies of that made.

Q. I will ask you to look at that photograph and say who that is, please.

A. That is my sister with her little boy, who was twelve months old.

Q. When was that taken?

A. That was taken after the rising of Easter Week. Her husband wrote from prison and asked her for the picture.

Q. And what is her age?

A. She is thirty-two.

Q. What was Lord Mayor MacCurtain's age?

A. Thirty-five years of age the day he was buried.

Q. Now look at that picture. Is that a picture of your sister-in-law?

A. Yes, of my sister.

Q. When was that taken?

A. It was taken after the murder.

Q. What is the health of your sister now?

A. She is only the mere shadow of her former self. She will never be the same again. She has aged terribly. She has gray hair now. She is almost a physical wreck.

Q. Whose picture is that?

A. That is her little son, five years old. We call him Thomas Og.

Q. That is, the son of Thomas?

- A. Yes.
- Q. And you had a younger brother?
- A. Yes, he was in prison for five months, and then he died.
- Q. Of what malady did he die?
- A. Double pneumonia.
- Q. When he went to prison, was he a healthy man?
- A. Yes, very; seventeen stone weight and a very large, powerful man.
- Q. Now you have another brother.
- A. Yes, this is my younger brother (indicating photograph).
- Q. What is his name?
- A. James Joseph Walsh.
- Q. Where is he now?
- A. Well, he has been on the run since he gave evidence at the inquest of my brother-in-law. He cannot stay at home since then.

BUSINESS ABILITY OF MAYOR MACCURTAIN

Q. Miss Walsh, in what business was your brother-in-law engaged? I wish you would give a short story of him.

A. He started in as a clerk in a steam packet company. He came from the farm when he was a mere boy. He had to work from six in the morning until eight o'clock in the evening; and after that he went to learn Irish and became proficient in it in a very short time. And when he had mastered it himself, he taught it to others. He was in the Gaelic League, and he taught at nights at Blackpool.

Q. Where is Blackpool?

A. It is a suburb of Cork.

Q. About how far from the city?

A. About a quarter of a mile outside of the city. He taught Irish there for two years three nights a week. Two of my sisters went to this Gaelic League. One of them, Mrs. MacCurtain, went there very regularly. Up to the time of his death he worked constantly for Ireland.

Q. He went into business for himself in the city of Cork?

A. Yes, this flour and mill store. He was a very good business man. He took that over and was very successful for a time.

Q. What was the name of the business? He was alone in it?

A. Yes, it was his own business. He was alone.

Q. Now just describe the business,—its size.

A. He bought and sold meal in very large quantities, because the majority of people around that district are all cattle feeders. So he supplied the people of that locality with flour and meal in very large quantities.

Q. Did he have a warehouse in Cork?

A. Not at that time. That was later. I will tell you later why he started a factory. After Easter Week the British authorities tried to ruin his business. He would buy meal in large quantities, and they would pike it, often every sack of it.

Q. What do you mean by piking it?

A. They would run their bayonets through it. They said they were searching for arms and ammunition. It meant a terrible loss, for they would pike the sacks, and the meal would go all over the street. The result was that when he came out of prison, he said, "This will never do. I must keep my family. And I can't run the business if this goes on." So it was a matter of brain against brain. He adopted the method of buying grain in Dublin and Belfast and selling it direct, so that it did not have to touch the shop and it could not be injured. It did not pay for him to stand behind the counter and sell goods. When he came out of prison the next time he got the idea of starting this ladies' underwear factory there. And it did very well.

Q. How many employees did he have?

A. Only twelve or thirteen at that time, but since then it has increased, and since his death.

Q. How many hands now?

A. Thirty.

Q. Is it in Cork?

A. No, we have the Blackpool establishment.

Q. What is the Blackpool establishment?

A. We had the flour and grain business there, and at the back is where we had the factory.

Q. I think it would be informative to the Commission if you would just describe the occurrences with reference to your own family and your relations with Lord Mayor MacCurtain, beginning at the first of your relations and bringing it down to the time of his death.

SICK-ROOM INVADED BY ARMED CONSTABULARY

A. Well, they started about 1916. At that time we had taken a nice suburban residence about two or three miles outside of the city, and we had settled down there, my sister and myself. Mr. MacCurtain wanted us to go to Blackpool, but we didn't want to go there, because it was a very big business center and rather rough, and we were bringing up our niece. However, I will come to that later. We were living there; and one morning I was nursing my sister,—she had double pneumonia, and my mother had just come out of the hospital. I was in the act of making a poultice for her this morning when three or four policemen broke into the place. They had fixed bayonets and rifles.

Q. Senator Walsh: Can you give the date of that?

A. I cannot say. It would be in 1916.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: How long after Easter Week?

A. About three weeks.

Q. What time of day was it?

A. Oh, they never raided us in the daytime. This was at night.

Q. What time of night?

A. About three o'clock in the morning. I was in the act of making the poultice for my sister, and they came rushing in and searched drawers and wardrobes and turning everything upside-down. And then they went out.

Q. Who were they?

A. The Royal Irish Constabulary.

Q. How many?

A. About six of them.

Q. Did they carry arms?

A. Yes, rifles with fixed bayonets.

Q. Who were there?

A. My mother, my sister Anna, and myself. The children were in the board school.

MACCURTAIN HOME RAIDED TWENTY TIMES

Well, that was the first time. Then when Mr. MacCurtain asked me to run his business, I thought I ought to do it; it was really *Cumann na m'Ban* work. And therefore I threw my heart and soul into the work, and did my best to keep the little place afloat. On several occasions they raided that place.

Q. Senator Walsh: The club house?

A. No, my sister's house in Blackpool.

Q. There was no club house there?

A. No, we simply had our store there, and lived over the place of business.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Now, as near as you can, approximate the dates of these various raids. Just give us all of them.

A. That would be some months after this. My brother-in-law was in jail at the time. They were arrested after the rebellion of Easter Week. There was no charge against him. And there was no uprising in Cork at all. He was deported to England to Reading Jail, and from there to Frongach, a place in Wales. It was used during the war time as a place for German prisoners, but not considered a fit place for prisoners. But they thought it was good enough for our men, and shoved them all in there.

Q. How many times was your home raided after the killing of the Lord Mayor?

A. I should say at least twenty times.

Q. Twenty times?

A. Yes, twenty times at least.

Q. Now, you might epitomize, if you will, by giving us an account of these various raids.

A. They were always at the dead of night by the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. They were never until twelve o'clock nor after four in the morning; and we were generally asleep, needless to say, at that time.

Q. Senator Walsh: What did they raid the house for?

A. I do not really know. Sometimes for arms and ammunition, they said. Sometimes they would not give us any reason at all for breaking into our place.

Q. Did they search for any documents?

A. Sometimes they would break into bookcases and the like.

Q. Were there ever any arms in your house?

A. O, never.

Q. Did they ever take away any papers?

A. Well, I think they took away copies of *The Irish Irelander*, as it was called at that time. It was a paper published by the Irish Republican Party.

Q. Now you may proceed and give an account of these raids on the house.

POLICE MAKE RAID TO EXAMINE HOUSE PRECEDING MURDER

A. On one occasion, three days before one of Mrs. MacCurtain's babies was born and a few days after the burial of another, they raided the house. And despite the fact that she was in bed, they made a thorough search of the room. The last raid was about a month before the murder of my brother-in-law. The strange thing was that they did not seem to be looking for documents, but they seemed to be examining the house thoroughly and taking measurements.

Q. Did they examine the whole house?

A. Yes, upstairs and downstairs and in the factory.

Q. How many were on that raid?

A. There were six of them I saw upstairs. I don't know how many more of them there were.

Q. All with rifles and bayonets?

A. With rifles and bayonets, yes.

Q. And all members of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

A. Yes, all members of the R. I. C.

HEALTH SHATTERED BY REPEATED RAIDS AND TERRORISM

Q. What effect did that have on the health of the members of your family?

A. Well, it meant that it undermined our health. My mother was an invalid and my sister was an invalid. And I am only a shadow of my former self.

Q. Senator Walsh: How much weight have you lost?

A. I have lost about twenty pounds.

Q. In what time?

A. Since 1916.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: During all those years have you ever had sufficient sleep, for instance?

A. No, for the past eight months I had not had a good night's rest.

Q. That applies to your sister?

A. Yes, to Mrs. MacCurtain too.

Q. How many children has Mrs. MacCurtain?

A. Five. She buried one boy.

Q. Give the names of these children, please, and their ages.

A. There is Sibean Eta, who is ten; Shina, seven; Thomas Og, he is five; Maun is three; and Eiblis, the baby.

Q. Chairman Howe: What would the equivalent be in our own language?

A. That is a thing we are very loath to do,—to translate Irish into English. But, however, for the benefit of the gentlemen I will translate them.

Miss Anna Walsh: Mr. MacCurtain was opposed to having the names of his children pronounced in English.

Miss Susanna Walsh: Perhaps I can pronounce them phonetically. Yes, that was one thing he wanted to do,—that all the children should converse fluently in their Irish language.

Miss Anna Walsh: He would rather that their names were not even pronounced in English.

Senator Walsh: She said she had not had a good night's rest for eight months. Please describe that.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Please describe that.

A. Well, the Black-and-Tans come out at ten o'clock when the curfew comes on. The motor lorries will go up and down all night long. And sometimes there is a bomb explosion. You never know when they are coming to raid your house and explode a bomb. You can't sleep very well in those conditions.

LORD MAYOR BRUTALLY MURDERED BEFORE FAMILY

Q. At what date was the death of the Lord Mayor?

A. The twentieth of March.

Q. 1920?

A. Yes, this year.

Q. I wish you would detail that and give the circumstances. You were in the house then?

A. Yes, I was in the house at that time.

Q. How many were in the household?

A. We were all living there then. There were fourteen. We had three orphaned nieces there too.

Q. What were the ages of these children?

A. One was sixteen, a girl of fourteen, and a boy of eleven.

Q. Just describe the inmates of the house, who they were.

A. There was another sister. She had charge of those, and I took care of the three oldest children, Sibean Eta, Shina, and Thomas Og. And my sister Anna occupied the back room on the second story, and my brother James the back room on the opposite side of my sister's. And downstairs my mother slept, because she was an invalid, and we gave her the room on the first floor. And adjoining that was Mr. MacCurtain's bedroom. And they had the little baby in the cot in the corner by their bed. And they heard a slight knock at the door. It was about one o'clock.

Q. How long was this after that last raid where they appeared to be examining the house?

A. About one month. There was a slight knock at the door about one o'clock or quarter past one. Mrs. MacCurtain heard it, and she put her head out of the window and called to them to find out what they wanted. And they said, "Open the house quickly or we will break the door in." Mr. MacCurtain wanted to go down. He said, "I will go, Mary." And she said, "No, you mustn't. I will go down." But before she could get down to the door, it was bursted in. Eight or nine men rushed in, with blackened faces and long coats, and caught her. Several of them held her, and the rest rushed upstairs. At the same time,—I had a little red coat I used to throw over me, and I went out to the top of the landing. I heard the noise downstairs, and I heard the baby cry, and I ran downstairs to take the baby, for I knew that my brother-in-law would be in a terrible way. And I arrived at the first landing just as two big men with blackened faces and big rain coats on them got to his door. And I heard the first man say, "Come out, Curtain!" And my brother-in-law said, "Give me time to dress. I am not yet ready." When my brother-in-law said, "Give me time to dress," I said, "Give me the baby, please." And they pushed me back. And I ran back to the bath room, and I heard my sister shout, "Murder, murder, the police are murdering us all." And a neighbor woman who lives next door said, "Who is shot?" And she said, "My brother-in-law, MacCurtain. The police are murdering us all." I rushed upstairs. I thought I would die with all of them. And as I went upstairs I heard heavy moaning in the corner, and I

looked, and my brother-in-law lay just outside his door with blood oozing from the region of his heart.

Q. Just one moment. Did you hear the shots fired?

A. Yes, I heard the shots.

Q. How many were there?

A. Two shots first, and then one. So I heard him moaning.

Q. Where was your brother-in-law?

A. Just in the corner outside the door.

Q. Outside the door or outside the house?

A. Outside the door of his bedroom.

Q. Still in the house?

A. Still in the house. Yes. My conclusion was that when he came out they shot him immediately. The people around the community were taking up the cry, and women were yelling. This woman I mentioned came out to shout for assistance and calling for a priest, and a big man with a blackened face shoved a revolver in her face and said, "Get out of this." My brother upstairs thought he was to be arrested, and he was dressing too, and came down the stairs with a candle in his hand; and when he heard the shots he put out the candle and fell back on the stairs. If it had not been for that, I am sure that they would have shot him too.

At that time my sister, Mrs. MacCurtain, was hysterical, and the poor children were crying; and my brother was trying to control them, and keep them from going down; because when Mrs. MacCurtain shouted for help from the window, they had fired at her. You can see the bullet marks yet over the window. And if my brother had stuck his head outside the window to get help, he would surely have been shot too. So my brother came downstairs and said, "Tom, my boy, you are only wounded. You are only wounded. It will be all right." Little Maura was terrified, and the baby was crying. So I took the little baby and was sitting at the end of the staircase, and my sister put her hand under his head, and made the sign of the cross on him, and I ran for the crucifix. And my brother ran into the bedroom, because there was a sound of breaking glass, —there was another shot fired at the window, breaking a pane of glass. Then he came back and said, "My God, he is done, he is done." And then he said, "But Tom, you are dying for Ireland." My sister came up and saw him, and ran down and telephoned to the exchange to send a priest at once. They asked if she wanted a doctor, and she said yes, but to send the priest at once. Dr. O'Connor, who lives near, came over, but there was little he could do. When my sister saw that he was dying, she said, "Jesus, Jesus, take him. Have mercy on us." And then the priest came. However, he died after a quarter of an hour. So an hour after the shots rang out we laid him on the bed.

STRICKEN FAMILY SUBJECTED TO SECOND RAID

And we had just said the Rosary when there was a stamping down in the room. And my sister said, "Who is there?" and they said, "The military. Open." And she opened the door, and they rushed in and they came upstairs and rushed over to the bed; and I had the crucifix in my hands, and I said, "Have you come to murder anybody else? May the Lord stay your hands." Then they began to search everything; they pulled out drawers and searched every part of the house thoroughly, and then went away, giving no excuse whatever. I believe that the following day a question arose in Parliament about it. The Chief Secretary, I believe, is reported to have said that they went to search for arms. And almost simultaneously the General at the Cork barracks said they went to arrest the murderers. But if they had gone to look for the murderers, they would not have searched the drawers. I really think it was a made-up plan by the police to use the military to cover up the murder.

Q. You might describe that neighborhood. It was in Blackpool?

A. Yes, it was in Blackpool.

Q. There are a number of houses around?

A. Yes, there are quite a number of houses around; and behind it there is a large street leading up to the back of the military barracks.

Q. How far are you from the barracks?

A. It would be about a mile leading up to the barracks.

Q. Is it a place generally patrolled?

A. Well, the police generally patrolled our place since Easter Week. They made it a constant practice to walk up and down outside of the house to intimidate customers.

POLICE ALLEGED TO HAVE MURDERED COMRADE WHO REFUSED TO KILL LORD MAYOR

Q. Now, go back a bit. Had there been any violence to the police, any police or military killed previous to this date?

A. No, not one. Not one.

Q. What was the date of the killing of your brother-in-law?

A. My brother-in-law?

Q. Yes.

A. It was the 20th of March.

Q. Commissioner Addams: 1920?

A. Yes, 1920. I think there was a police killed that night.

Q. Prior to that date there had not been any policemen shot there?

Q. Senator Walsh: Who was the policeman shot that night? What was his name?

A. I believe it was Constable Murtagh, I believe.

Q. When was he shot?

A. About a half mile from our house.

Q. But the same night?

A. The same night, yes.

Q. At what time?

A. About 11 o'clock, I think.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: In what direction from where you lived?

A. Toward the center of town from where we live.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was there anything especially objectionable about the conduct of this policeman that made him objectionable to the population?

A. No. We have to go by rumors; and there was a rumor that he had been ordered to murder the Lord Mayor, and he refused to do it, and that he had been shot by his own.

Q. So the rumor was that this policeman who was murdered that night had been ordered to shoot Mayor MacCurtain, and had refused to do so, and was shot by his fellow officers to give them an excuse for the murder of the Lord Mayor?

A. Yes, that was it.

Q. Was this officer supposed to be friendly to the Sinn Fein organization?

A. I do not know about that.

Q. Had that matter been investigated by the Sinn Fein leaders?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did the British authorities investigate the murder of that policeman?

A. I believe they did. But you see, we had so much trouble in our family at that time that I did not pay any attention to these outside matters. My whole time was spent in trying to take care of our own household.

Senator Walsh: It would be very valuable if a connection could be made between the British authorities shooting that policeman and pretending it was done by the leaders of the Republican movement.

The Witness: I have no direct evidence at all of that.

Q. Commissioner Addams: That was only rumor.

A. Yes, it was the rumor.

POLICE CREATE ONLY LAWLESSNESS IN CORK

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: What sort of community was that before these raids began? Was it a peaceful community?

A. Well, we never heard of any crimes at all there. As a matter of fact, if there had been any murder in Ireland, we did not hear of it. We never heard of a murder in our city for years be-

fore that. If there were, the papers would have been kept from us because it was too terrible to see.

Q. Senator Walsh: Had there been any disorders or killings of police prior to the night that the Lord Mayor was killed?

A. O, yes, there was one matter that occurs to me. On the night of the tenth of March there was a Sinn Fein Club broken into. A widow with seven children, Mrs. Honan, was in charge of that, and she testified that it was policemen in uniform who did that. And they held a revolver to the head of her little boy, ten years old, and said if they found any more Sinn Feiners coming around there, he would be shot. And the same night they went to the Sinn Fein headquarters in the Grand Parade, one of the principal streets of Cork, and they destroyed everything there that night, and they fired shots all over the city. The same night a short time after that they went to a prominent Republican leader's house, Alderman John O'Sullivan, and they brought out his son, and when they got him out they said, "That is the young man. That is not he." They were dressed in uniform, too. So evidently if John O'Sullivan had been at home, he would have met the same fate as my brother-in-law. My brother-in-law mentioned at one of the corporation meetings that if the policemen did not keep law and order, they would see that their men did so; that it would not do for armed men to be coming in at all hours of the day and night and terrifying women and children.

Q. So he made this open speech in the council, did he?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. Major Newman: What did he say?

A. He said that it was disgraceful conduct for these men who were supposed to be keeping law and order in the city to be going around terrifying women and children, and that if they could not keep order, his men would. Some said that that got him into trouble.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Now, to make the information perfectly clear, the information that Senator Walsh desired, except the disorders on this evening, had there been any disorders or conflict between the people and the police, or between the inhabitants of Blackpool?

A. O, no. None whatever.

Q. Senator Walsh: In other words, you do not know of any alleged attack being made by Volunteers of the Republican Army upon police officers except what you have named up to the time of the killing of your brother?

A. No, none that I ever heard of.

EVIDENCE IMPLICATING POLICE IN MURDER OF LORD MAYOR

Q. Major Newman: The men who came to your house with their faces blackened, were they military or police or Black-and-Tans?

A. Well, we do not know anything about that, but they spoke like members of the R. I. C. They had a most peculiar accent. We call it the Depot accent. And another thing that struck us when we came to our senses was that they were so familiar with the place. They had no difficulty in getting upstairs to the door of his room; and there is a most intricate staircase leading up to that door. As a matter of fact, anybody who came in from the store could not see that staircase,—it is to the side. And they knew where it was, and came right up and went to his door. And then at the inquest it was brought out that a lamplighter saw them going into the King Street police barracks, and the time that they went into there would just about have given them time to get there after committing the murder.

Q. Was there any man who seemed to be in command of the group?

A. Well, there was one man who seemed to be in command. But there were groups of fifteen to twenty or thirty everywhere around about Blackpool that night, so probably the whole R. I. C. was out. There was one old man coming out of his place shortly before the shooting at our house, and he was caught by two men with police rifles and thrown on the ground and trampled on and injured, and told not to stir. And then there were two men who were going up the street near the house, and they were stopped and turned around and told not to go that way by a body of men in long rain coats. That was shortly after one o'clock, just before the shooting at our house.

Senator Walsh: Major, while you were not here at the time, the record already contains elaborate information about the details of the inquest and how men were stopped on the streets going up to the house.¹

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: I am told that there was a policeman's button found at the house. Please tell about that.

A. Yes, my brother saw a button picked up by the door, and he said, "What is that?" And they said, "It is a button." And he said, "Give me that button." And it was a policeman's button. And then the bullet that lodged in the body, and another that went into the wall were both found to be police bullets.

¹ Testimony of Miss Mary MacSwiney, p. 343.

JEWS, PROTESTANTS, AND CATHOLICS UNITE IN TRIBUTE TO LORD MAYOR

Q. Now, it is said that the religious question projects into this matter. How were you and the MacCurtain family among your neighbors in Cork on the matter of religious differences?

A. There is never a difference of that kind in Cork, or in the Irish Republic up to this time. As a matter of fact, some of the leaders of the Republic and of the Republican Army are Protestants.

Q. I understand that all classes joined in the funeral of your brother.

A. Yes.

Q. And the Protestant Bishop in Cork?

A. Yes.

Q. And the Jewish population was represented, led by the Rabbi?

A. Yes.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did these bodies march the whole way to the cemetery?

A. Yes, they did,—the Protestant bishop and the Jewish rabbi followed by their people.

Q. Major Newman: The Protestant bishop of the Church of Ireland?

A. Yes, he is a Protestant, Bishop Dowse.

Q. Chairman Howe: Was he a bishop of the Church of England?

A. Well, I am not up on church matters in those churches.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: All the others were represented,—Methodists, Baptists, and all the other bodies were represented at the funeral?

A. Yes, they were.

Commissioner Thomas: As to Mr. Howe's question, I believe that the Church of Ireland is sometimes called incorrectly the Church of England. They are on a different basis as regards support, but both churches are Episcopal.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: I believe you have testimony concerning the inquest?

Commissioner Addams: Yes, we have that already in the record. (To the Witness): You attended the inquest?

A. Yes, I did. And I have with me the report of the evidence given at the inquest, and the verdict of the coroner's jury.

Q. Chairman Howe: Have you a printed copy?

A. Yes, it is produced in this edition of the *Evening Echo* of Cork, Saturday, April 17, 1920.

Q. Does that contain a full account of the testimony at the inquest?

A. It contains a summary of the evidence by the Crown Solicitor and by our solicitor, Mr. Lynch, and the verdict of the jury.¹

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Is there anything you want to add to that account?

A. No, there is nothing I know of.

SINN FEIN "EXTREMISTS" A PURE FABRICATION

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Perhaps Mr. Walsh is going to bring this out in the evidence, but there was some rumor that Mr. Lloyd George or some cabinet member declared that the murder might have been committed by some extremists of the Sinn Fein faction. Can you give us anything on this subject?²

A. Well, there is no such thing as extremists in the Irish Republican movement. We are all Republicans. There are no extremists in it.

Q. Commissioner Addams: But Lloyd George said, did he not, that in order to make a sensation some extremists had committed the murder?

A. Oh, no; not at all.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: That, in your judgment, was a pure fabrication?

A. Yes, undoubtedly.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: There was an intimation that your brother-in-law had in some way incurred the displeasure of the Republican Volunteers, and that there had been a meeting held, and something like that. Was there any truth in that at all?

A. Oh, no; none at all.

UNIVERSAL AFFECTION FOR LORD MAYOR

Q. How was your brother-in-law regarded?

A. Oh, they adored him. People who differed from him politically adored him too. Even the ex-soldiers who were represented on the City Council asked us if at the funeral we would allow them to play their band. And there was an Alderman Beamish, a Unionist, who broke down and cried when the corporation passed its resolutions of sympathy. The Unionists loved him too. This *Evening Echo* always praised the way he handled the city's business.

Q. What is the politics of this *Evening Echo*?

A. They are what is called Mollies. They are followers of the late Mr. Redmond.

¹ The full verdict is given on p. 362.

² This insinuation was made by General French, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. See pp. 343, 659-660, and Report of Commission, pp. 37-39.

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Q. Just describe what kind of a man the late Lord Mayor was.

A. Well, he was very quiet and very gracious to everybody. In the twelve years that he was married to my sister he seemed to get along well with all classes and everybody.

Q. Was he, or was he not, a man with a kindly disposition?

A. Yes, very, very kindly.

Q. Was he anything of a literary man?

A. Well, he was never looked upon as a literary man, but he wrote some beautiful verses; and a great Irish literary scholar said that there was the most beautiful Irish in those verses that he had ever read. But he could not follow that career, having married at twenty, and a family to take care of. He had uphill work all of the time.

Q. He was a very energetic man?

A. Yes, he was very energetic.

Q. And a man who loved his family?

A. Yes, indeed, he loved his family. As a matter of fact, the night before, he was sitting with his children, and he had one baby at one side pulling down on him and loving him, and another one pulling down on the other side and loving him, and when Mrs. MacCurtain called him to his supper, he said, "I'm having such a good time I don't want to leave." He promised them a party when he could give time to it; but he was always on the run and could not. And they said when he got to be Lord Mayor that he must give them a big party. He was always like a child with them. He would get his violin and play for them and amuse them. And we always said if the city could only see the Lord Mayor and how he amused his children, everybody would laugh.

Q. Was he a young-looking man?

A. Yes, he looked like a boy.

ELECTED BY TREMENDOUS MAJORITY

Q. How long was he Lord Mayor?

A. It was just three months from his election to the time of his death. He was elected by something like five to one—one of the biggest majorities ever given in the city.

Q. And the women voted?

A. Yes, they did. They were enthusiastic. I think they helped to put him in.

Q. Was that the first time that the women voted in the city?

A. Yes, that was the first time.

Q. What part did the women take in the campaign?

A. This *Cumann na m'Ban* Society that I spoke of was very active. During election time they prepared meals for the men. Of course, a certain number of men came in from the country, and we

prepared meals for them and took them around. And other men could not leave the polling place; and we prepared meals for them and took them to them.

Q. Were there a number of working men?

A. Yes, a number of them were, and they could not get off at that time. But the ex-soldiers in the city were supplied by the British Government with plenty of beer.

Q. Did the ex-soldiers represent the British Government?

A. Yes, the British Government tried to use the ex-soldiers.

Q. Did those women do any work with them?

A. Yes, I think the women were chiefly responsible for what was done among them.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Now, unless there are questions as to what took place up to the killing of her brother-in-law, I would like to go to something else.

Commissioner Addams: No, there is nothing else.

LORD MAYOR'S OFFICE SACKED AND BURNED

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Did your brother-in-law take offices down town after his election as Lord Mayor?

A. Yes, he took offices in the Grand Parade.

Q. Is that one of the best streets?

A. Yes; it is chiefly solicitors, lawyers, and business men.

Q. Are there store buildings in the Grand Parade?

A. Not very many.

Q. The lawyers have offices in dwelling houses, do they not?

A. In dwelling houses, yes.

Q. Describe his life there.

A. He took offices there. And the place was raided; and about a month before my leaving, the whole place was set on fire.

Q. Describe how they did that.

A. They told the woman upstairs that they would give her five minutes to get out; and she did. And they poured petrol on it and set fire to it, and everything was destroyed. There was some very valuable furniture downstairs.

Q. Did you leave before the big fire in Cork?

A. Well, that evening I left for Cove.

Q. Was your home burned?

A. Well, we do not know whether we are homeless or not. That is one thing we want to know—whether our home was among the places destroyed.

Q. Was it in your locality?

A. Well, I don't know. We just got word from some passengers that a number of private houses and business houses had been destroyed.

CONTINUED RAIDS, VANDALISM, THEFT, AND ATTEMPTED MURDER

Q. Were there any further raids on your Blackpool home?

A. Oh, yes, several times. Mrs. MacCurtain had taken a place in a quieter locality, and she heard the very next morning that her place in Blackpool had been broken into after it had been sealed. One of the windows was broken in, and the neighbors said that men in kilts, the Scotch soldiers, had broken into it, and shouted upstairs for us to come down. No one was there. I was in London at that time. Mrs. MacCurtain went down to see about it. The locks were all broken off; they had made a thorough search of the house, and had gone through the trunks. A photograph of Lord Mayor MacSwiney and a picture of the signing of the proclamation of the Irish Republic in 1916 were both torn and broken. The boy in the office had left two pence and two farthings and some stamps in the shop drawer, and they were taken. And my niece's mandolin was taken. Mrs. MacCurtain went upstairs, and she was only there a short time when she came down and went into the garden, when a bullet whizzed past her head.¹ And she could not live there. She asked me to take over the business because of reverence for my brother-in-law and the place where he died. I did so. And one night some small men dressed in mufti, evidently officers, came; and one of the men rushed past me and pointed a revolver in my face, and asked me who were living there and what I was doing there.

Q. Commissioner Addams: This was in Blackpool?

A. Yes. They rushed past me and went into the house and pulled open drawers; and I heard one of the men say to the officer, "He is not here." I thought they were looking for my brother, because he received a letter saying that he was a dead man. Going out of the side door up into the factory, there was a little boy employed in the factory, and he came on down to shut the door. And they said, "Hands up!" and searched him, and said, "Lead the way." And they went back into the factory. And the man said to me, "Who is running this place?" And I said, "I am, the past month or so." And he said, "Do you keep any men here?" And I said, "No." And I said, "Might I ask you whom you are looking for?" And he said, "A friend." And I said, "It is a queer way of looking for a friend with a revolver." And he said, "Oh, no; we don't take life. We did not start it." And then they went outside the door. There was a lorry there with soldiers.

¹ This attempt on the life of Mrs. MacCurtain occurred immediately after the Commission had cabled her an invitation to come and testify before it. The Commission brought the incident to the attention of the British Ambassador in Washington, who had promised that his government would take no steps against witnesses.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: You might describe the occurrences following your brother-in-law's death.

A. Oh, it is so hard. There are so many. One can not remember them all.

POLICE PERSECUTE WITNESSES AT INQUEST

Q. I will ask you this: Has there been any punishment of witnesses who gave evidence at the inquest?

A. Oh, yes. Dr. O'Connor got a letter threatening his life. He has had to go on the run. His beautiful home is broken up. Other witnesses were also intimidated. There was a little boy outside the door one night who was very badly beaten, and had to be treated in the North Infirmary. He was employed in summoning witnesses. We thought at first it was my brother. The men who beat him and held him up were of the same height as the policemen,—because previously a policeman had to have a certain height. And these men who beat up the little boy were very big men, and dressed in mufti.

Q. You say that the policemen have a very peculiar accent, and people can tell them?

A. Yes, people can tell them, can tell them immediately. It is the Depot accent.

Q. Dr. O'Connor at the inquest not only testified to the nature of your brother's wounds, but also testified to the character of the bullets found in his body and in the wall?

A. Yes, that is quite true.

ARRESTED FOR RELIEF WORK

Q. Have you ever been arrested yourself, Miss Walsh?

A. Yes; you see in the *Cumann na m'Ban* Society; which is out to help the Irish Republican Army,—because many of the boys have widowed mothers and people dependent upon them, so we used to collect from time to time things for them, carrying boxes and standing outside the church door. And we were able to help in this way. However, on this particular morning,—it was early in November and the "flu" was raging in Cork, and I volunteered to collect at early mass with another girl. And two men approached us and said, "Have you a permit?" And we said, "No. We are Irish Republicans and do not need any authority." And they demanded our names, and we refused to give them. We said citizens of the Irish Republic did not have to give their names without authority. And they grabbed me and said, "Come along." And they took me down to the Bridewell.

Q. What is the Bridewell?

A. It is the place where they take people before they are tried. And one of the men there came to me and the other young girl and

said, "What is your name?" And we said, "We are citizens of the Irish Republic and do not have to give you our names." And he said, "The Germans are beaten now. They are not at your backs." And I said, "You did not beat them." And he said to the men, "Throw them into Number Four, and they will soon get tired and give their names." Number Four was a very filthy place,—dirt and old papers and scraps and safety pins and things like that. We were kept there for three or four hours, and policemen would come in every little while and ask us our names and addresses; and we would not give them. And then a policeman called me out and said, "I want your name and address." And I said, "I will not give it." And he said, "Go back in there then." And I went back. And again they said, "Come out." And I would not tell them my name. And then he called me out again and said, "Miss Susie Walsh, we know you." And they let me go and gave me a summons to appear in court. And of course, as a citizen of the Irish Republic, neither of us recognized the court. Four of the magistrates were in favor of dismissing the case, and four were not. And then we were sent another summons, and would not recognize them. One of the magistrates would not agree to a dismissal of the case, so it was sent up to Dublin, and came back, and we were fined sixpence. And of course we would not pay. And so it was taken out of the box.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Taken out of the charity box in which you were collecting funds?

A. Yes.

Q. Did they keep the boxes?

A. Yes, in the magistrates' court.

Q. Major Newman: When was that?

A. About two years ago.

SUFFERING GREATER THAN IRISH SOCIETY CAN RELIEVE

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Do the *Cumann na m'Ban* still solicit relief in Cork?

A. Yes, they are, in every way.

Q. Do they do it openly?

A. No, there is a *sub rosa* system. It has to be *sub rosa* in almost every case.

Q. Are you able to do much now?

A. Oh, indeed we are.

Q. How do you do it?

A. We do it in this way. We deprive ourselves of little things like a hat or a dress; and women who do not ordinarily work, go out and work and give the money. Even working girls deprive themselves of many things. And we are able to do a lot for those who need help.

Q. Are you able to do anything like ought to be done for the people of Cork who need help?

A. Oh, dear, no! Dear, no!

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Then your object is to give relief like the Red Cross?

A. Yes, we give relief like that too. The *Cumann na m'Ban* members took lessons in first aid, of course. But we have never been called upon to give much aid in this way.

Q. But you also give assistance to families,—give them food and the like?

A. Yes, we do.

Q. *Cumann na m'Ban* is simply a society of women?

A. Yes, *Cumann* means society. It is the women's society.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Do you give help to anybody besides the Irish Republican Army?

A. Well, you see, that is about all we can do.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Before you left, was there much distress in Cork?

A. Yes, even before we left and this last burning took place, there were a lot of houses destroyed, largely because of the men who were in the organization; and those were the houses they destroyed first.

Q. Senator Walsh: Before this big fire?

A. Before this big fire.

Q. They were business houses?

A. Yes, big business houses.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Were you able to take care of all the needs; or was there real suffering?

A. Oh, there is a great amount of suffering,—a great amount of suffering.

TWENTY TIMES FACED FIREARMS IN RAIDS ON HOME

Q. Senator Walsh: Can you state accurately about how many times in your home you have been confronted with armed soldiers or police?

A. About twenty times. And the raids were generally carried out by policemen.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Did they present firearms at your body?

A. Oh, yes, firearms. Firearms, indeed!

LIFE "ON THE RUN"

Q. Commissioner Maurer: These young men who are on the run,—your brother is one of them,—what do they do to take care of themselves? They are not engaged in any particular work, are they?

A. No, of course many of them cannot work, because they would be shot in broad daylight.

Q. They simply keep moving around?

A. They keep moving around, yes. And sometimes they cannot lay their heads on a pillow for a week in succession.

Q. They are continually on the run?

A. Continually on the run, yes.

ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF THE REPUBLICAN ARMY

Q. Major Newman: Miss Walsh, you spoke of the Irish Republican Army. Can you describe that, and how it operates?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Yes, I was just going to ask that you might describe how the Republican Army originated and how it grew.

A. Yes, I think it was after the arms had been imported into Belfast by Sir Edward Carson that our men thought that if one section of Ireland could arm themselves, our men could be armed too. So that was the start of the Volunteers.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: At the time of the passing of the Home Rule Bill, Sir Edward Carson brought in arms from Germany and armed the north of Ireland in defiance of the British Government?

A. Yes, in defiance of the British Government.

Q. Just go ahead and describe how you got armed.

A. Well, we got arms after that. From 1916 on they have arrested all men in the south of Ireland found with arms, and give them from two to four years' imprisonment simply because they were found with a revolver.¹ And yet, on the other hand, these men who come into your homes and shoot you, you are not even allowed a revolver to protect your family from them.

Q. Major Newman: What I am getting at is how the Irish Army is now organized and controlled?

A. Well, I do not really know.

Q. Senator Walsh: It is a secret army. It does not work in the open, does it? It cannot appear in public or it will be shot down.

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. It is a private agreement between different men that they will stand together in upholding the Republic?

A. Yes, that is quite it.

Q. And who the officials are is only known by the officers of the Republic?

A. Quite so.

Senator Walsh: That is what you wanted to know, Major, is it not?

¹ Under the recent martial-law proclamation, the death penalty may be imposed for possession of arms or ammunition.

Major Newman: Yes, I do not understand it. I thought it would be pertinent and interesting to know just what the Republican Army is and how it is organized.

Senator Walsh: It is an organization of civilian men, a citizens' army.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: See if I can bring it out. They have a Volunteer Army for the express purpose of being an army of defense for Ireland, as they call it?

A. Yes, that is it.

Q. And in the Irish Republican Government they have a ministry of war just like any other government?

A. Yes.

Q. And prior to this oppression by the addition of many soldiers and the Black-and-Tans, these men had uniforms and they drilled in large bodies throughout Ireland publicly?

A. Yes, that is quite so.

Q. They had their own commandants and a regular staff?

A. Yes.

Q. And it was the Volunteer Army, in conjunction with the Citizens' Army, which was largely composed of labor men led by James Connolly,—the army organized by James Larkin, now in Sing Sing prison in this country,—they were the men who fought in the uprising of 1916?

A. Yes.

Q. And after 1916 the army was largely augmented, and they brought in recruits all over Ireland, and the general knowledge was that in the spring of 1916 they had regular soldiers in the Volunteer Army numbering about one hundred thousand?

A. Yes.

Q. And they had regular recruiting officers, and they had an organization of Boy Scouts, and everything of that sort?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. Chairman Howe: Did they have any arms?

A. Oh, they had arms then.

Q. Senator Walsh: If we went over to Ireland and traveled throughout Ireland, could you see any member of this army?

A. Oh, yes, you could.

Q. How?

A. By asking, you could see them.

Q. Are they not obliged to keep on the run? How could we see them?

A. Oh, if an American asked to see them, he could do so.

Q. Do they wear a uniform?

A. Oh, no. Civilian clothes.

Q. If they appear in uniform, they are liable to be shot?

A. Yes, or get from three to five years' imprisonment.¹

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Did they appear at the funeral of your brother-in-law?

A. Yes, a detachment of them did.

Q. And did they send a telegram to London at the time of the death of Lord Mayor MacSwiney?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. The only difference now is that they do not wear the uniform and have to drill in secret?

A. Yes.

Q. And your general information is that they are still operating as an army, but they cannot do it as they did before they were overwhelmed by a great force from England?

A. Yes.

Q. Major Newman: About how many of them are there now?

A. Well, I cannot say now because so many of them have been destroyed. One night we heard a great explosion when I was teaching in the Gaelic school; and the head teacher told us to close the school and go home. When I went home I saw two great pools of blood. A Black-and-Tan threw a bomb into a group of Volunteers and sixteen of them were killed or wounded.

Q. Senator Walsh: What was this date,—the year and month?

A. About a month ago. Two days after there was another explosion in Blackpool, and five Volunteers were killed. If they cannot get them at night, they will throw a bomb at them at any time and kill them that way.

Q. Major Newman: Prior to the uprising, Miss Walsh, there were about one hundred thousand?

A. Yes.

Q. Have they increased since then?

A. I think so.

Q. Have they any arms?

A. I cannot say, because since Mr. MacCurtain was murdered and my brother is on the run, I do not get much more information. I cannot really tell you.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: But they are seizing police barracks all over Ireland, and getting arms and ammunition that way, are they not?

A. Yes, they have.

Q. But the arms they got at the time of the massacre of Bachelors' Walk,² and what they have taken away from the army of occupation are about all the arms they have?

A. Yes.

Q. Chairman Howe: When they drilled in the open, did they carry arms?

¹ The death penalty may now be imposed.

² See pp. 145, 206-207.

A. I think so sometimes, but not often. I have seen them, but not generally.

Q. Commissioner Addams: When were they drilling all over Ireland?

A. After Sir Edward Carson imported arms from Germany to arm the Ulster Volunteers in the North.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I would say about the spring of 1919 they were drilling all over Ireland. When the President of the Irish Republic went from place to place, he saw them drilling then.

Q. Chairman Howe: Were they equipped with uniforms at that time?

A. Yes, some of them. There were regiments that had uniforms then, did they not, Miss Walsh?

Miss Walsh: Yes, they did.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: We have been told that order was restored at the time of the Derry riots by the Irish Volunteer forces, thereby checking those riots from spreading to Belfast. Do you know whether those men wore uniforms and acted openly, or whether they acted secretly?

A. I could not really tell you anything about it.

CONTINUOUS SHOOTINGS AND MURDERS IN CORK

Q. Do you know whether it is possible to give any statistics, any accurate statement as to the number of shootings and murders in the city of Cork? Especially since the time of the murder of your brother-in-law?

A. Well, I believe that since that time they are under the impression that we should come out so they could murder more of us. One Englishman said: "It is surprising that these Irish do not come out, because we would have a real chance at them then." I think they were really surprised.

Q. Were these raids that occurred in Cork after the death of your brother-in-law nightly?

A. Yes, they were nightly.

Q. Then it is almost impossible to give an exact statement, because the raids are so continuous?

A. Exactly.

Q. Senator Walsh: To what extent has the Sinn Fein cause grown in the City of Cork?

A. Well, they were nearly all Sinn Feiners when my brother-in-law was Lord Mayor. He seemed to make a good many conversions from the lenient way he treated other people,—he made them believers in our side.

Q. Have these raids tended to increase the number of believers in the Republic?

A. Well, I think a great many women have been intimidated. As a matter of fact, I believe several have been shifted to the lunatic asylum.

PEOPLE WILL FIGHT UNTIL DEATH FOR INDEPENDENCE

Q. I am trying to find out whether these raids have made the people more spirited?

A. Well, I should say that it has made them more spirited and thrown them over to our side.

Q. Then up to the time you left Ireland there had been no apparent break in the ranks of the Republic?

A. None whatever. They are only more determined to continue the fight to death.

AMERICAN SAILORS ADMIRER BY PEOPLE OF CORK

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Miss Walsh, there is one matter I forgot to ask you about. I believe you stated that you were present in Cork from the beginning of the war down to the time you sailed the other day?

A. Yes, Mr. Walsh.

Q. Now, there has been something said from time to time about the alleged friction between the population of Cork and our American sailors. I wish you would briefly sketch what the attitude of the population was toward our sailors, and what the friction was.

A. Well, as far as I can remember, there was no friction between the population of Cork and the American sailors. On the other hand, I think it was principally between the British sailors and the American sailors. Owing to the fact that the American sailors had so much money to disburse and the British sailors did not, they were at a disadvantage. The Cork people certainly admired the American sailors. But one or two of them unfortunately got out of hand, which might happen in any army. The same thing happened with British sailors. So I think that the Vigilance Committee was formed, not on account of the American sailors, but to put down any riots.

Q. There was a large number of American sailors in Cork?

A. O, yes.

Q. You were acquainted with the attitude of the people of Cork toward the American sailors?

A. O, yes. They simply loved the American sailors. With the exception of the few whom I mentioned, they all behaved admirably.

Q. Commissioner Wood: And there was a Vigilance Committee of the citizens of Cork formed?

A. Yes. Some of those—one or two of those sailors, not particularly American sailors, behaved in an ungentlemanly manner.

Q. This was formed by the Sinn Fein Government?

A. By the citizens of the city themselves.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: This was just sort of a voluntary organization of the citizens to prevent any possible trouble. But other than these one or two sailors who were disorderly, there was no friction between the American sailors and the people of Cork?

A. I can solemnly swear that the American sailors were simply adored by the people of Cork, and behaved very, very well with the exception of one or two who misbehaved, such as one might find anywhere.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF MISS ANNA WALSH

Commissioner Wood in the Chair.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Would you please give us your name?

A. Anna Walsh.

Q. And you live in Cork? A. I was born in Cork.

Q. Will you state what your business has been? A. I work for the Sorosis Shoe Company in Cork. I worked my way up from a junior assistant to the head of my department.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: It is a Boston firm incorporated under the name of the Sorosis Shoe Company in Cork? A. Yes.

Q. And you are head of your department? A. Yes.

Q. Now, prior to the trouble in Cork in 1916 what did you do? A. I lived in 1916 on South Douglas Road with my mother and sisters.

Q. How many sisters? A. Four.

Q. Did you have any brothers? A. Yes, my brother James, who has been on the run. And my other brother died at the time of the uprising in 1916.

BLACK-AND-TANS HORSEWHIP AND ROB PEOPLE ON STREETS

Q. I would ask you first to tell what you know about the horse-whipping of people on the streets of Cork. A. About three weeks before I came here, the people rushed from Patrick Street one day into the store. Just about an hour before that I looked out and the Black-and-Tans had revolvers in their hands and were frightening the people. But about an hour after the people—women and children—ran screaming into the store, and I heard the crack of whips outside. The Black-and-Tans had taken whips away from the cab drivers and were flogging the people on the streets, and were holding them up and taking money from them.

Q. Commissioner Wood: During business hours was this? A. Yes, about four in the afternoon.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: About how many Black-and-Tans? A. There were two on one corner and two on the other, and they were scattering the people in all directions.

Q. Was that a busy time of the day? A. Yes, very,—the most people on the street.

Q. And people ran into the store? A. Yes.

Q. About how many? A. Twenty or thirty.

Q. What did the people say? A. They were screaming "Murder!"

Q. Previous to that you had looked out? A. Yes, and I saw a Black-and-Tan with a revolver holding up a citizen and searching his pockets.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Deliberately robbing the people on the streets in daylight? A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Wood: She did not say they robbed them. A. The Witness: Yes, they took their money.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Do you know of cases where money was taken? A. Yes. From one of the men they took a five-pound note from his pocketbook.

Q. Were the people—the women and children—very frightened? A. Oh, yes; terribly, terribly.

Q. Did any of them receive blows? A. They had run in from the whips.

INDISCRIMINATE FIRING ON CROWDED STREETS

A few days before that I was coming home from lunch about five minutes to two, and the people were rushing along, and they said a lorry had passed, and the soldiers were firing.

Q. Could you hear the shots? A. Yes, very plainly.

Q. Is your business place in the heart of Cork? A. Yes, it is on Patrick Street.

Q. Is it a section devoted largely to retail business? A. Yes, it is the retail section.

Q. It is the retail section of the city of Cork? A. Yes. And about a week before I came the people were coming out from theaters, and they began firing, and a Mrs. Crowley of Coburg Street was shot through the breast.

Q. Shot through the breast? A. Yes, shot through the breast. And a young man was shot dead coming out of church.

Q. Major Newman: Did Mrs. Crowley die? A. No, the wound was not fatal. When they began firing on the people coming out of church, the people were afraid to go home, and the priest telephoned to the barracks to take the people home, because it was near

ten, the curfew hour, and the people were scared. And lorries came and took the people home.

Q. What is the situation there now? Can you do business as ordinarily, or how do you do it? A. Well, the shops close at six, and the people get home as soon as possible. The people used to go out for an hour or two for a walk, but now it is not safe to do it. One evening when the people were out, a lorry came along and fired. I saw the shots myself in Evans'.

Q. What is Evans'? A. A large bookstore. And one lady was shot through the ear. It was twenty past seven o'clock. It was not curfew hour at all.

Q. How do women like you go home? A. Well, at night my sister and my niece call for me, and we all go home together.

EFFECT OF TERRORISM ON BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Q. What effect has that had on the business of Cork? A. The people are afraid to come in. The people from the outlying districts are afraid to come in.

Q. And you draw most of your trade from the surrounding district? A. Yes.

Q. Are there surrounding districts where there is business? A. Oh, yes; there are mills in Douglas and Blackpool.

Q. About how many people in Blackpool? A. Well, Blackpool is very thickly populated.

Q. Can you give us an idea of Blackpool? A. It is on the north side of the city, and the houses are built close like; it is very thickly populated.

Q. Has it its own retail section like a small town? A. Well, the people come into town on the tram to do their trading. The people there are mostly pig buyers.

Q. Cattle buyers and things like that? A. Yes.

Q. Where is the Ford plant,—the automobile plant? A. Well, that is on the marine side, the east side.

Q. How far from the city of Cork? A. About a quarter mile.

Q. Is it a large plant? A. Yes, very large.

Q. How many employees? A. Well, I cannot say exactly, but it is a large plant; probably a thousand hands.

Q. About a thousand people employed there? A. Well, that is as far as I can say about that.

Q. And the working people there largely live in the city of Cork? A. Yes, most of them.

Q. What effect has this had upon business? A. Before I left home I heard that the men at Ford's were putting in only half time.

Q. How about the other plants? A. Nothing at all. Many of them are lying completely idle.

Q. What is the effect of this on unemployment in Cork? A. It is a very serious situation for the winter. The people have nothing at all to do.

Q. It looks like a serious situation for the winter? A. Yes, very.

WHOLESALE TERRORISM

Q. Do you know of any other things that happened that your sister did not testify to? A. Well, as far back as September I saw lorries come down by the postoffice, and I looked up, and almost immediately the lorries came up and the soldiers were firing. And an ex-soldier said to me, "Those are not blank shots. Run!" Mrs. MacCurtain had gone away to Youghal, and my sister, when she came back from the station, her umbrella was torn to pieces. The soldiers were firing around the station, with the result that she was walked over and trampled, and her umbrella was broken. Where the people were staying, they were put up for the night. And the 'phone was going all of the night informing their people that they were safe; because it was not safe to pass in the streets.

HOME REPEATEDLY RAIDED WITHOUT CAUSE

Q. Now, for how long before March, when your brother-in-law was killed, had these raids been going on,—including your own house? A. Well, the raids were going on, but they were not so bad at that time. But as regards our own house, we were getting quite accustomed to raids,—it was nothing new for us. As my sister stated, I was in bed ill about four o'clock one morning—

Q. Were you in a dangerous condition? A. I was in a pneumonic condition, and the doctor would not let me be removed to the hospital. My sister was putting a poultice to my chest when they broke in, and I was ordered up.

Q. Were you weak? A. Very weak. And when I got downstairs I saw my mother with three soldiers with fixed bayonets to her face.

Q. How old is your mother? A. Over sixty.

Q. Were there any men in the house at all? A. No.

Q. In all these raids on your home, some twenty of them, I believe, before your brother-in-law was murdered, did they ever discover any arms or anything like that? A. No, none at all. There was none at all there.

Q. And they always searched thoroughly when they came?

A. Yes.

Q. Down to this time had there been any constables killed around Cork? A. Well, on the tenth of March—

Q. Prior to that time? A. Well, there may have been a few cases, but Cork was very quiet, and nothing had happened. But on the tenth of March the police got out of hand, and my brother-in-

law declared that the situation was serious, and if the police could not do their duty—the shops had been shot up—and if they could not do their duty, the city would have to protect the citizens themselves.

MIDNIGHT MURDER OF LORD MAYOR MACCURTAIN

Q. Where were you when the raid occurred for the purpose of murdering your brother-in-law, Mayor MacCurtain? A. I was in my bedroom.

Q. I wish you would give a brief account of that. A. Well, I did not hear the knock at the door, but I heard my sister tapping at the door of my brother's room, and she said, "Jimmy, get up. A raid! A raid!" I threw on a little red coat that I had for getting up, and I heard a voice, "Come out, Curtain!" It surprised me that they should get upstairs so quickly.

Q. This was on the first landing? A. On the first landing, yes. And I heard two shots. One of the little ones ran out crying, "Da-da, Da-da," and I pushed her in. And I put my head out of the back window, and a woman's voice called out to me, "Who has been murdered?" And I said, "Mr. MacCurtain. We are all being murdered by the police." And I heard my brother-in-law below moaning.

Q. You heard shots? A. Yes, two shots. And then I ran downstairs.

Q. These men had apparently broken into the house? A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear them hammering before they broke into the house? A. No, I did not. I only heard my sister's voice calling, "A raid! A raid!" When I got down I put my hand under his head, and I held up the crucifix and said, "Thomas, boy, this is a crucifix. Indulgence for a happy death. Kiss it." And he kissed it repeatedly. And then he said, "My feet are cold." And then he said, "I am dying."

Q. Did he die immediately? A. No. He asked me not to leave him, and of course I said I would not. My brother came and put a pillow under his head, and he said, "Jim, take the pillow away." And then he said, "Anna, put your hand under my head again." Thomas and I had worked in the cause together ever since he married my sister.

Q. How long had he been married to your sister? A. About twelve years. I noticed that under my hand on his head it was getting quite cold and clammy, and then I saw the end was coming. He said again, "Do not take Anna away from me." And Jim said, "Come on, Tom, boy. You are only wounded. You will not die." And Mrs. MacCurtain came upstairs and said, "Cheer up, Tom.

You are all right. The priest will soon be here. You are dying for Ireland, and die like a soldier."

Q. Where was your sister? A. She was sitting at the side of the stairs holding the baby. The little one did not realize why he was lying there, and kept repeating, "Da-da, Da-da."

Q. Where were the other children? A. There was so much screaming all over that I really do not know. I was taking care of Thomas, and did not see anything else, and do not know.

Q. Did you see the men in the house? A. No, they had gone.

Q. Did you see them go out? A. No, I did not. I went down immediately, but they had gone. Then the priest came. And then he raised up his eyes and said, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." And then he was dead.

Q. Did you attend the inquest? A. I was there just one night to give my evidence, and after that Mrs. MacCurtain was ordered away for a change, and I went into the country.

BROTHER NARROWLY ESCAPES DEATH

There was one point I wanted to mention. Some weeks before I left home my brother was paying a visit to my mother, and came down to my place and said he was nearly done in. And I said, "How is that?"

Q. Who was that? A. My brother. He said that up in the passageway he met Barry, the detective. He did not want to go into the house for fear they would follow him in, and he did not want any shooting to take place in front of Mrs. MacCurtain. So he saw a lady in a neighboring house, and if he was to be murdered, he wanted them to see it. Then two of them came up. One of them was Barry, the detective. And they said, "What are you doing here?" And he said, "Why, Barry, don't you know me?" And of course they did not want to shoot him, because they would be identified. And he made it down the avenue, and met my niece, and pointed back and said, "Those two detectives are after me." And when my niece looked up, she saw the two men looking after him. But they did not get him. He took a short cut and got away.

Q. Your brother is still on the run? A. Yes; he does not dare come near the house.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Do you know he is living yet? A. Yes, I think so. I saw him a few weeks ago, and he is looking very pale and thin.

Q. How old is he? A. Twenty-five or six.

YOUNG MEN OF IRELAND LIVE "ON THE RUN"

Q. Chairman Howe: Where do they sleep,—in the fields? Or where do they sleep? A. Well, he told me one night he was sleeping in a house with another man, and the police came along, and

they jumped out of the house with almost nothing on, and crept into a henhouse. And the two of them lay close together until morning, when they went to a farmer and asked him to take them in. They made quite a joke of it, because they found a pair of lady's stockings, and they cut the vamps off, and they looked like boots.

Q. How common is that sort of thing in Ireland? A. It is quite common. Nearly all of the men are running away from the police organization.

Q. You say nearly all the men are on the run away from their homes? A. Yes, away from their homes.

Q. As a matter of fact, it is dangerous for the men to stay in homes with friends, is it not? A. Yes. Recently, before I left there was a notice in the papers that if there was anybody found sheltering Sinn Feiners, they would meet the same fate.

Q. How are these notices put in the papers? A. The Black-and-Tans go into the paper office and hold a revolver to the heads of the owners and compel them to print these notices in large type on the front page of the paper.¹

LORD FRENCH REFUSES TO TESTIFY AT INQUEST

Q. Was your family represented by counsel at the inquest?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was he? A. Mr. Lynch.

Q. Did he have anything to do with the city, or was he just the representative of your family? A. No, he was just the representative of our family. He was instructed by Mr. Maurice O'Connor.

Q. And who was Maurice O'Connor? A. He was the representative of the family, and Mr. Lynch had instructions from Mr. O'Connor.

Q. Was there a rumor before the inquest that your brother was murdered by some of his colleagues? A. Yes, a rumor came from Lord French that he was.

Q. Was Lord French summoned? A. Yes, he was summoned, and refused to come.

AUTHORITIES TAKE NO ACTION AGAINST MURDERERS

Q. Did your counsel also demand to know where these bullets came from, and this police button,—the bullets found in the body and in the wall? Is that so? A. Yes.

Q. In fact, he made a demand that a strict examination be made as to the criminals that had killed your brother-in-law? A. Yes, that is so:

¹ See testimony of Lord Mayor O'Callaghan.

Q. Has that examination ever been made? A. No, not to our knowledge. They failed to do anything about it.

Q. Major Newman: Who carried on the inquest? Under whose authority was it conducted? A. The inquest was ordered in the usual way. Mr. J. Wolfe represented the Crown, and Mr. Lynch represented us.

Q. I do not mean the names of the people. But there was an inquest constituted according to law by the regular authorities for doing that thing? A. Oh, yes. But of course all inquests are stopped now, and the military do that thing.

Q. Yes, but before that. This was the usual civil procedure? A. Yes, yes.

Q. This rumor that you spoke about, was this published by anyone? Do you know anything about the origin of that rumor that Mayor MacCurtain had been killed by Sinn Feiners? A. That, I believe, came from Lord French.

Q. In what way? A. That they had information that Mr. MacCurtain was a murdered man,—murdered by the extremist party of Sinn Fein.

Q. Was that statement made by Lord French? A. Yes, and Lord French was summoned, and refused to come.

Q. That statement was made in the papers from Lord French? A. Yes. It also stated that Professor Stockley was also condemned to be murdered with Lord Mayor MacCurtain in a secret meeting. But Professor Stockley is not an active Sinn Feiner. He is only a Republican. And he denounced that statement as a falsehood.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: What statement was that? A. The statement that the extremists of Sinn Fein had met in a secret meeting and condemned Lord Mayor MacCurtain and Professor Stockley to death.

Q. And Dr. Stockley denounced that as a falsehood? A. Yes.

LORD MAYOR MACCURTAIN LOVED BY ALL

Q. As a matter of fact, what was the attitude of the Republicans toward your brother-in-law? A. The whole city idolized him. They all loved him.

Q. After his death was your home visited by the people? A. Yes, they all thronged there. The first time I ever heard men cry was then. One man said, "God, Thomas, I didn't think you would be the first." And others said that it seemed impossible that anybody would ever shoot such a man as he was. The whole city mourned for him.

Q. He was a general favorite? A. Yes, as they styled him, "Stern but gentle friend of all."

Q. He was a man of very kindly disposition? A. Very kind. That is one reason why everybody loved him.

Q. And they proved that at his funeral, when a band of discharged soldiers asked permission to walk? A. Yes. All classes of people came to walk at his funeral. And the people came in and got permission from the retailers to look at the funeral from their windows.

INDOMITABLE SPIRIT OF IRISH PEOPLE

Q. What effect has this had upon the spirit of the people? Has it broken them down? A. No. Quite the contrary. The people will never submit to be ruled by England, no matter how many soldiers they bring over. When the men are gone, the women will step in. And when the women are gone, the children will step in. And if they kill all the children, the children still unborn will step in, because they have the spirit of the martyrs.

Q. You mean to say that the treatment of the people has brought hundreds of recruits to the Republican cause? A. Yes, and they are not slow to express their feeling that they hope the day will soon come when the English will be gone out of Ireland, and that the day will soon come when we will sweep them forever from our soil.

POLICE CREATE CRIME IN CORK

Q. Was Cork a place in which there were any murders or major crimes like assault to kill before the present system of terror and raids began? A. No. Murder and crime are so scarce in Cork and Ireland that we would hardly believe it if the story of a murder had been printed in a paper. Now when we open the paper the heading is: "Two men murdered last night." "Man murdered in his house before his wife and children." That is the heading every morning now.

I do not know whether I mentioned about the police coming to a rather poor section of the city and shooting three men and two boys. The boys were Boy Scouts; one was O'Handly and the other O'Brien. And in that house they murdered a brother-in-law of O'Handly for the mere fact that he was a brother-in-law. He was not a Sinn Feiner. He had been attached to the British Army for twelve years. And the brother of the boy, when the police flashed the light on his face, said, "Oh, don't shoot me, because I am too young."

Q. Commissioner Wood: How do you know that that is the reason why this man was shot, because he was the brother-in-law of this Boy Scout? A. Oh, that is what everyone says.

Q. Was there anything against him? A. Well, they could have had nothing against him, for he was in the British Army for twelve years. He was not concerned with politics. He was a man with one child.

Q. Was this in daylight or at night? A. Oh, at night.

Q. Did they say who murdered him? A. Yes, they were policemen. And another man shot the same night named Coleman—his wife testified at the inquest that he was killed by the auxiliary police.

Q. What were the circumstances of the killing of Coleman? A. A knock came at the door at night, and his wife said, "Who is there?" And a voice said, "The military. Open." And Coleman went to the door and was shot immediately.

Q. But this is not first-hand testimony. This is only hearsay.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: Yes, but I understood you wanted such evidence from parties near to the scene of these crimes.

Commissioner Wood: Yes, we did. But we ought to get direct evidence now.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Now, I will ask you this question: Did you talk with the widow? A. No, I did not.

Q. But you read about it and heard of it from the people? A. Yes, and I attended the inquiry.

Q. Was there an inquest? A. No, just an inquiry.

Q. Do they seem to have any hesitation about killing these men in the presence of their wives? A. Oh, no. It is quite a common thing now.

CONTINUOUS TERRORISM AND BURNINGS IN CORK

Q. I might ask you about what effect this has had upon the health of the people of your city. You might begin and tell about how it has affected you. A. Well, for the past eight months we have had hardly any decent sleep. And the lorries running to and fro, and the shots, and the yelling,—one cannot sleep. I heard a big explosion one night, and the whole side of Cash's was blown in. I saw it in the morning.

Q. What is that? A. That is a big draper's establishment on Patrick Street. Another night I heard a big explosion, and Forrest's, another big draper on Patrick Street, was blown up. It was in flames still in the morning. Just a day after that the American Shoe Company was in flames.

Q. Major Newman: Were these shops conducted by Sinn Feiners? A. No, no. Forrest has no sympathy with the Sinn Fein. And the American Shoe Company is conducted by an Englishman. The idea is to throw the people out of employment. That is the idea.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: What do the firemen of the city of Cork do to put out these fires? A. Well, on one occasion the firemen were fired on.

Q. Fired on by whom? A. By the Black-and-Tans. And the firemen of the city said if they were to go out again they would have

to get some protection. And the military came and protected them. But now they are unable to cope with the fires because they burn one place on one side of the city, and at the same time they burn another place on the other side of the city, and the firemen cannot cover them all.

ENGLISH ATTACK BOY SCOUTS

Q. You mentioned about the Boy Scouts in your city. A. Yes, they did good work on several occasions. They have been there for quite a long time. My brother-in-law started them.

Q. And that was the organization that the Countess Markievicz had something to do with? A. Yes.

Q. It was started before the uprising of 1916? A. Yes, exactly.

Q. And it is an organization like the general Boy Scout movement, where the boys learn to be chivalrous, and have games, and the like? A. Yes, exactly. My brother-in-law used to play for them with his violin and teach them Irish songs.

Q. And you mean that the Black-and-Tans are active against these Scouts now? A. Yes. As I said, they shot one of them dead,—this boy O’Handly, a boy of seventeen, I believe.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Do you know anything about the Countess Markievicz’s case? It was said she was convicted of organizing Boy Scouts. A. I don’t know anything about that.

Q. You don’t know anything about that case? A. No.

HARASSED IN EMPLOYMENT BY ENGLISH CUSTOMERS

There was another matter I should mention. Just during the war on a few occasions people came into my place of business. One lady was English. She spoke with an English accent. And she approached the manager and asked the manager if he knew that he had a Sinn Feiner there, a person with my dangerous views. Six weeks later she came in, and in the presence of all the people said, “I will not be served by that woman. She is a Sinn Feiner.” And when I was home ill it happened again.

Q. But the fact remains you were not thrown out of employment. A. No, of course not. I am head of the department. But it has been very hard on me for several years.

Q. What is this American Shoe Company you mentioned? A. It is a firm that sells a lot of American shoes.

Q. And they burned it? A. Yes.

Chairman Howe: I wish you would keep the witness on more important matters.

Mr. F. P. Walsh: I thought it was important to know if they were burning American shoes.

Chairman Howe: But she does not know who owns them.

Commissioner Wood: Does the Commission wish to ask any more questions? Do you, Mr. Walsh?

Mr. F. P. Walsh: That is all, thank you.

Q. Commissioner Wood: You did not see anybody struck by these whips? You only heard them say that they came in for fear of the whips? A. Yes, that is it.

Q. Mr. F. P. Walsh: Did not you say you heard the crack of the whips? A. Yes, yes, I did. And I looked out just before and I saw one of the Black-and-Tans with his hand in a man's pocket, and another Black-and-Tan flourishing a revolver.

CURFEW PROTECTS POLICE IN RAIDS AND MURDERS

Q. Commissioner Maurer: About this night you were telling about,—how many were shot? A. Five,—three men and two boys.

Q. How many were killed? A. Three killed.

Q. How many police were in that,—how many constables? A. I don't know how many were in it. As far as I can understand, there was a lorry, and it stopped near the place. Of course, it was during curfew hours.

Q. So when the people have to be in their homes after the curfew hour, and when nobody is on the streets, these raids take place?

A. Yes, it is generally after nightfall and during the curfew hours that these murders take place.

Q. And this discrimination against your position, was that general through the city with other women and men? A. Well, it was in the case of the men. I know with my brother-in-law, he had a hard time on account of it during all the years he was in business.

Commissioner Maurer: It reminds me pretty much of what is going on in America now.

The Witness: I don't know about that.

Commissioner Maurer: Pretty much the same thing that we are experiencing in my state.

Commissioner Wood: Thank you very much, Miss Walsh.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF DANIEL J. BRODERICK

(The witness takes the stand)

Q. Mr. Basil M. Manly (of counsel): Will you give your name, please, Mr. Broderick? A. Daniel J. Broderick.

Q. Are you a resident of Chicago? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where were you born? A. I was born in Ireland.

Q. How old are you? A. Twenty-four.

Q. How long have you been in the United States? A. Seven years.

Q. You came in 1913? A. 1913, the latter end.

Q. Are you an American citizen? A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you become an American citizen? A. I became an American citizen in 1917.

SERVED IN UNITED STATES ARMY AND NAVY

Q. After you came to the United States what was your occupation? A. A soldier in the United States army. I enlisted in May, 1914.

Q. What rank did you hold in the United States army during your service? A. Well, I held the ranks of private and corporal.

Q. Where did you serve? A. I served in Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Texas, Arizona, Oklahoma, and New Mexico.

Q. You went on Border service? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What company? A. Company D, 119th United States Infantry.

Q. When did you leave the army? A. The latter end of 1917.

Q. You were discharged for disability, were you not? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you your discharge papers? A. Yes, sir.

Q. During that period you were on the Border, you saw a great deal of what is known as guerrilla warfare? A. Yes, sir; quite a great deal.

Q. And later you enlisted in the United States navy? A. Yes, in March, 1918, I enlisted in the United States navy, and served in the navy for fourteen months.

Q. What rank did you hold in the navy? A. Gunner's mate, second class.

SCOPE OF OBSERVATIONS IN IRELAND

Q. Have you been in Ireland recently? A. Yes, sir. I was in Ireland from September fifth to December fifth of this present year.

Q. You have just returned? A. Just returned.

Q. While you were in Ireland what part of the country did you see? Just give a general idea, without going into every town,—just the general part of the country that you saw. A. Well, I saw Limerick on a large scale.

Q. Saw practically all parts of the County of Limerick? A. Yes, sir. The same as regards County Kerry and Cork, and a little of Tipperary.

Q. The greater part of the time what town were you in? A. The greater part of the time I was in Abbeyfeale.

Q. How large a town is Abbeyfeale? A. Well, it is a little town between one thousand and fifteen hundred inhabitants.

Q. Whom were you visiting in Abbeyfeale? A. My father and mother. They live there.

Q. Have they any children besides yourself? A. Yes, sir. I have six brothers and two sisters.

INTRODUCTION TO BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Now, will you just cover briefly the events in Abbeyfeale during the time that you were there? Just what happened in this small town during the time that you were there? A. Well, I left the States and reached Abbeyfeale the twelfth of September, after spending seven days in Dublin. And the next day after I got there happened to be a Sunday, and my brother accompanied me to church. And the only Black-and-Tan attached to the garrison there at that time, he accosted my brother on the public street; and my brother happened to be wearing a temperance button and a green tie; and he snatched the temperance button off and threw it upon the street, and he pulled the tie out and said never to wear that tie again.

Q. Your brother is a member of a temperance society? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you happen to know the name of it? A. Well, I don't happen to know the name of it now.

Q. But this button showed that he was a member of this temperance society? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Proceed.

ARSON, LOOTING AND TERRORISM AS REPRISAL

A. A week afterwards, on the 19th of September, there was a constable killed in ambush just outside the town, a man by the name of Mahoney. And that night the town was swarming with military, and they burned several houses, looted several shops, and fired indiscriminately into dwelling houses. They burned the town hall. The following day was Sunday, and they drove the people off the streets with fixed bayonets after church.

Q. Commissioner Wood: After church? A. After church, yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: What proportion of the houses in that town was destroyed by that fire? A. There were no houses completely burned, but several were wrecked, and bombs placed in the rooms destroyed all that was in there. That would be about five per cent. of the houses in the town. The next day was Monday, and I happened to be in town.

POLICY OF REPRISALS UNKNOWN IN AMERICAN ARMY

Q. Before we pass on to the next event, do you know anything about how this ambush took place? A. I do not know.

Q. During the time that you were on the Border did ambushes take place? A. Yes, sir, several times.

Q. What were the orders given you then? A. The orders from Washington from the War Department were not to shoot to kill, but to fire over their heads and try to scare them off.

Q. Did you ever hear of any policy of reprisals when you were serving on the Border? A. No, not in my time. I never heard of any.

Q. What action would be taken if the troops tried a reprisal on a Border town? A. Well, I think they would be tried by court-martial and sentenced from two to five years in Leavenworth.

Q. As a soldier, you know that there would be a court-martial if soldiers disobeyed orders and shot up a town? A. Yes, sir.

PEOPLE LEAVE HOMES FOR PROTECTION

Q. Just proceed with the account of the shooting up of Abbeyfeale. A. The following night, Monday night, there was a general exodus of the people living in the town. They left for the country. Those people were living in terror, it seemed to me. They were traveling out into the country seeking a shelter in the country homes. That night the town was deserted. The police garrison and the military were the only people in the town that night. And of course looting went on.

Q. Looting by whom? A. By the military forces, the Black-and-Tans and the military.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Did you see them yourself? A. Yes, sir; not that night, but later on.

Q. Not that night? A. No, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was there anybody else on the streets that night except soldiers and the Black-and-Tans? A. No. There were three retired R. I. C. sergeants in the town who were living there, and from local opinion which I gathered, those sergeants prevailed on the military; and I think if it was not for their intervention the town would have been burned that night. Those men were retired R. I. C. sergeants who had previously served in the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Q. Where did the population go that night? What did they do? How did they dispose of themselves? A. Why, they billeted themselves in all the outlying country districts, and as far as possible from the roads. The next day was Monday. That was market day in the town. The military were very prevalent, patrolling up and down the streets. And I reported myself to the barracks that day. We were told in Liverpool, all the aliens—that is, all the American citizens—to report to the local police within two months after being in the country. So it was rather chilly and I was wearing my overcoat, an American army overcoat; and I was speaking to a constable

in the hall leading into the day room where those men were.

Q. You went to report yourself according to instructions to the police? A. Yes. There were several R. I. C. police in there, and quite a few Black-and-Tans. And I heard two of those Black-and-Tans speaking of me with a personal reference. And one said, "Who is that bloody bloke with a cockney accent?" And the other replied, "He is one of those bloody Yankees who won the war."

UNPROVOKED MURDERS BY BLACK-AND-TAN

Well, that night a man named Hartnett, a letter carrier, a Government servant, and Healey, a blacksmith's apprentice, about six o'clock in the evening were driving a cow to pasture a little way outside the town, about three hundred yards from their own homes. And they were seen by this Black-and-Tan, the one I have already referred to.

Q. Do you know his name? A. I don't know his name. I have heard it, but so many things have cropped up since that I have forgotten it.

Q. But he was the only Black-and-Tan billeted in Abbeyfeale at this time? A. Yes, the only Black-and-Tan outside of the new reinforcements that came in. He followed those boys about three hundred yards outside the town and shot them both dead.

Q. How do you know this? A. Why, he was seen by some of those people who were going to seek shelter in the country that night. I spoke to some who saw him.

Q. You spoke to those eye-witnesses? A. Yes, sir. He was also seen by this Healey's father, who was about three hundred yards from the scene.

Q. Commissioner Wood: This was about six o'clock at night? A. Yes, six o'clock in the evening.

Q. Mr. Manly: What provocation was there for the shooting, as far as you know? A. None whatever, because there was proof brought forward afterwards that neither of those boys belonged to the Sinn Fein organization or the Irish Republican Army. In fact, one was a Government servant, a letter carrier. And Healey, I went to school with Healey; and I spoke to his father the day of the funeral, and he said the boy was not connected with the Sinn Fein organization in any way.

Q. When were their bodies found? A. They were found the next morning. They were not taken in until the next morning, and then they were taken in to the local barracks.

INNOCENT GIRL OF TEN WANTONLY SHOT

Q. Was it about this time, or was it a little later, that a young girl was shot? A. No, it was on the fifth of November that two

Black-and-Tans by the names of Hawley and Allen were putting down explosives in the river quite near the town.

Q. Was that illegal? A. Beg your pardon?

Q. Was that killing of fish by explosives illegal? A. No, not according to English law. But previous to that time the Irish people were prosecuted for fishing without a license with rod and line. But those men were using explosives, blasting up the fish. After getting through there, they saw two cattle about three hundred yards from there; they saw these two cows on the river's bank, and took pot shots at them and killed them both. They belonged to a man named Greaney. About that time there were some school children about two hundred yards from there on a bridge across the stream; and when they heard the shots they screamed. And the Black-and-Tans shot at the girls, and shot one, Peggy Brosnan, through the leg, inflicting quite a serious wound.

Q. How old was she? A. About ten years old. I spoke to her father and mother afterwards. They had spent some years in the United States.

Q. And you spoke to the girl herself later and learned the facts?

A. Yes, later from the girl, and from her father and mother, I learned of the shooting.

HOME WRECKED AND FIRED; WOMAN CLUBBED

Q. Just proceed with the other things you learned in Abbeyfeale.

A. I also spoke with several other victims of the Black-and-Tans. One of them was a Mrs. Hartnett.

Q. Was she related to the other Hartnett you have testified about? A. I do not think so. I was speaking to her in her own house, what remained of it. Some evenings previously she said a military lorry had stopped at her place and told her to get out in the front yard. And then they started to destroy the furniture inside, and poured petrol on the stairs preparatory to setting it on fire. At the same time her son, a boy of about twenty-two, was upstairs in the attic in bed sick, suffering. He was a victim of tuberculosis. And all the time he was there while the military were down below doing their work of destruction. They applied several explosives in the room and set them off, wrecking everything and tearing things off the walls, tearing them down and breaking them.

Q. Did you see the effects of those explosions? A. Yes, I saw them.

Q. How soon afterwards did you visit them? A. About four days afterwards.

Q. About when did this occur? A. This was about the twenty-fourth of September.

Q. The twenty-fourth of September? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What reason was given for this treatment of Mrs. Hartnett

and her property? A. Well, it seems she had several sons. Most of them are in the States. One is in another part of the country quite distant from there. Their reason was, they said, that her son was connected with the Sinn Fein movement. It could not be the boy at home, because he was an invalid.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: What happened to the boy in the attic? A. Well, the stairs were on fire, so there was no way for getting down. But the neighbors were on the lookout, of course, and as soon as the military had departed, they came and rescued the boy and put out the fire. Before they left, one of the soldiers struck Mrs. Hartnett over the head with the butt of his rifle, inflicting quite a serious wound.

Q. Did you see the wound? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the character of the wound? A. Well, he must have hit her with the full butt of his rifle, for the wound was about three or four inches long.

Q. Where was the wound? A. Right on top of her head.

Q. So it must have come down from on top? A. Yes, sir. She said he clubbed his rifle and struck her.

Q. Was this a Black-and-Tan? A. No. One of the regular military force.

DRUNKENNESS COMMON AMONG CROWN FORCES

Q. Now, you are a soldier with some military experience? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have seen these Black-and-Tans and the military over there. Did they conduct themselves as soldiers? A. No, sir. They did not. Not by the way they conducted themselves around the streets there. One point in a good soldier is that he must be sober while on duty. And I have seen those men on duty and they were intoxicated.

Q. Chairman Howe: Did you see that often? Would you say that is a common occurrence? A. Yes, sir.

Q. How common? A. It is a regular practice.

Q. A regular practice? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: Take the bodies of Black-and-Tans that you saw. Would you say that a large number of the parties showed evidence of being intoxicated? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see them anywhere else than Abbeyfeale? A. Yes, sir. I have seen them in Limerick and Newcastle West, and in Listowel, in County Kerry.

Q. Did you ascertain where they got their liquor? A. Why, they got most of it from looting stores or saloons and taking whatever they wanted. Of course, in the larger cities they have canteens in the barracks, and they can get these drinks right in the barracks,

Q. Commissioner Wood: Did you see a canteen in any barracks?
A. Yes, sir, in Limerick.

Q. You were in the barracks? A. Yes, sir. I drank there.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: What kinds of whiskey do they serve there? A. I did not drink any whiskey; just Bass' stout.

Q. Do they have any whiskey? A. I don't think so. Most of the drink is porter and stout,—Bass' ale.

Q. Would a man become intoxicated by drinking a quantity of it? A. Surely, surely. It doesn't take very much of that to put a man in good spirits.

Q. Can they get it in quantities? A. Yes, sir; in large bottles, and any other way they want it.

THE OLD CONSTABULARY WELL-DISCIPLINED FORCE

Q. Chairman Howe: Now, you are a man of military experience, and I wish you would describe to us the general military characteristics of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Black-and-Tans as you saw them, and the military authorities, so that we can see through your eyes just how those organizations are officered, what their duties are, and just what they were from your point of view.

A. Well, the old R. I. C. service, I saw them—the old members—behave just like any military body should do. They behaved in military manner. They were well officered and well disciplined. And from what I have seen of them on duty, they acted with all good sense.

Q. Did you see any instances in which they incited to trouble, or aggravated trouble, or were guilty of reprisals? A. Well, you speak of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

Q. I am speaking of the Royal Irish Constabulary. A. No, sir.

Q. Would you say that they confined their activities to maintaining order and ordinary police duties? A. Yes, sir; ordinary police duties.

Q. As far as you have seen? A. As far as I have seen.

Q. They do what you would expect an ordinary policeman to do? A. Yes, sir; in every respect.

Q. As an American, you can speak very highly of the old R. I. C.? A. Yes, sir, of what I have seen of them.

THE BLACK-AND-TANS LICENSED PLUNDERERS

Q. Now about the Black-and-Tans. A. The Black-and-Tans seem to be in the country to do all the damage and commit all the destruction that they possibly can, with the sanction of the Government. And it would seem that their officers have authority, and unlimited authority, to do destruction.

Q. Commissioner Wood: How did you get that idea? A. From their actions,—the way I saw them behave.

Q. Chairman Howe: No restraint on them? A. No restraint on them at all.

Q. And no discipline? A. No discipline whatever. I am speaking of my own experience. It seemed that a private there had as much authority as an officer, and could do what he felt like without incurring any punishment.

Q. Did you know of any instances of punishment of Black-and-Tans? A. No, sir.

Q. Of imprisonment or suspension or fines or reprimands? A. No, sir.

Q. All the time you were over there, you never knew of a Black-and-Tan being punished? A. No, sir.

Q. Would you know of that? A. Well, you could gather it from the papers if such was the case.

Q. And you as a soldier were mixing among the R. I. C. and the Black-and-Tans and the military? A. No, I spoke to some of them, but I was not interested in them.

Q. But you as a soldier was interested in their life and what they were doing? A. No, I was not. I spoke to the head sergeant and one of the local constables.

THE REGULAR MILITARY POORLY DISCIPLINED

Q. Now, coming to the regular troops. Were there any of them stationed where you were? A. Yes, there were in Newcastle, in the County of Limerick.

Q. How many of them were there? A. About three hundred.

Q. Were they properly officered? A. There were plenty of officers there, but they had no restraint over the men.

Q. Chairman Howe: Now, go on in your own way and describe them. A. I have seen them travel along the roads there, and if a dog barked at their trucks—lorries, as they call them—that dog would be instantly shot. And it was a regular habit of theirs to shoot at houses adjoining the public road, and to take pot shots at cattle along the road as they went along. In the evenings at Newcastle West, I have seen even non-commissioned officers make very insulting remarks to some young ladies in that town.

Q. Was there any evidence that they drank like the Black-and-Tans? A. Well, I should think so.

Q. But you did not see them? A. No, I did not see them, but I should think that a man would have to be very much under the influence of drinks to make such remarks,—that is, if he was a man.

Q. Was discipline maintained among the military branch as well as among the Royal Irish Constabulary? A. No, not quite as well.

Q. But these men in the military branch were better than the Black-and-Tans? A. Yes, better.

Q. Were they used in the raids like the Black-and-Tans? A. Yes, like the Black-and-Tans in the burning of creameries and in chasing members of the Sinn Fein organization.

Q. That was pretty much done by the military and the Black-and-Tans? A. Yes, by the military and the Black-and-Tans.

Q. Commissioner Wood: You saw some of this, did you? A. Yes, sir.

SUCH CONDUCT SEVERELY PUNISHED IN AMERICAN ARMY

Q. Commissioner Maurer: If you were in the army and went out on an expedition of some kind and had shot into houses and shot cattle and that sort of thing, what would have been the result to you as a soldier? A. Why, I would have been arrested and tried by court-martial and sentenced to Leavenworth or Alcatraz in California.

Q. When you were on the Border you never saw such actions?

A. No, sir; it never happened.

Q. It never happened. And you are satisfied that if any American soldier behaved in such a way, he would be punished? A. Yes, sir; he would certainly be punished.

SOFT-POINT BULLETS USED BY POLICE AND BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you ascertain the character of any of the ammunition that was supplied to the Black-and-Tans? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Relate the circumstances under which you got this information. A. I was speaking to a sergeant at Abbeyfeale,—I will not mention his name,—and I asked him to examine his revolver, and he said I could not do that; and I knew that, because he was on patrol. And he said, "I will let you examine the ammunition." And I said, "What was it?" It was a .45, and the bullets, instead of being pointed at the end like ours, they were flat.

Q. Commissioner Wood: They were flat-end, Mr. Broderick? A. Yes, sir; shaped something like this. Do you want to see it? (Producing bullet as exhibit.)

Q. And they were soft lead? A. Yes, sir; soft lead bullets.

Q. From your own experience, what would be the character of the wound inflicted by that bullet? A. Why, I should think that it was moulded in that way to rip more and do more damage than the ordinary type of bullet, because when this strikes a bone it will spread and flatten out; and even when it only strikes the flesh, it will flatten out and enlarge all the more and tear its way through.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you see any of that same type of ammunition anywhere else? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where was this? A. In Abbeyfeale. I asked a Black-and-Tan to see his ammunition, and he had the same thing, the flat-nose bullets. And I asked him if that was the kind of ammunition supplied to the military in Ireland. And he said yes, that the army of occupation is armed with this. This is revolver ammunition. (Indicating.)

Q. Commissioner Howe: Is this what is known as the dum-dum bullet? A. I don't think so. You can make a dum-dum bullet out of an ordinary bullet by putting a few notches in the end, so that it will spread out when it hits a bone.

Q. That is, a dum-dum bullet can be made out of an ordinary kind of bullet by notching the end? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you seen any bullets of this kind over here? A. No, sir; not on this side of the water.

Q. Major Newman: Were those bullets milled that way? Or are they moulded? A. Yes, sir, they are moulded like that.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Those were lead instead of steel? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Chairman Howe: Had you any other information that this kind of ammunition was used in other places than this town? A. No, sir; this was the only town I had a chance to find out.

Q. Commissioner Howe: These were both Black-and-Tans? A. No. One was a Black-and-Tan and the other was an R. I. C. man.

Q. Mr. Manly: You were known in that town by that time? A. Yes, I had been there for two months.

Q. You had become known there then, so that they got to talk to you in a friendly sort of way? A. Yes, I talked to them in a friendly sort of way, because I had no animosity against the men.

Q. You visited Dublin also? A. Yes, I visited Dublin for seven days. The military were very much in evidence there. Armored cars patrolled the streets. I saw the military searching several people on the streets on several occasions.

Q. Commissioner Wood: In the day time? A. Yes, sir.

UNRESTRAINED LOOTING OF SHOPS

Q. Major Newman: A little while ago, in response to one of the questions, you said that you personally had knowledge of looting. A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that at Abbeyfeale? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: Will you describe the circumstances in connection with the looting that you saw? A. Well, I saw it when I was in a store there one evening. I was in the kitchen in the back, and I heard some angry words outside. The proprietor of this store

happened to be a widow. There were three Black-and-Tans outside.

Q. Can you give her name? A. No, I do not know the names of those men.

Q. I say, can you give the widow's name? A. Yes, Mrs. Macauley. And those men,—one of them was helping himself to whatever was inside the counter and passing it out to the two fellows who were outside, and the widow was standing by and watching.

Q. Did she protest? A. She did. She protested, but they said they would take what they wanted; that they deserved it. So they took some soap and took a ham and three or four cases of cigarettes.

Q. By that you mean cartons, large boxes? A. Yes, cartons. And a box of cigars. And then they left, and said she should be very glad that they did not take the money that was in the cash register. And besides, they had several drinks there before leaving.

Q. In there? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the drink? A. It was stout,—Guinness' stout.

Q. Major Newman: Did they pay for the drinks? A. No, sir. I was in a store on another occasion, and two Black-and-Tans came into the saloon. I was there getting some photographs for my brother and sister who were coming to this country, and the photographs happened to be left in this house. And I was waiting there for them to be completed when those two Black-and-Tans came in and ordered two drinks, one a whiskey and the other man a bottle of porter. They drank it, and there was no money coming up. And they ordered two more. They got them, and she demanded the price. They said they did not have to pay for the four drinks; that they could take all they wanted anyhow. And then they walked out.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were there any other cases of looting that you know of personally? A. Yes, I was in Brosna, County of Kerry, just about four days before I left for home.

Q. That is, about four days before you returned to the United States? A. Yes. And it seemed that three military trucks full of military had been there the day before (it was on a Saturday), and had looted several stores there. One of the people who were affected by this I was speaking to at that time,—a party by the name of Morrissey, and he was telling me that they had taken from him shoes and stockings and underwear and tobacco and cigarettes. Then I was in another place there, Murphy's, and there they took some money that was in the cash register, and also helped themselves to some drink. And when they were through drinking, they turned on the faucets on the porter barrels and the whiskey barrels and let them run. They looted five stores altogether.

Q. Is it a general condition that the Black-and-Tans refuse to pay for drink, or are these isolated cases? A. Well, the regular garrison in the towns in most cases will pay for what they get, but these raiding parties and those fellows riding in those motor trucks

do most of this destruction and most of the looting. The regular garrisons are not as bad as the others.

MILITARY MANUFACTURE EVIDENCE TO CONVICT REPUBLICANS

Q. Did you talk to any Dublin police while you were in Dublin?

A. Yes, I spoke to several of the Dublin police.

Q. They were members of the Metropolitan Police? A. Yes. Some of the men I spoke to had been on the force for a period of from twenty-five to twenty-eight years.

Q. They police the city of Dublin, as I understand it. A. Yes, they police the streets, and confine themselves to regular police duties.

Q. Are they armed? A. No, sir. I spoke to several of those men, and talked about raids. And they told me that most of the evidence got up to convict certain parties, certain Sinn Feiners or members of the Irish Republican Army, was manufactured evidence by the military; that when a military raiding party went to a house, they split up, and one party would go into a room, and another party into the next room; and one party would plant some ammunition or maybe a revolver underneath the pillow or underneath the mattress. They would leave that room, and proceed to the next place, while the party in the next room would be waiting, and go into this room and find the manufactured evidence, thereby getting evidence to convict the party.

Q. Who was it told you this? I don't want you to give his name if you think it would endanger his life. A. I will not give this party's name. There were two or three officers I spoke to, all old members.

Q. Had you known them from your previous visits there? A. Yes, I had known them from former years.

Q. These were personal friends? A. Yes, personal friends. It seems that they had got this information from military officers who had taken part in those raids.

Q. They were members of the Metropolitan Police themselves? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they participate in those raids? A. No, sir. The military are reinforced by the Black-and-Tans, and they do all this raiding. I could not say if the G Division of the Dublin Metropolitan Police took part in those raids.

Q. Major Newman: These statements about manufactured evidence were given to you by whom? A. By members of the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

SUPERIOR EFFICIENCY OF SINN FEIN COURTS

Q. Mr. Manly: Were the Sinn Fein courts in action while you were in Ireland? A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the district in which you were? A. Yes, sir; right in the immediate neighborhood where I lived there. There were two cases tried in Sinn Fein courts and settled satisfactorily while I was there.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you hear those cases? A. No, sir.

Senator Walsh: I would suggest, Mr. Manly, that the witness be confined to facts of his own knowledge.

Q. Mr. Manly: How did those facts become known to you? A. I interviewed the people, the plaintiff and defendant in this land case, and it was settled satisfactorily to both parties.

Q. What was the character of the case, as the plaintiff and defendant told you? A. Why, the case was where a brother and sister were on this certain farm. The brother got married, and—

Senator Walsh: Wait a moment. Mr. Manly, we do not want to curtail the inquiry, but is not his evidence sufficient, that two cases have been tried and tried satisfactorily, without going into details, don't you think?

Mr. Manly: I am personally willing to dismiss the matter if the Commission wishes to do so, but I thought the Commission might wish to get some more definite information about the character of cases handled in these courts. And in this particular case (to witness):

Q. Is it true that this court quickly determined a case that had been in the British courts for a long time? A. Yes, sir; it had been in the British courts for about two years; and finally it was tried in the Sinn Fein court, and it was settled satisfactorily to both parties.

Q. And you interviewed the plaintiff and defendant? A. Yes, sir; both parties.

Q. And they had taken the case voluntarily to this court? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Senator Walsh: It was over the division of land?

Q. Mr. Manly: It was over the division of an estate between a brother and sister? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Senator Walsh: They were relatives of yourself? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: How long was it in the British courts? A. About two years.

Q. How long in the Sinn Fein courts? A. About a week.

Q. It took about a week to dispose of it in the Sinn Fein courts, and about two years in the British courts? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Chairman Howe: Were the parties represented by lawyers? A. I don't think so, because if it is known that the Sinn Fein courts are to be held, naturally there will be a raid.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were there any British courts held at Abbeyfeale? A. No, there were no British courts held in that neighborhood, as far as I could see. The courthouse was closed.

Q. But these Sinn Fein courts were held there regularly? A. Yes, sir, every week.

Q. Chairman Howe: Did the people know generally that they were sitting? A. Well, those concerned knew that they were sitting. The people know they are sitting, but they do not know exactly the location.

Q. Why do not the Black-and-Tans know they are sitting? A. Why, because the people do not see fit to give them any information.

PEOPLE ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY BEHIND REPUBLIC

Q. Were there no informers? A. Well, in the neighborhood from which I come from there were not.

Q. Is that generally true? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And an army of occupation is unable to get any information from the people themselves? A. They might get the information from other parties, as far as I know, but I never heard of any case of where the people themselves informed.

Q. You never heard of any case of informers? A. No, sir. There may have been informers in a city like Dublin, but not in Abbeyfeale.

Q. So the Irish people do not give one another away? A. No, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: Is that section where you were sympathetic with the Sinn Fein movement? A. Sympathetic?

Q. Yes. A. Yes, sir, about 99 per cent.

Q. And the other 1 per cent.? A. They were lukewarm in their views.

ASYLUM PATIENTS TERRIFIED BY REPEATED RAIDS

Q. Do you know of any raids that occurred on asylums or workhouses while you were there? A. Yes, I spoke to a nurse in a workhouse¹ in Newcastle West, and she said that the military had been there several times searching for arms and also for possible Sinn Fein patients who might be there suffering from gunshot wounds. And they turned the place into an awful confusion and terrified all the patients.

Q. Commissioner Wood: They came there searching for Sinn Feiners who had been wounded? A. Yes, also for arms.

¹ The British workhouse is not a penal institution but an almshouse.

TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS, SEARCHES, AND CONFISCATIONS

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you also experience any restrictions on travel? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Without going into details, just give their general character. A. Well, the first evening, I was going south from Dublin, and missed my train from Tralee to Abbeyfeale. There was only one train running a day, and so I had to take a taxi home. It is a distance of over thirty miles, between thirty and forty miles. And just outside the town of Tralee I noticed a patrol stationed along the road at distances from eighteen to twenty-five yards. And when we came up to the first patrol, he pressed his rifle to the driver's head and told him to stop, and told me to get out and to put my hands up, and began searching me before I could say a word, and before I could tell him that I was an American citizen. When I did tell him that I was an American and had my passport there, he said, "I don't give a damn if you are the American President, we are going to search your baggage if you never get on." This was about six o'clock in the evening, and we had about forty miles to go to get home.

Q. Did you show him your passport? A. Yes; he showed it to another member of the patrol.

Q. Did they search your baggage? A. Yes. I had to unlock my baggage and it was searched right there in the road. It took about twenty minutes.

Q. And your person was searched? A. Yes, my person was searched. Do you want any other instances?

Q. Are automobiles permitted to go freely around the country? A. No, there are great restrictions on automobiles. I was told before I left by several automobile owners that before you can make application for a license, you must have the machine bought and in your possession; and if the local military authorities do not see fit to give you a license, they can commandeer your car. And when I left there an automobile could not travel any more than twenty miles, within a radius of twenty miles, from its garage.

Q. What is the condition of the Irish railways? What was the condition at the time you left? Were they running? A. Well, they were running, but not very well. In some places there was only one train a day on certain lines.

Q. So that the only method of travel left is by automobile,—that is, quick travel? A. Yes, by automobile for quick travel.

Q. And that is restricted to twenty miles? A. Yes. If you want to go further you have to transfer.

Q. Commissioner Wood: How did you get that forty miles? A. What is that?

Q. You said you had to go forty miles to get home, and automobiles could only go twenty miles from their garage. A. Well, that was before this was passed.

Q. Mr. Manly: How long ago was this? A. About a month or six weeks ago.

Q. Previous to that you could go more than twenty miles, but you were in danger of having your car confiscated? A. Yes, there were some cases where automobile owners had their cars confiscated by the military, and brought back to them wrecks, and no effort made to compensate them. In one case I was speaking to a particular taxi owner, and he had his car confiscated by the military and never returned.

Q. Where was this? A. In Abbeyfeale.

Q. Do you know the name of the owner? A. Yes, sir. His name was Danagher. And this car was never returned, and no effort made to compensate him for the loss of the car.

DESTRUCTION OF CREAMERIES

Q. Now, are there any other things of which you know that you think would be valuable to this inquiry that we have not covered? A. Well, there was a regular destruction of creameries going on over there.

Mr. Manly: I think that has been fairly well covered by a previous witness.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Did you see any of them yourself?

A. I was speaking to several Volunteers.

Q. Whom? Volunteers? A. Yes, several Volunteers.

Q. Of the Irish Republican Army? A. Of the Irish Republican Army. They told me that the military came up and deliberately and maliciously set fire to this creamery.

REPEATED SEARCHES IMPEDE TRAVEL

Q. Mr. Manly: Are there any other matters of which you were an eye-witness that you think you ought to speak of? A. Well, except what happened to myself.

Q. What was that? A. I cycled one time to Limerick. If you do not have a bicycle, you are out of luck over there now, for you will have to walk.

Q. What was the occasion of your making this trip to Limerick? A. Well, I had to get a local passport. You had to register with the County Inspector, and you got something like this (producing paper).

Q. That is the local passport issued to you? A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Wood: That is necessary to travel in Ireland? A. Yes, if you are to stay over two months in the country. Well,

all the way to Limerick I met military trucks, and they seemed to want to take all the road. I would give them all the road, and they would pull in close to me and cover me with mud. I met several patrols, and every one of them stopped me and searched me. I had a white shirt when I started, but before I got there it was black from their handling of me. I had a small kodak, a Brownie Number Two, in the pocket of my overcoat thrown over my handlebars; and they even made me take that apart to see if it contained arms.

Q. Did you have your American passport? A. Yes; if I did not have that, I think I would have received rough handling. And when I showed that, they appeared very antagonistic to me.

MARK OF RESPECT FOR DEAD FORBIDDEN

Q. Were you in any of the towns the day that the hunger strikers died? A. Yes, sir; I was in Abbeyfeale.

Q. What did the people of Abbeyfeale do? A. In order to show their respect for the dead, they put up the shutters to the windows. They did this when Fitzgerald died.

Q. He was one of the hunger strikers who died in Cork previous to the death of the Lord Mayor of the city? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What happened then? A. The Black-and-Tans came around about twelve o'clock. They came and ordered all the people to take down their shutters under penalty of having their premises burned and themselves shot. I was in Newcastle the day that Lord Mayor MacSwiney died, and the cadets there—

Q. Who are the cadets? A. They are formed from ex-soldiers of the British army.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Are they members of the British army?

A. They operate separately.

Q. Senator Walsh: That is what is called the auxiliary force?

A. I think so.

Q. Mr. Manly: Do you know what their duties are? A. They go on raiding parties.

Q. Senator Walsh: What did you see them do this day? A. I saw them tear the shutters off the houses there in several cases. In one house,—it was a widow with a large family, and she said she did not have anybody to take down the shutters, and they went in and took down the shutters, and threw them out in the street instead of placing them against the walls,—they threw them out in the street in Newcastle. Also, they told the people to take down their shutters under penalty of having their property burned.

Q. Commissioner Wood: And these shutters were put up out of respect for Lord Mayor MacSwiney? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: They put up these shutters to show their respect for the Lord Mayor on the occasion of his death? A. Yes, sir.

SEARCHED THIRTY-THREE TIMES IN THREE MONTHS

Q. Senator Walsh: You were in Ireland how long? A. I was in Ireland about three months.

Q. How many times were you subjected, in your home or on the roads or on the streets, to being searched? A. I never was searched in my home.

Q. But how many times on the streets and roads,—accurately, now? A. I was searched about thirty-three times.

Q. How many times was a revolver displayed to you?—pointed at you? A. Twice, I think. Yes, on two occasions.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Pointed at you? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did you see other people held up by revolvers? A. Yes, sir. I have seen lots of other people held up by revolvers and rifles with fixed bayonets.

Q. Men or women? A. Men and women.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: As a soldier, what would you think of a man that would hold up an unarmed man or women or children with a gun? A. I would think that he would be a poor type of man and soldier.

Q. Would you care to go into a real battle with that kind of a man? A. Would I care to go into battle with him?

Q. Yes, would you care to have such a man fighting with you in a real battle? A. I would not care to do so, because it would not be safe.

A COUNTRY OF WIDOWS

Q. Now, every witness speaks of widow so-and-so, and this widow and that widow. Everyone speaks of the widows over there. What becomes of the men? A. Why, the majority of them are shot. That is about all I can say.

Q. It seems like there is a campaign of annihilation, does it? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were they widows of men killed in the great war, or during the present trouble? A. Both.

Q. Senator Walsh: I suppose the British troops claim that the women help the men conceal themselves and their arms, and that is why they justify themselves in holding up women and children. A. Yes, sir.

Commissioner Maurer: It seems to me that they would not have to use a gun with a fixed bayonet to hold up women or children.

Senator Walsh: I was not considering the necessity. I was only getting at the motive.

Mr. Manly: Thank you very much.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

Adjournment 4:48 P. M.

FOURTH HEARINGS ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Session Three

Before the Commission, sitting in the Hotel LaFayette, Washington, D. C., Thursday, December 23, 1920. Acting Chairman Howe presiding.

10:15 A. M.

Chairman Howe: The sessions will begin.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. MICHAEL MOHAN

Q. Mr. Basil M. Manly: Will you state your name to the Commission? A. Mrs. Michael Mohan.

Q. And where do you reside? A. 33 West Hayes Avenue, Corona, Long Island.

Q. Where were you born? A. Ireland.

Q. At Queenstown? A. Yes.

Q. How old were you when you came to the United States?
A. Eighteen.

Q. Your husband is an American citizen? A. Yes.

Q. Were you married in the United States? A. Yes.

Q. When did you last visit Ireland? A. I landed on May thirtieth of this year on the *Baltic*.

Q. And what was the purpose of your visit? A. To visit my parents.

Q. And where do you reside? A. The Hill House, Queens-town.

Q. And how long were you in Ireland? A. Six months.

Q. You returned when? A. I left there November fourth.

Q. Your father's business is a large general store business?
A. Yes, a grocery, wine, and spirit business.

Q. Like all the other stores in Ireland, they combine these things? A. Yes.

Q. So that there are a great many people going and coming?
A. Yes, all the time. That is how I came in touch with so much over there.

CONDITIONS IN QUEENSTOWN

Q. What were the conditions when you went to Queenstown?
A. Well, it was not so very bad then. Of course, there was a large number of soldiers there.

Q. Were raids being conducted then? A. No, not for a short time after I landed.

Q. Were houses being searched? A. Yes, they were continually being searched then.

Q. But no property was destroyed? A. No, no property was being destroyed.

Q. About when did raids and violence seem to begin in Queens-town? A. About the end of June.

Q. How many brothers have you? A. Two living.

Q. Do they reside at your father's house? A. They have not been home for two months. One is twenty and the other is twenty-one.

Q. They are on the run? A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Because they are Sinn Feiners? Did someone try to arrest them? A. Oh, yes; even shot at the younger one.

Mr. Manly: We will bring out some specific instances that relate to those matters.

RAIDERS INSULT AMERICAN FLAG

Q. What was the first large raid,—what was the date? A. August 27th.

Q. Will you tell about the occurrences on that night? A. Yes. On the night of August 27th the Volunteers came up and told everybody to put their lights out, and told everybody to clear off the streets.

Q. What reason did the Volunteers give? A. Because they were raiding down town,—the soldiers and police.

Q. They brought the message? A. Yes, they always do when those raids are on.

Q. About what time was that? A. It was about ten o'clock when they came and told everybody to get off the streets and put their lights out. But before that we heard them firing down the street. And being an American citizen, I put out the American flag for protection. And when they got to The Hill House they stopped and one of them said, "Come here, lads. Tear down this damned American flag and trample on it." He tried to climb up the pedestal, but they could not do it, and finally had to give it up. So the next day I went down to the American Consul there and told him about it.

Q. Do you know the name of the American Consul there? A. Mr. Adams or Andrews. And I reported it to the commanding officer up to the Belmont Hutments.

Q. What are the Belmont Hutments? A. The place where the soldiers are. He said that the only satisfaction he could give me

was that they were drunken soldiers. And I said, "That is very little satisfaction." And he said, "Well, you know they hate Americans as much as they hate the Irish." I said, "Will you cable the news across?" And he said they would not send the cable.

Q. Who would not send the cable? A. The English. They would censor it. But he said I might send the news to my husband and he could publish it in this country. And I did send the word, but he did not publish it because I might be shot for sending it to him, he feared.

WINDOWS DEMOLISHED IN QUEENSTOWN

The next night there was another raid on, and I wanted some protection, and called up the American Consul. And the Consul said, "You are living in a British house as a guest, and the only protection I can give you is to come down to the Consulate office."

Q. What happened that night? A. They went down to the business part of town and smashed up the Rob Roy Hotel, and wrecked everything they could find.

Q. What is the Rob Roy Hotel? A. It is a very large hotel there. Oh, I didn't tell you that when they tried to tear down the American flag and could not get it because it was up too high, they smashed in the two big plate-glass windows of my father's house. Then they went up to Bishop Street—

Q. Were windows smashed all through Queenstown that night? A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether these bodies of men were Black-and-Tans? A. There were a couple of Black-and-Tans and a couple of R. I. C. with them, and also a couple of officers, and the rest were soldiers. I should say that there was an officer with each batch of twenty or thirty, with each batch that came.

RAIDERS COMMANDED BY BRITISH OFFICERS

Q. Major Newman: Were they officers of the army or of the Black-and-Tans? A. Oh, officers of the army, because nobody wants to command the Black-and-Tans. The D. I.,—District Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary,—does not want to recognize them, and the military officers do not want to admit that they belong to them.

Q. And you saw British officers in command of these raiding parties? A. Yes, British officers with their caps off.

Q. Mr. Manly: You could tell them by their uniforms? A. Oh, yes, yes.

Q. Senator Norris: Will you tell us just what they did? Or what did they try to do, that night at your father's house? A. Well,

they came along in front of the house, and one of them saw the American flag I had hung out, and he said, "Come on, boys. Tear down that damn American flag." And then they tried to climb up this side-post, this wooden pedestal, but they could not get up there.

Q. How high was it? A. About as high as those lights there (indicating bracket lights in room).

ADMIRALTY MARINES DISPERSE RAIDERS

Q. And then what did they do? A. They went up to Bishop Street to get into some houses there. When the doors would not open, they fired stones through the windows onto the beds.

Q. What happened then? A. The Admiralty chased them off then,—the Admiralty Marines.

Q. Commissioner Addams: The British Admiralty Marines? A. Yes.

Q. Senator Norris: Then this raid did not have the sanction of the Admiralty? A. Well, the navy is far superior to the army. But still those men kept up their yelling and making a disturbance. You see, they had to go past our house to get back.

HOW THE IRISH ARMY SECURES ARMS

Q. What were the incidents that led up to these raids? A. The Volunteers had made a raid on a place called The Quarry, a few minutes' walk from my home.

Q. How did that happen? A. There were about twenty or thirty guns stacked up in the court,—guns left from the great war. There were some Volunteers attacked it to get them,—some of them were armed and some were not. And the soldier guarding them did not want to give them up; so the Volunteers fired at him and wounded him in the leg, but not seriously.

Q. Major Newman: When did that occur? A. On the 25th, Friday night,—because it was pay night and they were all drunk.

Q. Senator Norris: This raid on your father's house occurred on the 27th? A. Yes.

Q. And when you speak of the Volunteers you mean the Irish Republican Army? A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Manly: Who was in charge of these soldiers who had their arms taken away from them? A. There was nobody responsible for them at the time.

Q. Where was the officer who was supposed to be in charge of them? A. They were playing tennis at the time. And after this happened they ran to him and told him. And he ran to the head of Bishop Street and fired into the houses. I saw the marks myself. This officer was going around like a madman waving his revolver and firing,—going around on crutches, for he was partly paralyzed.

Q. Do you know his name? A. No, I do not.

Q. Did he hit any women or children? A. No, he did not.

Q. Major Newman: Did you see the raid by the Volunteers?
A. No, I did not see them, but I know they were after those guns.

Q. Senator Norris: I suppose that is the way the members of the Volunteer army get their guns? A. Yes, it is.

Q. That is the only way they have of arming themselves,— capturing guns from the British? A. Yes, capturing guns from the British, and then fighting them with them.

BROTHERS ARRESTED, HANDCUFFED, AND SHOT

Q. Mr. Manly: About this time did you take a motor trip?
A. Yes, that was a few days later.

Q. About what time was that? A. About the 29th.

Q. The 29th of August? A. Yes. About two days later I was motoring through Midleton, which is about five miles from Queens- town, and I saw them arresting two young men by the name of Buckley, brothers; and they were both in the lorry and handcuffed as well; and they drove them a little way outside of Midleton—

Q. Major Newman: Who was arresting them? A. The Cameron Highlanders, a Scottish regiment.

Q. Were there Scotch regiments there? A. Yes, in Midleton.

Q. And you saw them arrest these men? A. Yes. And they drove them a short way outside the town, and strapped them together and shot them both. One died and the other lived.

Q. Where did you get that information? A. I got it from two other Volunteers.

Q. Did you know these Buckley boys? A. No.

Q. But you saw them arresting them? A. Yes.

Q. What explanation did they give? A. The officer in charge of them said that they were trying to escape out of the lorry. But they were handcuffed together and surrounded by thirty soldiers at the time, and they could not possibly escape.

Q. I would like to get the source of that information.¹ A. Do I have to tell the names of the parties who told me? I don't want to blacken them.

Q. Did you hear this from his people? A. The boy who was not yet dead told about it, and I got it from the friend to whom he told it.

Q. They were tied together and shot? A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Did you say these two boys were handcuffed together and shot? A. Yes. I saw them put into the lorry handcuffed.

¹ See affidavit of surviving brother, Bartholomew Buckley, and Index.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were they handcuffed together then? A. No.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: And their hands were handcuffed together this way (indicating)? A. Yes.

Q. And where did they take them then? A. They took them away, as usual, to put them in prison if they do not shoot them meanwhile.

Q. You have no idea whether it was a day or two days after this when they were shot? A. No, no, it was the same afternoon.

Q. How far from there were their bodies found? A. Oh, they were taken over to the barracks by the soldiers.

Q. Major Newman: And was there an official reason given for this? A. Yes, that they were trying to escape out of the lorry. There is always some reason given for it.

MISDEEDS NOT PUNISHED BUT CONDONED

Q. Was there an official inquiry about it? A. I don't know. You do not hear what is happening in the police-barracks there. They are all the time fighting and scrapping with each other there, and you hear very little about what happens there.

Q. But during the time you were in Queenstown, for some six months, did you hear of any punishment of any private soldier or police officer or Black-and-Tan in any way? A. No, none. The only thing is that Lloyd George says that it is hard to blame them; that the men are provoked a lot and lose their heads.

Q. But no satisfaction was given to the people of Queenstown for the losses they suffered from these raids? A. No, none whatever.

FOUR RAIDS ON FATHER'S HOME

Q. How many raids on your father's house were made while you were there? A. There were four raids while I was there.

Q. Can you give the exact dates? A. No, I cannot give the exact dates, but I know about when they occurred.

Q. When was the first one? A. The first one was when I was home about three weeks. It would be about the first week in June.

Q. Will you name the particular incidents on that occasion? A. Well, my two brothers happened to be in that afternoon, and they searched both of them, and searched my father; and then the soldiers went upstairs to search the rooms. But they did not arrest anybody that time; and one of the soldiers said to my brother, "We do not like the job we have to do here. We didn't join the army to do like this." And my brother said, "If you don't like your job, why don't you throw your coat off?"

Q. When did that raid occur,—what time? A. Three or four in the afternoon.

Q. When was the next raid? A. The next raid was about one o'clock in the morning.

Q. About what month? A. June or July, I could not say exactly.

Q. About how long after the first raid? A. Two weeks; two or three weeks.

Q. What were the general incidents of that raid? A. Well, that raid they came up to the house—

Q. Senator Norris: How did they get in the house? A. They knocked at the door, and my father put his head out—of course, there are lorries rattling by and firing going on all night, and you cannot sleep very well. My father put his head out and said, "Who is there?" And they said, "Police and soldiers. Open the door!" And he said, "All right." They hardly gave him time to dress, and he went downstairs and let them in. And they said, "Where are your boys?" And he said, "They are not home." And then they came upstairs and searched the rooms. On one occasion they searched my bureau drawers.

Q. At this time did you get up? A. Of course I got up. We got up, with soldiers lining the stairs and bayonets sticking into our noses.

Q. About how many of them came in? A. There were about twenty of them came in, and some remained outside the house,—about thirty of them altogether.

AN ATTEMPT TO MANUFACTURE EVIDENCE

Q. Did they search your clothing? A. Yes, they searched the drawers and clothes and everything. And a Sergeant Driscoll dropped a half-dozen bullets on the floor, and my father called his attention to them; and the sergeant in charge, he was a decent fellow,—there are some decent fellows among them,—he called his attention to it and said, "Those are your cartridges." And at the time he was making over to my brother's overcoat.

Q. Mr. Manly: He had them in his hand? A. Yes, he had them in his hands. And as I learned afterwards, they had no right to have bullets in their hands, because their revolvers are already loaded.

Q. Did he seem confused? A. Yes, terribly confused. He didn't mean to drop them. He was going to put them into the pocket of my brother's overcoat.

Q. Senator Norris: Did they give you time to dress? A. No, no time to dress. My mother always sleeps in her clothes.

Q. And they got you all out of bed in your night clothes? A. Yes, yes. I sleep with a coat over my nightgown.

Q. What excuse did they give for searching like that in the

middle of the night? A. They said they were searching for my brothers and for ammunition.

Q. What kind of language did they use,—were they gentlemanly? A. Yes, they were all right that night.

Q. Major Newman: Who were in charge of them that night?

A. This Sergeant Driscoll was in charge of the police, and the Cameron Highlanders' officer was in charge of the military.

Q. Did this Cameron officer call this sergeant, this Sergeant Driscoll's attention to the bullets that he dropped? A. Yes, he did.

Q. What did he say? A. He said, "They are your bullets. Pick them up." He did not like it, and I suppose he got it afterwards.

Q. How many raids were there on your father's house after that? A. There were only two. The next was on a holiday. My mother was going to eight o'clock Mass, and she saw them enter the house when she was coming back.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were there any particular incidents connected with that raid? A. Yes, they found a Sinn Fein flag in my bureau drawer, and they said, "Whose is that?" And I said, "It is mine." And he said, "Where did you get it?" And I said, "In America. It is mine, and I will show you a better one." And I showed him a Saint Patrick's Day badge made in New York. And he said, "What do you want that for?" And I said, "We are all Sinn Feiners over there."

Q. Senator Norris: What time was that? A. About eight o'clock in the morning. My mother was just coming back from Mass.

PERSONAL INDIGNITIES

Q. Did they empty out the bureau drawers? A. Yes, of course they did. And they never take the trouble to put them back. The last time they asked my mother for my brothers' photographs, and she gave them photographs of them when they were about twelve years old. And he said, "They are a bit older than that now." And he cut out the pictures and threw them on the floor.

Q. Did any personal indignities happen to you? A. Yes. One day my sister and I were out bathing at Cuskinny—

Q. It is near Queenstown? A. Yes, it is about a mile out. It is the regular bathing beach. We were out bathing there and we saw an officer and a soldier. And they came on down; and as soon as we saw them we got right out of the water and sat on the beach, and got some of our clothes on. And they went down where we were, and they stripped stark naked and went in bathing right in front of us. And then they whistled at us, and said, "Come on, girls." And we turned our backs to them. And then they got out

and came up towards us. And we set two big dogs on them that were with us.

Q. Major Newman: Who were these men? You say one of them was an officer? A. Yes, an officer of the Cameron Highlanders.

Q. How did you know? A. By the uniform that he wore.

PEOPLE SEEK REFUGE IN CEMETERY

Q. Mr. Manly: Where do the women and children go during these raids? A. They go to the Christian Brothers' College, and the Sisters of Mercy, and take their blankets with them. And then a lot of them go to the graveyard. One old man named Moore goes and sleeps there on the grave of his wife night after night. A lot of them do that.

Q. A lot of them sleep in the graveyard? A. Yes, a lot of them sleep in the graveyard, even during pouring rain. I used to get up and go to early Mass, and I have seen them coming out of there in the morning.

TROOPS TERRORIZE PEOPLE IN ACT OF PRAYER

Q. Mr. Manly: Were there occasions on which there were threats against the people when they were gathered together? A. Oh, yes. They were reciting the rosary in Scott Square.

Q. About how many, a hundred? A. Oh, more than a hundred. At least two hundred people. We were reciting the rosary in Irish.

Q. This was in Scott's Square? A. Yes, in Scott's Square, right under the Market Arch.

Q. What was the occasion for reciting the rosary? A. They were reciting the rosary for the hunger strikers in Cork jail. And then lorries of soldiers came along with those revolving guns.

Q. Machine guns? A. I don't know whether they were machine guns, but they revolved like this (indicating swivel motion). They did not fire them, but they swung them around on the people.

Q. But by revolving guns you mean mounted guns? A. Yes, they are mounted on the lorries, and revolve around in some way.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Like machine guns,—bigger than rifles? A. I don't know whether they were bigger or not, but they stuck out of the lorries in every way.

Q. And they pointed them at the crowd? A. Yes, at the crowd. And then they ran home in every direction.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were there women there? A. Yes, there were. And there were men in the crowd too.

Q. Major Newman: Were these soldiers in the lorries? A. Yes.

Q. Did they say anything? A. No, because they were down at the general postoffice then.

Q. Mr. Manly: About how far away is that? A. About a hun-

dred yards, I should say,—a little further away than the length of this room.

Q. And they were at the general postoffice? A. Yes, opposite Scott's Square.

PETTY TYRANNY IMPOSED BY BAYONET

Q. Do you recall the night that Queenstown was illuminated in honor of the hunger strikers? A. Yes. There was a regiment of these came along, and an old man was standing smoking in front of his door, and a Cameron Highlander ran out of the crowd and said, "Put up your hands, you old so-and-so, or I will run this through you."

Q. He had a fixed bayonet? A. Yes, a fixed bayonet, and he pointed it right at him. I was going this way, and it happened like this (indicating right angle of vision), so that I could see it all. My sister said, "Do not look."

Q. Major Newman: What happened then? A. Well, of course the man put his hands up.

Q. What did he do? A. He searched him.

Q. Did he say anything? A. No, of course not. He only wanted to scare him.

Q. And then he let him go? A. Yes, he did.

SELECT COLLEGE SEARCHED FOR ARMS

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you see the searching of Rockwell College? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Where is Rockwell College? A. It is in Clare.

Q. What did they do there? A. They were looking for rifles; and they tore down the statues.

Q. What is Rockwell College? A. It is a very swell college.

Q. A large number of students? A. Yes.

Q. And you saw them tearing down the statues? A. I saw them standing around where the statues were.

Q. But you did not go in there? A. No. But they held us up in the automobile. That is why I saw so much. They would not let us go on while this raid was going on.

Q. Major Newman: But you did not see them tearing down the statues? A. I saw them standing around the statues, and could not see what they were doing. But we learned afterwards what they were doing there.

Chairman Howe: Do you think all of this is material?

Mr. Manly: Well, Mr. Howe, I think raids on educational institutions have not been developed up to this time, and it is a very important point.

Chairman Howe: I have no objection to that, but we have gone through this detail so many, many times that I do not think it is necessary now.

DISCIPLINE IN IRISH VOLUNTEER ARMY

Q. Mr. Manly: Do you know of any occasion when Volunteers have been disciplined? A. Yes, on one occasion one of them took it into his own hands to shoot at the D. I.—the District Inspector—without getting permission to do it. Those men are usually marked out before they are shot. They are tried in courts beforehand. And this fellow shot at him. Of course the police and soldiers never got him, but the Volunteers found out who did it, and they disciplined him.

Q. Commissioner Addams: What did they do to him? A. They put him in an unknown destination.

Q. Chairman Howe: They sent him out of Queenstown somewhere? A. Yes, they did. Well, this fellow had been on a six or eight-day hunger strike. And when they come out of that, they are apt to do almost anything.

Q. Commissioner Addams: I suppose they are very weak then? A. Yes, and they do not care what they do.

Q. Major Newman: Mr. Manly, could this be more specific?

Q. Mr. Manly (to witness): Can you give the name of the Volunteer? A. Well, I do not want to do that, because those fellows are blackened enough now.

Q. And who was the District Inspector? A. He is the same one who is there now.

Q. And you got this information through your brothers? A. I would not say my brothers. I got it through the Volunteers.

Q. And you do know that there was a trial held, and this man was disciplined, and a specific sentence passed on him? A. Yes, yes.

Q. That he had to leave the Volunteers and leave that vicinity? A. No, he did not leave it; they took him.

Q. Major Newman: What was done to him? A. He was taken to a U. D.—an unknown destination.

Q. He was not killed? A. No, of course they did not kill him. They merely took him off.

Q. Chairman Howe: Why did they do that? A. Because they thought he was a dangerous man.

Q. Major Newman: He might do something to bring discredit on them? A. Yes, yes.

Q. Chairman Howe: Do you know of any more cases of discipline like that? A. Indeed, I cannot recall all those things now; but if I knew I was coming here I could have written down some of them.

Q. Mr. Manly: You mean not within your own knowledge?
A. No, I don't know.

VOLUNTEERS PLEDGED TO SOBRIETY

Q. Do you know anything about the Volunteers being sober?
A. Oh, indeed they are all good, sober men. They are afraid of being shot otherwise. They are good men, living not for themselves alone, but for the nation.

Q. Major Newman: Do the Volunteers take a pledge not to drink? A. Yes, they do.

Q. Do they ever drink? A. Some of them may take a bottle of stout occasionally, but nothing stronger; and most of them are total abstainers.

Q. Do you know the wording of the pledge? A. No, I do not.

Q. Chairman Howe: Is there a special oath for them to take?
A. Oh, indeed. They are very particular about whom they take into the Volunteers. There is an examination about it.

Q. Is there a temperance movement in Ireland now? A. Yes, there is. The British Government wants to keep the public houses open, while the Volunteers want to get them closed. When I was over there ten years ago there were British officials chasing people everywhere who were trying to evade the British liquor laws. But now they do not. The Volunteers only let them keep open from two to five on Sundays.

Q. Commissioner Addams: But the police would never interfere with them if they wanted to keep open longer? A. No, indeed they do not. It is only the Volunteers. The police do not care if they keep open all the time.

INFERIOR CHARACTER OF BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Chairman Howe: As you observed the Black-and-Tans and the police and the military, who were the worst? A. Well, it is hard to say. It is all very terrible now. But the Black-and-Tans are the worst. The old police are pretty temperate fellows.

Q. Did they get along well together? A. Indeed they did not. When they first brought them into the barracks they had regular pitched battles there.

Q. You mean the Royal Irish Constabulary? A. No, the Black-and-Tans?

ALL BUT A HALF-DOZEN HOUSES INJURED

Q. Chairman Howe: How many houses are injured in Queens-town? A. Almost every house. I do not suppose there would be a half dozen that were not smashed up or injured in some way.

Q. You mean every house? A. Yes. As I walked through the streets I could scarcely find a house where the windows were not broken. And it does no good to replace them, because they would only be broken again.

Q. Private as well as business houses? A. Private houses and public houses, yes.

Q. Does that mean the houses of Unionists as well as the others?
A. There are no Unionists.

ENGLISH OFFER REWARDS TO INFORMERS

Q. Are there any informers there? A. Oh, yes, there are some informers there. They find out about them when they raid the mails.

Q. Major Newman: Who raids the mails? A. The Volunteers as well as the other people. They are raiding the mails all the time. There was one fellow called Rushbrook. About thirty soldiers were taking the mails from Cork to Queenstown station, and the Volunteers raided them and took the mail bags away. And they found one spy who was getting thirty pounds for sending information. And then at night there were police going around with rubber soles on their shoes and slipping circulars under the doors offering rewards for giving information. They put them under the doors at night while the people are in bed. They can give their own private code, and if the information proves satisfactory, then they are paid for it.

Q. Chairman Howe: Have you one of those circulars? A. I haven't one with me. I am sorry, but I think I can send it to you.

A SINN FEIN COURT IN SESSION

Q. Did you ever see a Sinn Fein court in session? Have you ever attended one? A. Yes, yes. Some people found in the river near the passage two stolen trunks which belonged to emigrants, and they went to the Volunteers to find out who stole them.

Q. Who presided,—a judge presided? A. Yes, there was.

Q. Who was he? A. He was a sergeant in the Volunteers.

Q. How was he selected? A. He was sitting down there, and was just asked to take charge, as far as I could see.

Q. Was there a jury? A. Yes, there was.

Q. How were they selected? A. They got them from those there.

Q. Were there any lawyers? A. No, I don't think so.

Senator Norris: They probably got justice then.

Q. Chairman Howe: Did they find the trunks? A. Yes, they did. They found them down near White Point.

Q. And did they find the people who stole them? A. They did.

Q. And what sentence did they get? A. They were sent to an unknown destination.

Q. Is that the general penalty? A. Well, it might be worse if the offense is worse.

Q. But the usual punishment is social ostracism? A. Yes, they are not allowed to remain in the community. They are taken away.

Q. The people do not go into the British court? A. No, they do not. If there is any money due people over there, they give the case in to the Sinn Fein courts, and they collect the money for them.

Q. And the people know who the officers of the Sinn Fein courts are? A. Yes, they do.

Q. Do the British authorities know who they are? A. Indeed they do. They are after them all the time.

Q. And the people do obey the courts, do they? A. They do obey the Volunteers. If they are told to shut up their public houses, they do shut up.

Q. And what happens if they do not obey? A. They get what is coming to them.

Q. And do you know what is coming to them? A. I don't know everything.

Q. Major Newman: And are the people allowed to come back at the end of their time,—the people who are sent away? A. Yes, they do.

Q. How long is the sentence? A. They do not know. Nobody knows that. When they ought to come back they are brought back.

Chairman Howe: This is the most ideal system of jurisprudence that I know anything about.

Q. Do the officials of the court get paid? A. No, not in the local courts.

Q. Is there very much litigation in these courts? Do they sit almost continually? A. Yes, they do. But they cannot have it in the same place. They have to hold the court in different places. They met in a club house when I saw them.

Q. Do the British authorities raid these courts? A. They do. They do. At nights, before the soldiers come along, the Volunteers go around and arrest men who are not sober.

Q. Major Newman: You saw them doing that? A. Yes, I saw them. They took them into the old school house,—the old national school. I saw a couple of fellows being taken in there, taken on the "frogs' march" to the school.

PEOPLE REFUSE TO PAY ENGLISH TAXES

Q. Commissioner Howe: Do the people pay any taxes in Queens-town now? A. Well, they refuse to pay taxes to the British Government until their property is fixed up.

Q. Do they pay taxes to the Sinn Fein Government? A. Well, they pay taxes to the Sinn Fein courts if they are assessed against them.

Q. But they have no rates, no regular revenue? A. No, I don't think so. In fact, I heard them say they would not pay any more rates until their property was fixed up again.

Q. So the political life in Queenstown is voluntary? A. Yes, not only in Queenstown, but all over Ireland.

DESTRUCTION UNIVERSAL THROUGHOUT IRELAND

Q. And this picture of Queenstown is general, is it? A. Yes, there is not a village that is not like it throughout Ireland.

Q. Throughout Ireland? A. Yes, throughout Ireland. Property and the farms are just going to the ground. They are just trying to starve the people. They will have a terrible winter.

Chairman Howe: I thank you very much indeed. And if you can send any of the printed material that you have, please send it to Mr. Manly.

The Witness: If I can find that document, I will send it.

Mr. Manly: If you have any other printed documents about Queenstown, please send them on.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF JOHN CHARLES CLARKE

Q. Mr. Manly: Your name is John Charles Clarke? A. Yes.

Q. And you are living now temporarily with Mrs. Mohan at the same address,—Corona, Long Island? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where were you born, Mr. Clarke? A. I was born in Ireland.

Q. How old were you when you left Ireland? A. Twenty years.

Q. Were you educated there, Mr. Clarke? A. Yes, in the Christian Brothers' School, Monaghan, County Armagh.

Q. When did you come to the United States? A. September, 1903.

Q. Are you an American citizen? A. I am.

Q. When did you become an American citizen? A. In 1909.

Q. What has been the general character of your employment, without giving all the places that you have been employed, in the United States? A. I worked in the White Sewing Machine Company as an assembler for seven years. I worked as a chauffeur, and then as an inspector of munitions. I am now working as a watchman on the pier of the Erie Railroad in the State of New Jersey.

Q. When did you go to Ireland last? A. I sailed from New York on September 15th, and arrived in Ireland September 26th.

Q. This year? A. This year.

Q. What was the purpose of your visit? A. I buried my wife, and I have a boy seven years old, and I wanted to take him to my people, who reside in Queenstown.

Q. You were living with your father-in-law in Cork? A. In Queenstown. Yes, I did. I lived with him for part of the time that I was there.

Q. And where else did you live? A. I lived with Mrs. Mohan's mother, who is my aunt also.

Q. Why were you asked to live with them? A. After Mrs. Mohan left, her mother has heart trouble and is very nervous, and she thought that because I was an American citizen I would be some protection to her. Of course I would leave during the day, but I would stay up there with Mrs. Millwood—that was her name—during the night.

Q. Major Newman: This was in Queenstown? A. In Queenstown, yes.

Q. And you left there on what date? A. I sailed from there on the *Carmania* on December 12th, and I arrived here last Monday.

DRUNKEN OFFICERS RUN AMUCK

Q. Mr. Manly: Were you in Cork soon after you arrived in Queenstown? A. I was. I went to Cork on the following Saturday. I arrived on Sunday, and went to Cork on the following Saturday afternoon.

Q. Whom were you accompanied by? A. My father-in-law and my brother-in-law.

Q. Tell what you saw that afternoon. A. I was walking along Patrick Street, which is the main thoroughfare of the city, and we were walking up to Lipton's tea store, which is a very large store there, and saw quite a crowd assembled around the door. We were on the opposite side of the street. There was a young man standing there, and I asked him what seemed to be the trouble. He said there were a couple of Black-and-Tans who went into Lipton's, and they seemed to be intoxicated. My father-in-law's wife is in the habit of going into Lipton's to do some shopping, and he said, "I hope the Missus is not there." And I said, "I will go over and see if she is in there." And I got about half-way across the street when I saw the crowd begin to scatter. I saw these two men in the R. I. C. uniform come to the door and fire a shot; and I saw a boy up the street a little way fall. He was only a lad, about seventeen years old.

Q. Major Newman: Were these Black-and-Tans or Royal Irish Constabulary? A. I could not really say, because I was not acquainted with the uniforms. So I ran back to the store, which was a jewelry store, where I had left the folks. There were a number of women in there, and one of them fainted. And I heard another shot ring out, and a pane of glass go right next to where we were. Then I saw four police officers in R. I. C. uniform go through the crowd and escort the other two out of there. Those two were horribly drunk, going through the streets swearing and yelling. What they said I could not hear.

Q. Who did the shooting? A. Those two police officers who were intoxicated.

Q. Mr. Manly: They were put under arrest, were they? A. That I could not say, but they were escorted out of there by those four other police officers. It might have been for protection they took them out of there as well as anything else.

Q. But they were escorted away? A. Escorted away, yes.

Q. Did you hear of any court-martial or any inquiry about this? A. No, I never heard of any. There was just a small announcement in the paper telling about it the following day.

Q. If there had been a notice of a military inquiry you would have heard about it? A. Yes, without doubt; because I followed up the papers very closely while I was there. I had nothing else to do.

Q. And you say that these two men who did the shooting were intoxicated? A. Oh, positively; hardly able to walk.

Q. Hardly able to walk? A. Yes.

Q. Major Newman: This seventeen-year-old boy, did he die? A. I could not say. He was taken away by his partner, and we saw the ambulance come, and it might have been for him. We could not see, because the crowd scattered in all directions.

BISHOPS' GRAVES VIOLATED IN RAID FOR ARMS

Q. Mr. Manly: Were you in Queenstown when the Cathedral was raided? A. I was.

Q. Did you see it raided? A. I did.

Q. What date was it? A. I could not really say.

Q. Approximately what was the date? A. It would be around the 20th or 21st of November.

Q. Chairman Howe: Was it on Sunday? A. No, it was on a week-day.

Q. Mr. Manly: At what time of the day? A. Around nine o'clock A. M.

Q. How did you happen to be in that vicinity? A. Well, it is only just three blocks from Mrs. Millwood's house.

Q. Who is Mrs. Millwood? A. That is the lady I was stopping with during the night, this Mrs. Mohan's mother. I was leaving there and going down to my people, and I had to pass the Cathedral. And a block from there I was stopped by a constable whom I knew,—his name was Constable Darcy.

Q. How did you happen to know him? A. Well, I had to report to the police when I got there, and I met him, and I had quite a conversation with him when he found out that I was a police officer here.

Q. What was your conversation with him? A. He said I could not go further down the street. And I asked why. And he said, "We are going to have a raid on the Cathedral." And I said, "Who?" And he said, "The District Inspector."

Q. Do you know the name of this District Inspector? A. Yes, I do. It was District Inspector Davies. And I said, "What is the idea?" And he said, "I don't know. I am a Catholic, and hate to see it; but it's orders. It looks like this D. I. is going to run amuck." Well, I stayed there for a few minutes. Of course, I did not want to be seen talking to that police on the streets, because people would think you were giving them information. So I did want to get away as soon as possible. I saw the sexton of the church in company with three men in plain clothes, one of whom I found out to be the district inspector, coming down to open the gate that leads under the cathedral where the bishops' graves are. They went into this

passageway; and that is all I could see about it at this time. Afterwards I was told by a particular friend of mine who knew what happened in there that they took the tombstones off the bishops' graves and also looked into the coffins. And I said to my friend, "What the dickens were they doing that for?" And he said they were looking for arms and ammunition. They believed arms and ammunition were stored there.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was this published in the newspapers? A. No, it was not.

Q. Were you given any reason for its not being published? A. Yes, I was. I have a very particular friend there, a priest, and I was talking about it later with him, and I said, "You had a terrible raid here." He said, "Yes, it was, but we had to keep that quiet." I said, "Why?" And he said, "Because the people here would not stand for it if they knew about it. To think of their coming here and opening up the bishops' graves and looking into the coffins for ammunition." He said, "Lots of people asked us about it, and we said they just gave us a general inspection of the Cathedral and looked around the place. But we did not tell them they took the tombstones off and looked in the bishops' coffins." So that was the reason for keeping it quiet.

Q. Senator Norris: Do you know whether they found anything? A. No, absolutely nothing.

IRISH LEADERS RESTRAIN PEOPLE FROM RETALIATION

Q. Major Newman: In other words, the authorities of the church feared that if the Irish people knew that, it would have angered them to the point where they would have attacked the British forces in reprisals? A. That is so. Yes.

Q. Mr. Manly: What did you learn over there as to the policy of the Republican forces to prevent a general rising? A. Well, what you call the Republican Army over there, you get no information out of it. They dare not give out their opinions except they go and speak to their superior officer.

Q. The point I was getting at was, is the general influence of the clergy and the city officials and other leaders of the people there used to quiet the people and prevent them from taking aggressive action because of these atrocities? A. No, sir; they do not have to do that, sir. I don't think the Republican Army would start anything like that except they counselled with their leaders and the priests.

Q. The point I was after, in this particular case they took precautions that this should not become known to the people generally because they feared a general uprising. Do you know whether that

is a matter of general policy, of keeping facts which might inflame the people and bring about a general uprising in which there would be an open conflict between the troops and the people? A. Yes, no doubt there would be an open conflict, I should say, if the people knew that was done in the Cathedral.

Q. And as it is, the authorities are trying to prevent an open conflict? A. Yes, the authorities are preventing an open conflict.

REPEATED RAIDS ON MILLWOOD HOME

Q. Were you present at any of the raids during the time you were in Ireland? A. I was.

Q. How many were there in all when you were present? A. I was in four of them. There was one of the raids, though, that Mrs. Mohan just related about. That was on the morning, I think, of the first of November, a Sunday morning. I was in three other raids after she left there that took place in her father's house.

Q. Senator Norris: Now, describe them briefly. Tell what happened. A. The first raid there happened to be about 1:30 A. M. We went to bed about one o'clock. I was just falling into a little doze, and I heard them knock at the hall door. I was sleeping one flight up, and the rest of the family was sleeping two flights up. I heard the knock, and as I was opening the window to hear whom it might be, I heard Mr. Millwood opening the window above and asking, "Who is there?" And they said, "Police. Open up!" And I got partly dressed then, and Mr. Millwood came along, and two young men looking to be about twenty-five years old in civilian clothes, and after them five or six officers in police uniform. The district inspector did not speak to me, but this Sergeant Driscoll knew me.

Q. Major Newman: Who was this district inspector? A. District Inspector Davies, a little fellow about twenty-five years of age. Sergeant Driscoll and one of the other fellows called to me, and he said, "What are you doing here?" And I said, "My aunt, Mrs. Millwood, is not feeling very well, and I am staying here." And Sergeant Driscoll called the D. I. away and talked to him. And then he said, "Well, seeing that you are a police officer, I guess you can take care of the place." And he said, "Good night," and went out.

Q. Senator Norris: Did they destroy any property there? A. No, absolutely nothing. They did not touch a thing.

Q. This was a 'police raid? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: And the next was a military raid? A. Yes, by the Cameron Highlanders.

Q. Major Newman: Just a moment. That first raid that you described, did they give any reason for coming to the house? A.

Yes, Mrs. Millwood was kind of upset, and she said, "What do you want here?" And the D. I. said, "We want your boys." And she explained that they were very good boys, and only twenty and twenty-one years old, and she said, "Why do you want them?" And he said, "Well, we want them." And that was all we learned of the purpose of the raid.

Q. Senator Norris: Go on with the second raid. A. There was a knock at the door, and the answer was given by Mr. Millwood's daughter. And she said, "What do you want?" And they said, "Soldiers. Open!" And I got out to the dining room and was confronted by a Cameron Highlander officer, and he told me to throw up my hands.

Q. Major Newman: This was a Cameron officer? A. Yes, a Cameron officer.

Q. What grade, do you know? A. No, I do not know, because they all dress alike. I told him I was an American citizen, and showed him my passport.

Q. Senator Norris: You showed him your passport? A. Yes, I did, and showed him I was a police officer commissioned by the State of New Jersey. And I said, "What do you want?" And he said, "I am looking for ammunition." And he looked in all the drawers, and lifted up the table cloth. And then they went up to the next story, and tore everything out of the drawers, and all the bed clothes off the beds, and left everything lying around the floor. And Mrs. Millwood said, "What are you looking for?" There were two officers upstairs while one was searching me. And they said, "We are looking for your boys. Where are they?" And she said, "They are not at home. What are you hunting them for? They are good boys, and it is a shame for them to be going around the country wild." And the officer said, "I am not a bit satisfied." And when they left I went upstairs. I heard him say, "I am not a bit satisfied." His meaning for that I could not see, but I suppose it was because he could not find anything at the place, either in the way of ammunition or the boys. They did not break anything or damage anything to any extent except to tear out books and things from the writing desks and closets,—tore them out and left them on the floor; and also the bed clothes and linen. I saw that myself after the raid was finished.

Q. Major Newman: They did not find anything in the way of ammunition? A. Oh, no, absolutely nothing.

Q. Senator Norris: Tell about the next one, then. A. The next one was about three o'clock in the afternoon. It was nothing. They just came into the store and looked around and wanted to know if the Millwood boys were around. They did not do much tearing or disturbing of the house. They just wanted the boys.

Q. Who did that? A. The police. The next raid happened

about a week later, on Saturday night at ten o'clock. I was sitting upstairs in the dining room, which is just above the store. We could tell by the heavy tramping downstairs that there were soldiers there, and the girl said, "Charlie, there are the Camerons." I heard glass smashing, and went to the stairs, and got only half way down the stairs when I was stopped by a Cameron private who said, "Put them up!" And I put them up and said, "I would like to get into the store." And he said, "I can't let you." And I met an officer, and he said, "Keep them up." So I kept them up, and the officer lined me up alongside of another man and started to search me.

Q. Who was the other man? A. A customer.

Q. Was the store open? A. Yes, it was. And I said, "I am an American citizen." And he said that made no difference. I was not afraid, because I knew he couldn't do anything to me. He made a very thorough search of me. He even took out my match box and looked into it. And I said, "What is the matter, officer? Do you want me to strike a match for you?" And he said, "No." And I said, "Can I put them down?" And he said, "No, keep them up." There was a little Highlander about fifteen years old with a gun larger than himself who was standing by us. I stuck on there. All the customers were ordered out of the store. I should say that there were at least twenty or thirty in the store, and a hundred outside. Everybody was lined up and searched, until the officers were satisfied they did not want them and let them go. To some of them they would say, "I don't know whether we want you or not,—whether you are on the Black List." And they would stick them into the lorries and say, "Get in," and give them a drive around the city and take them up to the court and keep them for several days. Well, I went out after it was over, and noticed that the pane of glass was broken, and I said to Mr. Millwood, "What is the matter here?" And he said, "I heard a knock and thought it was a customer, and before I could get there the officer broke the door in." There was a lady there at the time who wanted to have a drink, and instead of going into the saloon, she was sitting there by the door. She heard the knock, and then the glass broke, and she looked up and saw the gun pointed at her, and she fainted. There was a very decent officer there, an inferior officer, and he said, "What was done here?" And another officer came in and asked Mr. Millwood what the damage was; and he told him about the pane of glass.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was that paid for? A. Not while I was there, it wasn't paid.

Q. Was that officer who made the inquiry a superior officer? A. He seemed to be, yes.

WANTONLY BRUTAL ASSAULT AND DESTRUCTION

Q. Were you on Harbor Row, Queenstown, in December last?
A. Yes, I was.

Q. Will you tell what happened there? A. I was down visiting a friend of mine in Harbor Row, and I was going back to Mrs. Millwood's when a woman came running towards me, and she said, "Get back, get back!" And I said, "What is the matter?" And she said, "The Marines are out." And I saw the crowd coming, and I did get back and shut the door and got out of the way in a place there.

Q. Whose place was it? A. It was Mr. Thomas Mackey's.

Q. A public bar? A. Yes. Well, when I had hardly got in,—there were five men standing there by the door,—when this marine, —he was in khaki, what they call a khaki marine, and had a whip in his hand—

Q. Was he intoxicated? A. No, he was not.

Q. Major Newman: Was he drinking at the bar? A. No, he was not. He came in just after I did. There were five men drinking at the bar. And he came in with this whip in his hand, and gave the first man a wallop over the head. There were two light-colored raincoats standing by the door, and they were spattered with blood from the blow. There were five men there, and he dropped them with one blow each. I went into the back room. And I heard him say, "We will get these Irish so-and-sos for killing our men."

Q. Where was this? A. Queenstown.

Q. Were there any officers killed there? A. No. But there had been in Dublin.

Q. How far away is Dublin? A. I should say about one hundred fifty miles.

Q. Major Newman: But there were no officers killed in Queenstown? A. No, none whatever. Well, I went into the back room, and Mrs. Mackey was there. And I said, "What is the matter, Julia?" (I know her very well.) And this fellow broke the glasses on the counter and came in and looked around. And when he went out there was a little snug—a little private drinking room, and he broke the glass there. And as he went out, there was a canter of water on the counter, and he broke that too. He had a little tool they call a trench tool,—I never saw one before,—a little black instrument about a foot long, sticking out of his hand. He used that to smash things up. And after he left the blue marines came along.

Q. Will you distinguish between the blue marines and the khaki marines? A. Well, the blue marines belong to the navy. There are forces of the Admiralty in Queenstown Harbor. But these khaki marines are guards around Queenstown that belong under the control of the army. The blue marines came to the store and said, "What happened here?" And Mrs. Mackey said, "There is nobody

can tell you more than Mr. Clarke," pointing to me. And I told this officer,—he seemed to be an officer,—just what had happened, as I am telling you. And I told him what had happened and what this man said; that he was going to get these Irish so-and-sos for killing their officers.

Q. Major Newman: When this officer came in, these khaki marines were there? A. No, no. They were gone.

Q. How many of them? A. There were five of them there, but only one of them did any hitting.

Q. Senator Norris: But did these five men strike back in any way? A. No, they didn't. They couldn't. After he felled the first man, the second man put up his arms, and two ran, and the other man put up his arms to ward off the blow. And the marine doubled up his hands to hit him, and then gave him a blow just across here (indicating top of head).

Q. What happened to these five men? A. Oh, they were in the hospital for about a week. After these fellows left, some people called the ambulance. There was one man from County Clare, and there was bad train service; and there were some people coming in from Clare in an automobile with some friends from this country who were going home, and they drove him into town in this automobile. He was quite a stranger there.

Q. Do you know whether any of these fellows have been punished,—any attempt made to arrest them by the blue marines? A. No, none at all.

Q. Mr. Manly: How long before you left Queenstown did this occur? A. It was about ten days,—the second of December, and I left on the twelfth.

Q. Senator Norris: As far as you could learn, this was done without any cause? A. Yes, without any cause or provocation whatever.

Q. Now, these khaki marines who did this work all left before the blue marines came in? A. Yes, they all went out of the store.

Q. As soon as they had these men all knocked down and the glass all destroyed, they left? A. Yes, and they went to another store four or five doors further on, the name of which I don't know. And the people had bolted it up,—all closed up entirely before they came. And they could not get in. But they broke the glass over the door,—what they call a panel.

Q. But they could not get in? A. They could not get in. And finally they went away.

Q. How much time elapsed until they went away? A. About ten minutes.

Q. While this fellow was smashing things up, what did the others do? A. They simply stood around and watched him. And they all seemed to be perfectly sober.

DANGEROUS BLACK-AND-TAN SHIFTED ABOUT

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you learn of any police or Black-and-Tans being transferred while you were there? A. I did. There was a fellow stationed at Haulbowline Island. It is a Government shipyard that repairs Government ships. This Black-and-Tan was stationed there. My father-in-law is one of the main men over there; he is one of the big bosses. And he told me that this man was a dangerous man. He was always pulling out a gun. If he saw a cat running along, he would pull out his gun and fire at him. He was a dangerous man to have around.

Q. Major Newman: He was a Black-and-Tan? A. Yes. This man was so dangerous that the chief had him transferred to Queenstown. And at Queenstown I often saw this fellow down about the beach, which is the principal part of Queenstown,—I saw him around the beach nights in private clothes, drunk and firing shots. One night I saw him fire point blank at a marine. And I heard afterwards from one of the marines—there are a lot of decent fellows among them I know—two of them were in there one day and they were telling me about this fellow who was fired at reporting to his superior officer. And it was only a few days' time after this when that Black-and-Tan was transferred back to Haulbowline Island.

REPUBLICAN POLICE PRESERVE PUBLIC SAFETY

Q. Mr. Manly: Do you know anything about the work of the Volunteers and the courts? A. No, I don't know anything about the courts, but I mixed in with a lot of Volunteers.

Q. What was your general opinion of their conduct and service? A. As far as I could see, they were a fine, clean-cut lot of men, all nice fellows.

Q. Did you see anything of their police work in preserving public safety? A. Yes, I did. I saw them make arrests,—I would not say arrests, but taking a man to a place of safety, up to this old school. Friday night is a pay night at this shipyard there, and some of the men would have a few drinks too many. And any man there who was under the influence of liquor, or even showed signs of liquor, they would take him up there and let him go home the next morning, and tell him it was a shame for them to spend their hard-earned money like that in these hard times, instead of taking the money home to their wives. I have often heard them come into Mr. Millwood's place and tell the fellows to get out of that; that their wives needed their money worse than Mr. Millwood did.

Q. Did you ever hear of their recovering property or anything like that? A. I did. There was a boot store at Harbor Row, and the owner reported that the store had been broken into, a quantity

of boots had been stolen from there, and they wanted to get the goods back. The Volunteers got on the track of that, and after an hour or so they recovered the shoes, and then got the men who had stolen the shoes. They took them to a place called The Beach in Harbor Row, and were going to try them before a court. They were quite young,—twenty or twenty-one years old. But the police got wind of it, and just then four R. I. C.'s came in. As soon as they saw them, they told these boys to beat it, and they got out of there themselves. There were four shots fired, and one of these shots burned a hole in an overcoat that this Mrs. Mohan's brother was wearing at the time. It was near the harbor, and two of them jumped into the harbor, and two of them got into a boat,—this Mrs. Mohan's brother and another boy,—it would not do to mention his name; and they rowed themselves across to Ahada for safety.

Q. This case of returning stolen property is not an exception, then? The Volunteers were doing work of that kind, were they?

A. Oh, yes; it was not an exceptional case. But I saw this case. I heard of a lot of others, but I am just relating what I saw.

Q. Major Newman: Do you know what was done to the men who stole the property? A. No, I could not really say. Those fellows are tried by a Sinn Fein court, and if they are found guilty, they are sentenced according to their crime.

Q. Chairman Howe: Do you know what those sentences are?

A. Well, they vary. Some of them three months, and some of them thirty days.

Q. Senator Norris: Where are they taken? A. I could not say. They call it over there a U. D., that is, an unknown destination.

Q. Is that because the British officials would not let them imprison them? A. Yes.

Q. So they have to take them to some place that is unknown to the British authorities? A. True. That is it.

Q. Mr. Manly: Do you know of any case where the British officials tried to arrest people who were taken to a U. D.? A. Yes, I do.

Q. Tell about it. A. Well, there were two men who were drunk and disorderly, and were sentenced to stay on an island for a certain length of time, with just so much to eat and so much to drink. And the R. I. C. heard about it, and went to this island to take them off. And these men said, "No, we will not be taken off this island. We were taken here by our own, and we will not be taken off."

Q. Senator Norris: So they would not be rescued? A. No, they would not be rescued.

Q. Mr. Manly: That is all, Mr. Howe.

NINETY PER CENT. OF YOUNG MEN "ON THE RUN"

Chairman Howe: How many young men of Queenstown are on the run? A. I should say 90 per cent. of them.

Q. And they work during the daytime, do they? A. Some of them do and some of them don't.

Q. And at night time they scatter? A. Yes, they scatter. There is, suppose, a family of several boys, some of whom are wanted. And if they come and search for one of the boys who is wanted and they do not find him, they might take some of the others.

Q. And they sleep under cover? A. Yes, some of them do. But some of them, like Mrs. Mohan said, sleep in the graveyard. I have seen them coming out of there myself. And as in the case of this Mr. Moore, he took me and showed me his wife's grave, and said, "I am going to sleep there on my wife's grave, rain or shine, and if they shoot me, I will be there." They are after some of his boys. There is not a pane of glass left in his house.

CONTINUOUS TERRORISM CAUSES NERVOUS BREAKDOWNS

Q. Senator Norris: Do you know of any cases of insanity occurring among the people because of this tension? A. Yes, I do. This man, Mr. Moore, he was really insane. I went up behind him and spoke to him, and he jumped like he was shot. And his daughter of seventeen, she came over to this country on the *Celtic*, and she is not right. I would not say she is insane, but she is a nervous breakdown.

Q. Is that common among the people of Ireland, among the women and children? A. Yes, it is. The women and children are terribly nervous. Many of them are nervous wrecks. When they hear a raid coming they go to pieces. And the men, a lot of them are nervous wrecks.

PURPOSE OF PROMISCUOUS DESTRUCTION TO TERRORIZE PEOPLE

Q. Major Newman: How general is the destruction of property in Queenstown? A. Oh, 95 per cent. of the windows in the city are broken. There may be a few side streets where it is not done, but on the main streets every window is smashed.

Q. Senator Norris: This is done by the police or the Black-and-Tans? A. By both of them.

Q. Major Newman: I mean, not in one place, but all over? A. All over the town. It is a total wreck.

Q. Senator Norris: But I mean, they do not destroy a house be-

cause of anybody living in that particular house they want, but just to terrorize the people? A. Yes, just to terrorize the people.

Q. So that they were perfectly promiscuous; they do not care whether friend or foe lives in a house? A. Yes, just to put terror into the people. It was perfectly promiscuous.

IRISH HOMES WITHOUT ARMS FOR SELF-DEFENSE

Q. Now, would not this result in these men getting shot? Did not people defend themselves and their homes against them? A. No, I never heard of any case of it.

Q. Well, for instance, in this home where you were staying, did not they have any revolvers around? A. No, not a one. I never heard of it.

Q. We have had so many of these cases before us, and we do not see why they don't shoot these men who break into their homes. A. I don't think the Irish people want to do any shooting. They are a very quiet-living race, a God-fearing race.

Q. But it seems to me that a man who has gone through several of these raids and thinks he is probably to be killed anyway, and that his home will be destroyed, and if he isn't killed, that he is likely to go insane,—why doesn't he kill these men? A. Well, the Irish people think that when you kill, it is murder, and you are breaking one of the Ten Commandments.

Q. But do not the Irish people feel that they ought to defend their homes? A. Yes, but they don't think they can cope with England, as big as she is, in that way. And the only thing they are looking for now is that some other nation will come along and help them; that they are the only white race now that has not been helped.

Q. Yes, but I do not understand why a man would not defend himself, knowing it would be death to him anyway. A. But there is another thing. Suppose that he was the father of a family; and if he killed them, they might kill his family and burn up the place.

Q. Did you carry a revolver? A. Me? No, indeed I did not. Believe me, we were pretty well searched before we got into the country. I got into Southampton, and before we came over to Ireland, before we got on the boat, we were searched thoroughly. And then before we got off the boat, before we got into Ireland, we were searched again thoroughly. They were customs officers, I suppose, but they were in plain clothes.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did they search your person or your baggage? A. No, they searched everything, my clothing and my baggage. One of them even ran his finger between my collar, and I asked him if he was looking for Black-and-Tans, and I said if he hunted a

little further down he might find one. There were women there with big trunks. You could not get help. They looked through them, too.

TERRORISM CONFIRMS PEOPLE IN UNYIELDING STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Q. Major Newman: What effect has this terrorism had upon the Irish people? A. Well, the only thing that they are looking forward to, the common opinion of the rich and poor of Ireland, is the help that they are going to get from America.

Q. But I do not mean that exactly. What effect have the happenings of the last year had upon them? A. They are determined to stick to the last.

Q. Is there any evidence that their spirit is being broken under the pressure? A. No, I don't think so. For every one of them will tell you that they are there to die for their country, and they are going to fight this thing through to the bitter end.

Q. Is that feeling stronger than it was a year ago? A. Well, I was not there a year ago, but the feeling is pretty strong. Every day it seems to be stronger, when they read of these raids and killings and the like. They have no idea of giving in.

WOMEN SEARCHED, ROBBED, AND SHOT

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you see any searches of women in Ireland? A. I did.

Q. Can you tell of any of those circumstances? A. Why, yes. It was about a week or so before I left.

Q. Where was this, in Queenstown? A. No, it was in the City of Cork. I was up in the City of Cork on business, and was making for the train to take me back to Queenstown again. And I was coming along King Street,—that leads you down to the railroad station. And I was along there and heard "Halt!" And I halted. And I looked around and saw about eight men in R. I. C. uniform. And they said, "Put them up!" And I put them up all right. And I told one of those fellows,—he was quite a young fellow, and looked to be a Black-and-Tan, and he came over and I said, "I am an American." He didn't say anything, and went back. Two young ladies came along, and he said, "Halt! Put them up." And one of the ladies had packages, and she put them down. And this young fellow searched the girl. He searched her outer garments, and then opened up her clothes, and lifted up her dress as high as her knees and searched her stockings. And the other lady was crying. And he said, "Shut up, or I will give you the contents of this," pointing

to his gun. And he took her rings off her fingers and pulled the rings out of her ears.

Q. Pulled the rings off her fingers? A. Pulled the rings off of her fingers. Yes. And tore the earrings out of her ears.

Q. And you saw them? A. Yes, I was just standing there.

Q. Did he give them back to her? A. O, no, he did not.

Q. And he was a Black-and-Tan? A. I could not really say, because they are all dressed in the same uniform now.

Q. Was that in the day time? A. Yes, it was about five o'clock, because I was making for the train.

Q. Were there many people there? A. O, yes, many people.

Q. Major Newman; How did he pull the earrings out of her ears? Did he tear her ears? A. Well, he just tore them out like this (indicating a grab for the lobe of the ear).

Q. Did her ears bleed? A. I could not say. And then a moment after that there was a shot fired, and I looked around and a fellow came along, and he said, "You had better get in, because a girl has just been hit by a bullet."

Q. Senator Norris: One of the same girls? A. No, not the same girls.

Q. Now, who fired that shot? A. I could not say. This fellow told me that the police had fired it, but I did not see it. I could not say. She was half sitting there on the curb and half lying there, with her head on the sidewalk. There were people coming there, and as I had only a few minutes to get my train, I did not stop. The Black-and-Tans or the police—whatever they were, seemed to have disappeared from there. And as I went on, I heard some more reports from over in the direction of Sunday's Well. I got my train, and a fellow in the same compartment said, "Did you see what happened in Sunday's Well?" And I said, "No, I saw what happened in King Street." And he said, "There was another man shot in Sunday's Well." And the next day I read in the newspapers that a fellow who was deaf was called upon to halt, and did not hear, and was shot; and he died.

Q. Mr. Manly: You heard the shot? A. Yes, I heard the shot. And the next day I read about it in the paper.

Q. But you saw this girl shot yourself? A. Yes, I saw the girl shot myself.

Q. Senator Norris: What was the cause given for that in the papers? A. Just an outbreak by the Black-and-Tans.

Q. And they just break out like that and kill somebody? A. Yes, they do. One man told me he saw this: a band of Black-and-Tans came down the street, and every window they came to they banged in. And they had a little song, "We are the Black-and-Tans," telling what they were going to do and all that sort of thing. He got along there and knocked at a door to get in. The people

were flying like sheep ahead of them. It was not safe to be anywhere near them. And the people in the house opened the door and he got in there for safety. When they're out on a raid like that your life is in danger if you are on the street.

NO RETALIATION AGAINST QUEENSTOWN POLICE

Q. Mr. Manly: Do you know, during the time that you were in Queenstown, how many police or Black-and-Tans were killed? A. In Queenstown?

Q. Yes, in Queenstown. A. There were none killed at all, or none wounded.

Q. During the whole time that you were there? A. Yes.

Mr. Manly: That is all.

FARMS, BARNs, AND HAYSTACKS BURNED

Q. Senator Norris: Wait a moment; there is something else I would like to ask Mr. Clarke while he is here. Mr. Clarke, did you travel about over the country and the farming districts? A. I did, yes, sir.

Q. Did you find any evidence of hay or other farm property being destroyed? A. I did.

Q. Tell us about that. A. I motored about a great deal throughout the country. That was the only way to go. Sometimes I went in a side-car. And on several occasions I saw them,—farms and barns and haystacks and beires—where they keep cows, and stables, all burned to the ground. There was one place, Carrigtohill, in County Cork, where the man showed us a lot of bones, and he said that was all that was left of his cattle. He had thirty cows and eighteen pigs and seven horses,—all burned.

Q. All burned? They were in the stables, were they? A. Yes, and they were all burned.

Q. Did he tell you who did it? A. He didn't really know. But he said that the military was around there on a raid, and after they left, about five or ten minutes afterward, he smelled smoke, and he saw the stack of hay on fire. He tried to extinguish it with pails of water, but the hay was so dry that it got headway, and it spread and burned everything in the farmyard. His house was quite a bit away from the farmyard, so it escaped.

Q. Major Newman: That was at night? A. No, it was in the evening, about six or seven o'clock.

Q. Chairman Howe: It does not get dark so early as it does here? A. No.

Q. Senator Norris: Was that a general thing? A. It was. It

was. It was the general thing all over the country to see hay and barns burned,—just a stack of ashes.

Q. Did you see any burning of creameries? A. No.

Q. Did they burn any homes? A. It is generally barns and stables and hay they go after.

PEOPLE FACING STARVATION

Q. Chairman Howe: How do the people of Cork get food? A. Well, they do not. It is a serious thing. People are starving there.

Q. Senator Norris: They cannot get food? A. They can't get food. It is very serious.

Q. Chairman Howe: How many towns did you cover? A. Well, I could not say. A good many of them.

Q. How many miles? A. About three thousand miles.

Q. You did that on motor? A. Most of it on motors.

Q. And this is the general rule? A. The general rule.

Q. Senator Norris: Were some parts of the country worse than others? A. Well, County Cork, of course, and Tipperary seemed to be the worst counties.

IRELAND "A MASS OF DESTRUCTION"

Q. Mr. Manly: Could you tell the Commission what counties you were in? A. Waterford, Wexford, Cork, Clare, Tipperary, and Kerry.

Q. Senator Norris: Did you go to Balbriggan? A. No, I did not go to Balbriggan.

Q. Chairman Howe: Did you cover a quarter of Ireland, or a fifth of it? A. Yes, I covered more than a quarter of Ireland.

Q. And all that country was devastated in much the same way? A. It was.

Q. Was there any train service? A. Almost none.

Q. Were there any markets in the towns? A. No, no markets.

Q. There was no chance for the people to barter in trade? A. No, there was not.

Q. And they were living on just what they chanced to get? A. Yes, just what they chanced to get. It is a terrible condition. There is a mass of destruction. I could sit here for three weeks, and it would not make as much impression on you as if you saw it once yourself.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

PROTESTANTS EXPRESS HORROR AT MURDER OF REPUBLICAN PRIEST

Mr. Manly: Before we adjourn, there is one matter I would like to lay before you. This is a copy of the *Connacht Tribune* of Gal-

way giving an account of the funeral of Father Griffin, the priest who was killed. This is the *Connacht Tribune* of Saturday, November 27, 1920, printed in Galway. It contains three letters from well-known Protestants, two of whom are Protestant ministers.

First, the letter from Reverend Canon J. Fleetwood Berry, M. A., a Protestant Episcopal rector, who writes:

“The Rectory, Galway, November 21, 1920.

“Dear Father Davis: I cannot refrain from writing to you to express our deep sympathy with you in your sorrow for the shocking and terrible occurrence. I cannot say how horrified and grieved I am at Father Griffin’s death, and I hasten to write to you how much I feel for his relatives and for all who have been associated with him. With deepest sympathy, I remain,

“Yours sincerely,

“J. FLEETWOOD BERRY.”

The next is a letter from Reverend R. Francis, M. A., Protestant minister, College Road, Galway, who wrote:

“Dear Father Davis: Please allow me to tell you how horrified I feel at the awful tragedy which has overtaken your curate, Father Griffin; and also to convey to you my sincere sympathy with you in the great loss you have sustained. I did not think it possible that such an awful fate could befall a Christian priest in a Christian land. Truly, we are living in sad and troublous times, and one never knows what is going to happen next. I pray God that this is the darkest hour that precedes the dawn, and that our blessed land may soon enjoy the blessings of peace and good-will. With my heartfelt sympathy,

“Yours sincerely,

“R. FRANCIS.”

The last one is from Mr. S. Anderson of Mill Brook House, Galway, a well-known Presbyterian citizen:

“Dear Father Davis: If any words of mine can in the least allay the sorrow and grief at the loss of your able and respected coadjutor, Father Griffin, I do so with my fullest compassion. No one can but view with horror and detestation the wanton and brutal murder of a young life so full of promise and usefulness. It must be a comfort to you to know that the sympathy of every right-thinking man and woman of all creeds and classes goes out to you and those connected with your church. Please convey to Mrs. Griffin my sympathy.

“Very faithfully yours,

“S. ANDERSON.”

Chairman Howe: The hearings will adjourn until approximately the twelfth of January, and then they will be resumed with three or four witnesses from England or Ireland, and a number of other witnesses.

Mr. Manly: We will certainly have by that time witnesses from Cork with reference to this last big destruction of Cork which took place two weeks ago, in which several hundred houses and the whole city practically was burned and sacked.

Chairman Howe: The sessions are adjourned. 12:50 P. M.

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FIFTH HEARINGS ON CONDITION IN IRELAND

Before the

AMERICAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Session One

JANE ADDAMS

FREDERIC C. HOWE

JAMES H. MAURER

OLIVER P. NEWMAN

GEORGE W. NORRIS

NORMAN THOMAS

DAVID I. WALSH

L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD

Chairman

} COMMISSIONERS

Before the Commission, sitting in the Hotel LaFayette, Washington, D. C., Thursday, January 13, 1921.

Chairman Hollingsworth Wood presiding.

Chairman Wood: The Commission will please come to order. Our first witness is Mr. Donal O'Callaghan, Lord Mayor of Cork, who comes at the request of this Commission in answer to our invitation to tell us of the conditions in Ireland when he left. I would like to say to you, Mr. Lord Mayor of Cork, we appreciate very much your effort to be with us, and that these hearings are public, and we try to make them as free as we can,—we do not desire to impede a witness in any way in telling his story. We expect that witnesses will confine themselves as much as possible to the things they have seen, so that our record will not be encumbered with all the unnecessary amount of atmosphere that otherwise it would contain.

TESTIMONY OF LORD MAYOR DONAL O'CALLAGHAN

Q. Chairman Wood: Will you give your full name and address to the stenographer? A. Donal O'Callaghan.

Q. And you reside? A. I reside at Cork.

Mr. Michael Francis Doyle (of counsel): With the permission of

your honorable Commission, I would like to have the privilege of starting the witness.

Q. Mr. Lord Mayor, in the first place, what is your present address? A. You mean in Cork?

Q. Yes, sir. A. Douglas Street.

Q. What is your age? A. I am twenty-nine.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE OFFICES HELD BY LORD MAYOR

Q. What is your present occupation? A. At present I am director of a shipping agency in Cork.

Q. What is your public position in Ireland? A. I am Lord Mayor of the City of Cork, and Chairman of the Cork County Council. I am also on all the public boards in Cork, the Cork Harbor Commissioners, the Cork Technical and Agricultural Committee, the City Hospital Board, the Cork Joint Hospital Committee. I am a member of the governing body of Cork University College. I am chairman of the Gaelic League of Cork, and a member of the National Executive of the Gaelic League in Ireland.

Q. Chairman Wood: Are those in virtue of your office as Lord Mayor? A. Some of them are and some of them are not. By virtue of my office of Chairman of the County Council I am entitled under British law to a J. P. in the county; and by virtue of my position in the city I am entitled to the chief magistracy in the City.

Q. Mr. Doyle: You say you are Lord Mayor of Cork? A. Yes, sir.

ELECTED BY CITY COUNCIL FOLLOWING DEATH OF LORD MAYOR MACSWINEY

Q. How were you elected? A. On the arrest of the late Lord Mayor MacSwiney, I was nominated by him to act as his deputy during his imprisonment. I acted in that position up to the time of his death and some three or four days after his death. According to statute, in case of a vacancy of that kind, a new election must take place within seven days of the death of the previous occupant. That election took place about four days after the death of the late Lord Mayor, and at that election I was elected by the members of the Council the Lord Mayor.

Q. You were elected under the statute that provides for the municipal elections? A. Absolutely.

Q. You say you are Lord Mayor of Cork. Will you be good enough, before you proceed with your testimony, that we may better understand the situation, to state the difference between lord mayor and mayor, and how many cities of Ireland have lord mayors as distinguished from mayors? A. In Ireland the three largest

cities, Belfast, Dublin, and Cork, elect lord mayors. The remaining eight or nine corporations elect mayors. There are only three lord mayors, Dublin, Cork, and Belfast.

With your permission, I would like to explain the full machinery of the election of the lord mayor, as apart from the election of the lord mayor himself. The corporation which elects the lord mayor are elected by popular suffrage in the city, the city being divided into wards for the purpose, and each ward electing by ballot a certain number of representatives on the Council. The two senior representatives, or the two first returned, are called aldermen. The remaining four or five, as the case may be, are called councillors. These men are all elected by popular vote, and they in council elect one of their number to act as lord mayor.

ABSENCE OF ANY SENSE OF SECURITY IN IRELAND TODAY

Q. When did you arrive in this country? A. I arrived here, roughly, eight or nine days ago.

Q. Now, Mr. Lord Mayor, you were born in Ireland? A. Yes, sir, born in Cork.

Q. And you are familiar with conditions as they exist in Ireland today? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you be good enough to state in a general way what conditions you observed in Ireland, say during the last four years, beginning 1916? A. Yes, sir. The one feature which covers the general conditions, as covering every-day life, is the absence of any sense of security. All through that time raids and arrests have been the order. At times the campaign is more intensive than at other times.

Q. Mr. Lord Mayor, can you raise your voice a little so that the audience can hear? A. Yes, sir.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS HARASSED BY DAILY DANGER OF ARREST

Well, at all times there has been for every man connected with the national movement, or especially with public administration, there has been the daily danger of arrest, irrespective of any charge, or, of course, of any crime committed. At various times that campaign became intensive. There were general round-ups throughout the country. In some of these round-ups hundreds of men, and in one case as many as three thousand were arrested in the country and thrown into jail; kept there for a considerable period,—in that case for ten months, without any charge or any trial; with the result that all these men who occupy any position which entails that

danger were always prevented from giving their condensed attention to their public duties and to their work in the national movement, having, as well as trying to continue their work, to seek to evade arrest and the possibility of arrest. That, generally, gives the atmosphere for these four years that you asked for, with the qualification that it has become greatly intensified. That is especially the case for the past twelve months; and still more especially the case for the past six or three months. It has been steadily growing worse. During that time there has been no sense of security, because, apart from the danger of arrest as far as a particular man was concerned, there was the daily or nightly danger to his people, of having their homes raided and all their property smashed up and wrecked, if not stolen in many cases, as well as being subjected to ill-treatment. In some of these cases, when these round-ups took place, the men, instead of being imprisoned in Ireland, were deported to England and kept for quite long periods in detention camps, and confined for long periods in England until let out on parole.

BRITISH BEGIN CAMPAIGN OF MURDER OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS

That was generally the state of affairs until early in this past year, down, I think, to the time on the night of last Saint Patrick's Day, the 17th of March, when,—in the interval, I might explain, in January the Republican Party came into power in Cork; they manned the city corporation, the county council, and the other public bodies. Immediately subsequent to the coming into power of the Republican Party in January, Alderman MacCurtain was elected Lord Mayor on the twenty-third of January last. At the time of his election he——

Q. Chairman Wood: That was not January last, was it? A. January last, yes, sir. For some time previous to his election in January, he and several others in Cork and throughout the country had been for a considerable time on the run. I remember distinctly that the late Lord Mayor MacCurtain arrived in town a few days before his election, and remained hidden until his sudden more or less dramatic appearance on the day of the election. He counted on the fact that if he remained free until the election actually took place and until he held the position of Lord Mayor, that he would to a certain extent be immune, temporarily at least, from arrest. Consequently, after the declaration of office on his election, he remained in the city and from that time on moved around the city pretty well openly and normally. That state of affairs continued until Saint Patrick's night last, the seventeenth of March. On that night the members of the corporation invited Lord Mayor MacCur-

tain to a dinner. We held the dinner in one of the city hotels, and one of the members of the corporation who left somewhere about eleven, Alderman Stockley, who is professor of English Literature at Cork University College,—he is a gentleman of somewhere about seventy, in or about seventy years of age, essentially quiet, peaceful, intellectual, the last man on earth to injure anything or anybody, or wish even to do anything or anybody any harm. The professor lives, or lived at that time, at a pretty far distance from Cork. He lived about a mile or a mile and a half from the city. And leaving the hotel,—of course all tram service and all means of conveyance were over then for the night, he had to walk that distance. On his way to his home, he was, without any preliminaries, without any threats or anything being said to him by his assailant, he was set upon and fired at. The shot hit him,—at all events grazed his clothes; but very fortunately he was uninjured on that occasion. That was on the night of Saint Patrick's Day. It is important for the reason that I shall presently explain, inasmuch as it and the murder of the Lord Mayor, which took place two nights afterwards, really marked, I think, the beginning of the phase where intimidation and arrests merged into the murder period. And I think that the reign of murders and shooting and outrage really dates from there.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, when you say it dates from there, does that apply, then, to all of Ireland, or principally to Cork? A. Well, to Cork principally, sir, but to a large extent to Ireland; inasmuch as while there had been before that certain isolated cases of murder and personal attack, it is since then that murder and attack have become daily processes, and have become admittedly part of the British policy in Ireland.

Q. You say that began on the night of the 17th of March, 1920? A. Well, it was evident after that. I have these dates marked in my own mind as far as the beginning of the campaign of murder is concerned.

NIGHTLY RAIDS, LOOTING AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

Q. Before you go into that situation, I think the Commission would like to have general conditions expressed better than they have been. What is the general sense of security of property in Ireland, say from the beginning of January, 1920, to date? A. O, very little or none, sir. Raids, particularly on business premises, have been of daily if not nightly occurrence. In almost every case where a raid takes place, the property in the establishment is looted. There would be in Cork alone, apart from the premises that have been absolutely wiped out by fire, there would be at least, at a

very moderate estimate, fifty establishments that have been attacked and looted, though not absolutely destroyed. In some cases attempts were made to destroy them, which were unsuccessful. In other cases, no attempts were made to destroy them.

Q. That raiding and looting is conducted by whom? A. It is conducted by the forces of the British Crown, mainly by the British police force.

Q. And it exists in all parts of Ireland? A. Yes, in all parts of Ireland.

Q. And have these conditions existed constantly since this period commenced? A. O, yes, yes.

ASSUMPTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES BY REPUBLICAN PARTY

During that period it was that the change took place in general administration in Ireland. And the Republican Party, which until then had worked more or less quietly as a political party, assumed, as a result of the elections which took place in that year, control of public administration.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Now, Mr. Lord Mayor, I think it might be well to go on and explain in detail just what you mean by that. In the first place, what organizations do you refer to? And just what were these elections? A. The first election that affected the Republican Party in taking charge of administration was the general parliamentary election which took place in 1918. The effect and usefulness of that was largely negated by the fact that while a Republican Parliament had been elected, the municipal governments, the different administrative boards,—all the public machinery of the country,—were not, in many cases, Republican, and had not been elected on the Republican ticket. So that the full efficacy of the return of the Republican Party to Parliament depended largely upon and really had to wait until the election of the local or minor bodies, inasmuch as it was only through the local bodies, which control taxation to a large extent; that the Republican Government could function.

Q. Will you describe what you mean by the local bodies, and what they do, and what part of the government they take the place of in Ireland? A. Well, in the case of the cities, the corporations do all the work of city management. They levy rates on the citizens; they collect the rate on the annual estimate for the city administration; they are in charge of the public cleansing, the public lighting, the water works, the fire brigade, and all those services. They are the ordinary part of the administration of the city. In the county, in addition to these, they control, of course, the roads, the erection and maintenance of roads and all public utilities, and

generally all constructive work in the county. The county council, of course, levies its own rate on the county, just as the city council does on the city.

Q. Has every county its own county council? A. Every county has its own county council, with the exception of Tipperary, where there is a division of the county, and they have two county councils.

Q. Then they have a county council as distinguished from the city government? A. Yes, the county council in charge of the government of the county, and the city council in charge of the government of the city.

Q. These bodies are elected? A. The bodies themselves are. The council or corporation are all elected by the people. And then the first meeting after they assemble after election, the chairman or the mayor, as the case may be, is elected by the members of the council or corporation.

Q. How often are the elections held? A. Triennially,—every three years.

Q. And they are elected under what statute? A. Under the Local Government Act.

Q. And the last election was held when? A. June of 1920.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODIES DECLARE ALLEGIANCE TO THE REPUBLIC

Q. Senator Norris: You were reaching the point that it was the local governments that had to be changed before the Republican Parliament could act. Will you take the narrative up from there? A. Yes. The power of the Republican Government depended upon the local bodies. And consequently all of the work of the Republican Government which depended on the local bodies was largely suspended until the election of the local bodies came along. These took place, as far as cities and the urban councils are concerned, not until the last of December, 1919. The county council elections did not take place until May, and the results were not declared until June of 1920. Upon these local elections taking place, the public bodies all over Ireland, the vast majority of them, returned Republican candidates, and at the first meeting of the new bodies resolutions were passed severing connection with the English Local Government Board, which until then had maintained connection, on behalf of the British Government, with all the local government bodies in Ireland, and which exercised a veto over all their transactions. The minutes, for instance, of every local government body had to be submitted to the English Local Government Board. The link was really fastened by a system of grants. The Local Government Board gave to every local body a certain grant during the year, depending upon the size of the body and the area administered by

the body, running in some cases to as much as one hundred fifty thousand pounds. These grants, of course, were slight refunds of the moneys extracted through taxation by the English Government, being refunded in the aid of local taxation. The new bodies at the first meeting severed connection with the Local Government Board and pledged their allegiance to Dail Eireann, the Republican Government.

Q. Chairman Wood: Was the Local Government Board that you speak of the English Local Government Board? A. The English Local Government Board, yes.

Q. There was one for all England and Ireland? A. Yes.

Q. And men are appointed to it by the Imperial Government? A. Yes. That is it. Officials all over Ireland maintained connections with the Local Government Board.

Q. Senator Norris: These officials on the local bodies were all nationalists? A. Oh, yes, the great majority of them are.

Q. And they severed connection with the English Government? A. Yes, sir, and pledged allegiance to the Republic of Ireland, and declared, as part of the resolution, that all communications which heretofore had passed between themselves and the English Local Government Board shall henceforth be forwarded to Dail Eireann.

Q. It was sort of another declaration of independence? A. Well, virtually that, of course, as well as a declaration of allegiance to the Republican Government.

Q. How many counties are there in Ireland? A. Thirty-two.

Q. How many county councils have expressed allegiance to the Republican Government of Ireland? A. Twenty-nine.

Q. And they were the elected county councils at the last general election under the statute? A. Yes, sir.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LAW DECREASES REPUBLICAN MAJORITY

I might add that the last elections in Ireland, both the county council elections and the city elections—the corporation elections—were held under a new system of election laws, under proportional representation. The English Government decided that the elections in Ireland, and only in Ireland, would be conducted under the system of proportional representation. The system, of course, is as a system absolutely fair; and it was immediately agreed to and accepted as fair by the Republican authorities, including the president of the Republic. But while admitting, as a system, it was absolutely fair, inasmuch as it gives to minorities representation to which, of course, they are justly entitled, and which they would not have secured under the old system, at the same time it was unfortunate, from the Republican point of view, for the moment, inasmuch as

the majority of representatives returned who would have been returned under the former system of plain voting was much reduced by proportional representation. The representation of quite the largest part of Ireland would have been absolutely and solely Republican had the elections taken place under the old system of plain, straight representation. But the whole Republican organization, following the declaration of its leaders, accepted the new system and accepted the fact that minorities are entitled to a representation.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Am I not right in thinking, Mr. Lord Mayor, that you made considerable gains in Ulster by this system?

A. Undoubtedly. Undoubtedly. I would like to make it plain that the system as a system is absolutely fair. But it came along at this particular time where the Republican majority would have been much larger if it had not been for the new system.

Q. Senator Norris: If you had had an election like we have here, it would have meant that minorities would not have been represented, and that with the exception of Ulster, it would have been unanimous? A. Absolutely. Absolutely.

BRITISH ATTACK OFFICIALS AND WITHDRAW GRANTS TO PARALYZE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Having severed their connection with the English Local Government Board and taken up with the Republican Local Government Board, the local bodies in Ireland were faced with considerable difficulties. First of all, practically every man who went into the administration on these elections was a young man. Of course in Ireland, as a result of the Republican movement, we claim that the day of the young man has come. And in all these boards and in all these bodies, where heretofore possibly young men would not have been very numerous, they are now practically entirely manned by young men. Well, these men, owing to the circumstances, would have needed absolute freedom for application to their duties on these administrative bodies to insure success. The fact was that the existing scheme, which I have already described, of indiscriminate arrests and raids became intensified and became more particularly directed against these particular men who had been elected on these public boards. The result was that these men who would have needed to devote all their time and energy and attention in the first place to a study of their duties, and in the second place to the discharge of them, had simply to do the best they could while trying to dodge and avoid the attentions of the forces of the Government. The result was that they were not able to give as effective service, from the administrative point of view, as they would have. This was and still is true, and is being intensified by the fact that the

English Government, realizing of course that the mere existence and function of these public bodies as part of the Republican machinery and system of government is one of the most conclusive proofs of the solidarity of the country and of its suitability for freedom, have deliberately sought out a way in which to prevent these bodies from working smoothly and from maintaining the administration of the country. The great blow which they struck in that direction was the withholding of the grants from the public bodies. They issued a ukase withholding all the grants, and consequently, of course, doing all they could to torpedo the whole system of public administration which they themselves were responsible for erecting. They simply notified the public bodies that the money which the public bodies were relying on from them, which had been coming on year after year and had been included by them in their estimates at the beginning of the year, would not be paid; and sought in that way to make it impossible for the public bodies to function.

Q. Chairman Wood: You say a ukase. You mean an order?
 A. Yes, purely an order issued to each public body. Well, that situation has existed for some time. It is difficult to overcome that. The question of dealing with it, of course, will principally arise this month or next when the striking of the estimates of the public bodies all over Ireland for the new year will come on. Two things, of course, would seem to be obviously necessary as ways out of the difficulty, one being that the public services will to some extent, at the commencement at least, have to be curtailed; possibly some of the administrative services. I hope that this difficulty may be gotten over without curtailing the public services, but I am afraid, giving my own opinion of the city bodies, I am afraid that curtailment will be a necessity. The other thing will be increasing the rates. The rates, of course, will have to be increased, because the grants have been withdrawn.

CANCELLATION OF GRANTS INJURES HOSPITALS, ASYLUMS, EDUCATION, AND NECESSARY PUBLIC SERVICES

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, will you explain what you mean by the grants? A. The grants given by the English Government to local bodies, which were really a refund of the money in the shape of taxes which the English take from the country year after year.

Q. Now, the purpose of those grants is what? A. To carry on public administration.

Q. It means hospitals? A. Yes, certain grants for hospitals, certain grants for roads, certain grants for sanitary purposes, in the city for the sanitary fund, and grants for education—technical education—and many other services of that kind.

Q. For lunatic asylums and poorhouses? A. Yes, and hospitals as well.

Q. Now, they have been withdrawn by the British Government?

A. They have been withdrawn by the British Government.

Q. Yes. So that today the appropriations heretofore made by the British Government for these grants, for the maintenance of hospitals and poorhouses, have been withdrawn? A. That is so. The situation arising out of that is just beginning to become effective in Cork. Under English law each public body and institution must have a bank for its funds. The bank which had been acting as treasurer for the Cork union workers had communicated with the Board the day before I left Cork that they could not see their way clear to honor their checks any more. I, with some other men of the city, had an interview with the bank manager, and he went all over this ground which I am now trying to make clear to you, this danger which threatens administration in Ireland. He dealt with the cancellation of these grants by the British Government, and he wanted to know, naturally, as a business man, where the deficit was going to come from.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: This matter is rather new to Americans, and we are rather anxious for careful information. What proportion of the revenues of Cork are derived from these grants, as against local taxation or rates? A. The proportion in any case would not be very great. In Cork the city administration costs roughly about two hundred twenty thousand pounds. The grants in the city are fortunately very, very small. They amount only to ten thousand.

Q. Mr. Doyle: You refer to pounds? A. Pounds sterling, not dollars. In the counties the situation is much worse, because the main grants are for road purposes. Cork is by far the largest county in Ireland; consequently Cork County is the largest administrative body of Ireland. Cork County covers roughly one-tenth of the whole country. In Cork County the grant from the English Government was one hundred forty thousand pounds.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Out of what proportion of the total? A. The total would be about three hundred fifty thousand.

Q. Almost half? A. Yes, not quite half.

Q. You spoke of local taxation or rates. Will you explain to us what forms of taxation in Ireland are local and what forms of taxation are general? A. The local public body, the corporation or county council, in considering its estimate as its estimate of expenditure for the year, strikes a rate for the city or the people of the county in accordance with the value of their holdings, to make a rate which will cover their expenditure for the year.

Q. Is local taxation on real estate only, or on houses? A. On both.

Q. Is it on personal property,—stocks and bonds and income?
 A. No, not on personal property. On real estate and houses only.

SURPLUS TAXATION OF TWENTY MILLION POUNDS TAKEN FROM IRELAND BY BRITISH GOVERNMENT

Q. What is the form of general taxation? A. In Ireland, as far as the British Government is concerned, the only tax collected directly is income taxes,—practically the only main tax.

Q. Do you have also excise taxes? A. Yes, there are a few minor taxes. There is the dog tax, for instance, and the excise duties. But the main tax collected directly is the income tax, or was until a year ago.

Q. Senator Norris: Now is that where the British Government gets this money that it later refunds? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where does it get the balance? A. The balance is indirect.

Q. The money that the British Government spends as a refund all comes from the people of Ireland? A. Yes, it all comes from the people of Ireland.

Q. Now that tax still continues, and the British Government is still collecting that tax? A. As far as possible.

Q. And has ceased to turn any of it back to Ireland? A. Quite so.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: How far has the movement gone to impede or refuse to pay the British taxes? How far has that movement gone? A. Well, it is, generally speaking, very, very difficult for the British Government to collect taxes any more at all. The collection of the income tax has practically ceased since last Easter. At that time the income tax offices almost all over the country were burned out.

Q. Senator Norris: If the English Government is not collecting, naturally you could not expect them to pay. A. Well, that, of course, is outside of their local government machinery. Even if they never collected an income tax, it would not hurt them to make us a little return from our own moneys. For English figures themselves show that, even allowing for the expenses of her administration in Ireland, an administration which is largely of unnecessary expenses in order to maintain her huge army of unnecessary officials, and thus to obtain her moral grip, or immoral grip, on the country; in spite of all that unnecessary expenditure, her own figures show that, in addition to paying all her expenses in Ireland, she still has a huge balance to transfer to the Imperial Treasury. Her last balance, according to her own figures, is about twenty million.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Twenty million pounds? A. Twenty million pounds.

Q. Mr. Doyle: These taxes also include all indirect taxation?
A. Yes, on sugar, tea, and the excise.

Q. These are still collected? A. They are still collected.

Q. What is the income tax in Ireland? A. There are two rates, the lower rate of three and eight, and the six shilling rate.

Q. That is six shillings to the pound? A. Six shillings to the pound.

Q. Commissioner Wood: When you mean the expenses of the English administration, that includes Belfast and all of the country?

A. Yes, Belfast and all of the country.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: As I understand it, the English claim is that this additional expense is a proper contribution to the Empire because of the protection that the Empire gives Ireland. A. Yes, yes.

Q. The Ulster delegation explained that to us, Mr. Lord Mayor.
A. Yes. It shows that the general view of the English lack of humor is not correct.

ENGLAND WITHDRAWS GRANTS TO CRIPPLE SELF-GOVERNMENT

The reason I deal with this is that England, I am quite sure, is awaiting the results of her withdrawal of the grants to see if she can get anything that will enable her to make a case, first of all to the people of Ireland themselves, and next to the world, to show that the Republican administration in Ireland has been a failure; to show that the Republicans who have been elected to administer the country have been unable to do so, while she herself has made it all but impossible. It is not impossible, for in spite of the difficulties that she has put in our way, we are getting ahead. But she has done everything that she can do to make it possible to say afterwards that the Republicans cannot administer their own country. I say that now so that, if later on any slight collapse does come—I say it here on account of the possibilities of the situation; and if that should happen, and England should say that these Republicans in Ireland are not administering their own country, that they have failed to administer it where all the bodies before have administered it,—I say this so that you people in America will understand.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Is there any limit to the rates which the cities and the county councils can levy? There is in America certain limitations. Do you have them, or can you increase your rates as far as you like yourselves? A. Well, there are in some of the cities, but the county rates are open, and in some of the cities the same thing applies. But that question will not arise, because the regulation restricting the rate is a British one, and while we have so far acted in comity with English regulations and rules, simply as a guide and because it obviated the necessity of drafting them ourselves, yet when a situation arises where the rates must be advanced, and British law says they cannot be advanced, why, we will, of course, advance them. We will not be bound by such a restriction as we would under British law. If we must, we will advance them.

PEOPLE PAY RATES TO REPUBLICAN BODIES

There is another thing I would like to mention to you in that connection, and that is that for the past year, while the Republican bodies have been in power and administering these public bodies, and while England has been carrying on her campaign against them and making it impossible to meet, as far as possible, I have never, either in regard to the city or the county of Cork, I have never heard of one case, one instance, where there has been a refusal by anybody to pay their rates on the ground that the bodies are Republican. The rates have been paid as regularly and as fully as they ever have been before.

Q. Mr. Doyle: In other words, you mean to say that in twenty-nine counties of Ireland where the Republican Government is functioning, that the taxes are paid regularly and wholly by the people as much as before? A. Absolutely.

Q. And those taxes are used for what? A. Purely for local purposes.

Q. What are those purposes? A. Roads, public baths, hospitals, fire brigades, education, and so on.

Q. So that Republican officials are carrying out the same duties as were carried out prior to the formation of the Republic? A. O, yes, absolutely.

Q. And the people are paying their taxes the same as before? A. Quite.

Q. And irrespective of political affiliation? A. Absolutely. I have never heard, as I said, of one case in the city or county of Cork of a refusal to pay rates to Republican bodies.

REPUBLICAN POLICE AND JUDGES WORK IN CONSTANT FEAR OF ARREST

Q. Chairman Wood: In your mention of these bodies, you made no mention of police or law and order functions. They are not under the control of the city or county councils? A. No, but I was going to say something about it. Under the English regulations and law, no public body whatever had any control over the police force. But since the establishment of the Republican Parliament, and especially since the assumption of administrative control by these local bodies,—that has been the period, of course, in which the Republic has gradually begun to function in all its departments, with the result that the police force was got under way, and works effectively and efficiently, though of course only to a limited extent, because, like every other body in Ireland, in every act that they do in the public welfare they are liable to arrest. They and the courts have begun to function and have functioned for the last twelve months, the great difficulty being the difficulty of fixing sittings with any degree of security, especially where there is anything like a criminal matter involved, because there is a danger of the place of the court's sitting being divulged and the arbitrators being arrested.

SAFETY OF UNARMED DUBLIN POLICE

Q. Chairman Wood: To return for a moment to the police force, we have had testimony here of some police force, either in Dublin or Cork, as I recall it, requesting that their firearms be taken away, that they be disarmed, and that none of them have been shot since that time. Was that a municipal police force? A. That was the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

Q. That was not a local police force? A. No, no, no! It was part of the general police force, but it was controlled directly by Dublin Castle.

Q. But the city does not control them? A. O, no. Although they are paid by the Dublin corporation, the Dublin corporation has no more control over them than we do in Cork.

Q. Senator Norris: Who does select them? A. The Government, the British Government.

Q. Major Newman: Will you tell us about that incident of their being disarmed at their own request? A. For a considerable time, or for a number of years—two or three years, while the situation has been very bad, they had the forces all over Ireland—the police forces—turn out for patrol duty and every other duty with rifles and revolvers and so forth. And the members of the Dublin Metropolitan Police held a meeting (of course, I have no personal knowledge, as you understand, of this meeting), but at this meeting they

declared that they considered that the safety of their lives was very much endangered by the fact that they carried arms, that it was entirely due to the fact that they carried arms, and that the carrying of arms was not desirable or necessary, that their function as a police force should be entirely as a peace force, and that arms were not necessary. And they refused on these grounds that they should carry arms any more. I don't know how it was, but their demands were granted. They go around in Dublin without carrying arms in any way, and they have not been molested since then.

There was a further meeting of the auxiliary force in Dublin. It was reported in the press,—I don't know how true it was, but the report was that they were protesting on the same grounds, and they held a meeting and said they did not see why they should be forced to carry military weapons. And a commissioner was sent to interview them, and listened to them, and said, "Your case will be considered, and we will see what we can do in the way of making arrangements." On this assurance they returned to their work under the old conditions, and nothing further was done, for certainly no change has been made.

COMPOSITION OF CROWN FORCES IN IRELAND

Q. Commissioner Wood: When you speak of the auxiliary police what body do you refer to? A. The auxiliary police are a special police force created about a year ago, shortly after the end of the war. They are a body of ex-officers created into this special police force known as the auxiliary police force. They rank as sergeants, all of them, and are known as "pound-a-day men" because they are paid a pound a day; and they are also known all over Ireland as the cadets.

Q. They are a distinct force, then, from the Black-and-Tans? A. Yes, the Black-and-Tans are supposed to be a part of the ordinary Royal Irish Constabulary, men recruited from England mainly,—all but entirely recruited from England. Men who had fought in the war and were on for demobilization reënlisted for police service in Ireland.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, what was the force ordinarily of the R. I. C. up to, say, three years ago? A. Ten thousand was the ordinary rating.

Q. What is the number today? A. That I could not give you, except that I don't think it would be anywhere near that number. The old R. I. C. as such was depleted considerably by resignations. A great many of them have resigned; and of course, it was to supply the vacancies created by these resignations that the Black-and-Tans were recruited, as well as, of course, to carry out the particular duties that they have since then been carrying out in Ireland, and which they could not, I presume, rely on Irishmen to do.

Q. Are the Royal Irish Constabulary recruited from Irishmen today, or Englishmen? A. O, no, from Englishmen. The R. I. C. today is entirely recruited from England.

UNIONISTS ACKNOWLEDGE REPUBLICAN OFFICIALS

Q. This matter of taxation I want to get clear on the record because it is very important. You say that in twenty-nine counties of Ireland that are under the Republican Government,¹ that the Unionists in those counties pay taxes to the Republican officials? A. Well, of course I am not in a position to give evidence only of my own personal knowledge. I know that Cork city and county has found in the collection of the rates that no objection has been made by anybody. And I also know of no such objection in any other county, and I would have seen or heard of it if it had been made. I cannot say it on my own personal knowledge, but I feel quite sure that it did not take place or I would have heard about it.

Q. In other words, the Unionists have acknowledged the Republican officials in all these twenty-nine counties? A. That is quite true, sir, seeing that administration is being carried on as usual.

EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION HAMPERED BY REPEATED RAIDS AND ARRESTS

Q. To what extent has this administration been affected by the military occupancy? What have you been able to do? A. When the Republican Government took over these bodies, there were in many of these bodies bad traditions. There was a tradition of expensiveness, of unnecessary expenditures. And the Republican Party went in and made the fact known in advance that they were going in not only to carry on the administration along Republican lines, but also to effect economies which they felt could be effected in the administration. I have no doubt whatever from my own knowledge of them that in many cases large economies could be effected by the local bodies. Of course even under the circumstances which have obtained, large economies have been effected. But if our people were free to meet and deal with these questions in the orderly way that they should be dealt with, and give them time and attention, a great deal more could be done than has been done. For a visit to the city hall by any member of the Republican administration, by myself for example, a visit is always made with the conscious fear that if I am seen going in, I may be raided within

¹ While 29 county councils have declared allegiance to the Republican Government, they comprise but 28 counties, due to the division of County Tipperary into North and South Councils. Hence, there is a total of 33 county councils in Ireland for the 32 counties.

five minutes of the time. Apart from the difficulties of it, the fact that men in public bodies are in that state of mind has a great deal to do with the administration of their public duties,—the feeling that you may be raided within five minutes, and watching to see when a door is opened or a window is opened. It is impossible,—impossible to deal with these matters of technical administration as you would otherwise. That is the present difficulty in administration. The result is that, to the extent that it has been impossible for the Republican officials to supervise these matters, the administration is largely in the hands of paid officials.

LORD MAYOR PERFORMS DUTIES "ON THE RUN"

Q. Take your own case, have you been able to exercise your function as Lord Mayor? A. O, yes, I have, of course. I have been able to preside at a good many meetings, but always under these circumstances: for instance, when a meeting of the corporation is summoned one night, the meeting may pass off all right; and the next time a meeting is summoned, the word gets around that a raid is to be made that night, and then the question is to decide on the men who will be able to go to the meeting and the men who will not. You have to study the men who may in safety go to the meeting and will not be arrested, and the men who will. In that situation I have had to use the city hall as little as possible and spend as little of my time as possible there. And it is only there, of course, that I could attend to the affairs of the city and look into the details of administration. With the exception of that, I have moved around the city without a break, excepting possibly a week or two since my election as Lord Mayor. While in the city of Cork, of course I move around carefully, always keeping a careful look-out for unwelcome visitors; and of course at night moving from house to house in the way that all men in Ireland connected with the movement do. Only in this way and to this extent have the aldermen been able to attend to their duties and the corporation been able to function. Meetings of the corporation have been cancelled owing to rumors of arrest, but only in one case has a raid actually taken place while the corporation was in session. On that occasion, fortunately for myself, I happened to be a little late. When I arrived, about five minutes after the time, the city hall was already surrounded and the raid was in progress. So I did not go into the meeting, but I remained outside and watched events. On that occasion the members were all searched, but no one was arrested. They were probably looking for a certain gentleman who was not present.

Q. Senator Norris: Tell us how they searched the members of the corporation? A. Why, their pockets were all gone through.

Q. What reason did they give? A. O, none whatever. There is never any reason given for raids in Ireland. Sometimes they offer excuses for them.

DUBLIN COUNCILLORS ARRESTED AND IMPRISONED

That also happened in the Dublin corporation while the corporation was in session, with the difference that in Dublin a half-dozen were arrested, including one of the members of Parliament, Alderman Stanes.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, will you be good enough to describe the raid that you refer to? A. Yes, sir. The meeting was held in the Council Hall of Dublin. The Lord Mayor was presiding, and the minutes had not yet been signed, when these military officers and men pushed into the council chamber. Some of them stood at the door, others went to the side of the hall, and others went to the Lord Mayor's desk and asked for the list of attendance, interrupting, of course, the proceedings of the corporation. They took the list of attendance and went through it, calling the names, and as they got to the particular name of each man wanted, arresting in the body of the house the man named, until they had six men arrested, whom they took off in one of their military cars. I have not seen or heard since what was done with them. I presume that there was no charge, that they were turned into one of the internment camps which are again being filled in Ireland.

CORK NINETY-FIVE PER CENT. REPUBLICAN

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Tell us about the last election in Cork that was on the proportional representation ballot. How many Unionists were elected at that time? A. Two.

Q. That is, two of the members of the council are Unionists? A. Yes.

Q. What is the population, roughly? A. One hundred thousand.

Q. How many of them are Republicans? A. At least 95 per cent.

Q. 95 per cent? A. At least.

ATTEMPTED MURDER OF CORK ALDERMAN

If there is no other question that you want to ask on that particular thing, I got down to the night of last Saint Patrick's Day, when Alderman Professor Stockley was attacked. I have here Alderman Stockley's own deposition, which would perhaps be clearer in many ways than my narration of it. (Reading):

Sworn Statement of Professor W. F. P. Stockley, Tivoli, Cork

"On St. Patrick's night, Wednesday, March 17, 1920, I dined with the Lord Mayor, Alderman Thomas MacCurtain, in the Metropole Hotel, King Street (now MacCurtain St.), Cork. I left at midnight, and walked from the hotel to my house at Tivoli, the first station down the river toward what was then Queenstown and now Cove. There is no train going at this hour, nor tram. The way is a straight road, a distance of about two miles. The lower part of this road is called Lower Glanmire Road. About half-way out the road leaves the town behind; on the right, going down, is the river, and on the left the railway.

"Before I was out of the town, I met a policeman, and with him presumably a detective or policeman in plain-clothes. The policeman, at least Inspector Swanzy afterward told me, was going home from the police-barracks. I walked along on this Lower Glanmire Road.

"Just as I was out of the town, two men passed me walking quickly in the direction I was going, down the river. They were talking loudly, and one said to the other, "Then you will have to go home alone," or words to that effect. I recollect thinking that the voices had not a Cork accent. I noticed nothing further about the men. They could have turned off a side road, or could have walked into the railway which from that point begins to run parallel to the road to Tivoli.

"As I walked on I began to hear a rustling noise. I stopped once or twice to listen. I thought it was the river. I now think it was someone running along the railway behind the wall dividing the railway from the road. As I walked further I noticed in the distance, at a curve in the road shaded by trees, a lamp go out, and soon after another lamp go out, and heard a breaking of glass. I judged the lamp-lighter was putting out the lights. But I then noticed that, a little further on, at the bridge just before Tivoli, a lamp was still lighting. And I had wondered that I had not met the lamp-lighter.

"By that time I heard a step behind me. (The man must have been secreted in a public lavatory I had just passed, after he had jumped over the railway wall before he put out the lamps, of which one was broken, as I noticed next day.) I looked round, and saw a rather tall figure in, I think, a soft hat and a yellow water-proof, walking with a firm, trained step, I judged just in my footsteps. I turned slightly to the left to let him pass. I had now reached the spot darkened by the putting out of the lamps; and the instant he passed me, he faced me, his back to Queenstown, and fired from a revolver. He paused an instant, between each of the four or five shots, as if to place his bullets. One wounded my hand. One barely grazed my temple. One went through the waterproof cape I was wearing. I did not move. The notion flashed through my mind, that the man fired at me because I turned aside; as if, in troublous times, he was nervous of my firing at him. Then I had the thought that the man was mad. After firing, he turned his back on me, walking on in front—showing, of course, that he did not think I was armed, and did not mistake me for a police officer, as was suggested at the time by some who would fasten the action on one of the people;—and then I spoke, asking what he was doing in thus firing at a passer-by. Immediately he turned, and saying nothing—he had not spoken at all—he fired the last shot, which went through my coat, waistcoat, trousers, and struck a safety pin, over the middle of the stomach, which was bruised black and blue. But the bullet did not go into the flesh.

"I reached home at 12:45 that night. I told no one about the shooting. The next day, Thursday, I asked the Lord Mayor if I should mention the matter. In the afternoon he made up his mind it was better to give an account to the press. I gave it, in the office of the Cork *Examiner*. Two policemen, on Friday morning, came to my house and took down my deposition.

"On that Friday, March 19, about midday, Inspector Swanzy telephoned that he wished to see me. He came to my house on Friday afternoon. He inspected the bullet marks in my clothes. He remarked that: 'These fellows are so well organized that it is very hard to get at them,' and he repeatedly assured me that I had the whole force of the police at my disposal. He asked again and again was there anything he could do for me, to protect me. And then he advised me not to be out of doors later than 9:15 P. M.; 'That would be 8:15,' he remarked, 'soon with summer time.'

"He also said that he thought the Lord Mayor had been unfair in saying, as to this shooting, that morning, that the police were often not where they were wanted, in case of need. Inspector Swanzy told me that, by midnight, the police would have left the beat down to Tivoli.

"I do not think that the man who fired at me resembled either of the men who passed me as I left the town.

"On the night Friday-Saturday, March 19-20, the Lord Mayor was murdered.

"I swear and affirm that the above testimony is, to the best of my knowledge and ability, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed) "W. F. P. STOCKLEY.

"Sworn in my presence this 30 day of November, 1920.

(Signed) "ALFRED D. RAHILLY."

I might say that nothing could more clearly or more definitely convey to you the kind of man, the type of man that Professor Stockley is than the fact that, returning home at one in the morning, being faced by a man who fired four or five bullets at him, the only action of the Professor was to say to him, "Why do you fire at a passer-by like that?" For a time after that, after expressing sympathy with the poor professor, it was kind of a joke among Republican circles, because I know there is not another man in the island of Ireland who would turn to his assailant and say to him like that, "Why do you fire at a passer-by like that?"

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, whom do you think it was who fired at Professor Stockley like that? A. O, I am quite certain it was the police.

Q. This affidavit is one of several you have there? A. One of about thirty.

Q. Chairman Wood: Mr. Lord Mayor, will you let us have that to copy?

LORD MAYOR MACCURTAIN MURDERED BY POLICE FOR BRITISH GOVERNMENT

A. Mr. Doyle: We will turn them all over to you.

The Witness: This was on the night of St. Patrick's Day last. I, with some others, had been on the run at the time. I had been called to Cork the day before for the Saint Patrick's Day parade. And the day following the attack on Professor Stockley I met the Lord Mayor, Lord Mayor MacCurtain. And to my surprise he mentioned this incident of the Professor's, and he mentioned that at the

same time he had received a threatening letter. And neither he nor I attached much importance to it. We felt that it was only a threat, and that there was no danger of the threat being put into effect. But we had arranged a meeting that night with some of our people to discuss the particular situation that was developing along those lines. On that night I was not able to attend the meeting, and as a matter of fact the meeting fell through and was rearranged for two or three days later. And on that night, two days after Saint Patrick's Day, on that night the Lord Mayor was murdered in his own house. You have had, I understand, the full account of his murder.

Q. Chairman Wood: Yes, we have had the full account of that. But perhaps you have something else to add. A. Yes. I happened to meet him that night about eleven o'clock. He was going home. I met him on Saint Patrick's Bridge in Cork. His brother-in-law was with him at the time. I parted with him not very far from his own house, and was awakened the next morning about eight o'clock to hear that he had been murdered. In losing Lord Mayor MacCurtain Cork suffered one of the heaviest losses that it has been called upon to suffer. He was one of the leaders of the Republican movement in Cork, and he had been a marked success as Lord Mayor, especially in executive and administrative lines, during the time that he had occupied the post. And in addition, he was one of the most lovable of men. He was a man in whom not only his own followers but all the people of Cork had not only the utmost confidence,—that his ability naturally carried with it; but one of the most admirable of men, because, while in the chair or in private life, he was one of the kindest and most sympathetic men imaginable.

Q. Chairman Wood: Did you see on that night any of the suggestions of preparation that have been testified to as to the stopping of passers-by on the street? A. No, that was too early. It was only about eleven or so. I would like to pay that tribute to Lord Mayor MacCurtain because the British Government, not satisfied with murdering him, has also sought to villify his character and reputation.

Q. Major Newman: You say you had been on the run at that time? A. I had been, yes, for a short time before that. There was a rumor in Cork that a certain number of us were to be arrested, and we went off for a month, and I had just returned to the city.

Q. Chairman Wood: And you were on the council at that time? A. Yes.

Q. And since your election as Lord Mayor you have been on the run? A. No. But of course I have been out of the city some of the time.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, you are satisfied about who

murdered Lord Mayor MacCurtain? A. I am as satisfied as if I had seen it with my own eyes that he was murdered by the police.

Q. By the police for whom? A. For the British Government, of course.

FOR TWO YEARS UNABLE TO SLEEP AT HOME

Q. Mr. Lord Mayor, you have stated in answer to Mr. Newman that you are able to move about freely in Cork. Do you mean that you sleep in your own home? A. No, sir, I have not slept in my own home nights for about two years. What I mean is that I have been able to move about in the city; because if I had not been Lord Mayor, I would have left the city. There have been at least eight raids at my house.

Q. Eight raids within what period of time? A. During the last five or six months. But being Lord Mayor, I don't want to leave the city. And so I move about the city and lie a little low. I move about through the city and dodge about from place to place and be careful.

Q. Explain what you mean by dodging from place to place. A. I sleep in a different place each night, but during the day being in the city hall and being in the court house, and in that way attending to affairs by not being in public in any way or appearing any more than possible,—just moving about the streets on a bicycle.

Q. But you are constantly in danger of arrest? A. O, yes, absolutely. Absolutely.

MURDER GANG RAIDS ALDERMEN'S HOMES

Q. Does that condition apply to all the public officials in Ireland? A. It does, sir. Most of the Cork corporation have been raided during the past six or seven months. In one case, Alderman O'Sullivan, his place has been raided two or three times during the past six months. On two occasions his place was smashed in. On one occasion when the place was smashed in and they were told he was not there, they said, "O, well, we will get him. We will get him yet." And in another case, Alderman Coughlan, his place was raided by the murder gang.

Q. What do you call the murder gang? A. It is where a raid takes place to murder a man, to shoot him in bed, as it often happens. We call that the murder gang, as opposed to a visit to arrest him and search the house. In this particular case there is no doubt but that it was the murder gang; and only the fortunate accident that the Alderman was not at home was able to save him. As a matter of fact, he was at home but escaped. I have here the deposition of his wife. (Reading):

Sworn Statement of Mrs. Eamon Coughlan, 19 Pine Street, Cork

"I was awakened from my sleep on Saturday morning, 27th November, at 4:45 A. M., by very loud banging. I got up. I asked, 'Who is there?' The reply came, 'Open that door!' I lowered the window and commenced to dress myself, the banging continuing all this time. The door was heavily guarded and failed all their efforts to smash it in. They then smashed the shutters on the window and I heard the crash of broken glass. I heard one of them running up the stairs, and stopping outside my bedroom door, he shouted something I could not catch. On the 30th October, at 11:40 P. M., a party of men who arrived in a motor rang the door bell and were admitted by my husband, who is a Sinn Fein Alderman of the Cork Corporation. On that occasion the party, numbering three military officers and two policemen, searched my bedroom for half an hour, going exhaustively into all letters, private and otherwise, found there. A number of soldiers stood guard outside. They were not masked on this occasion. From the quick manner in which this raider came to my bedroom, I concluded that he must have been one of those who raided the house on the 26th October.

"I said, 'Who's there?' He said nothing, only rushed in, as the door stood ajar. He was low-sized, dressed in trench coat, military cap pulled down on his eyes, and wearing a black mask over his complete face, having two slits to see through. He was the height of one of the three officers of the previous raid. He said, 'Where is he? I only want him for a moment.' He held a revolver in the right hand, and a flash lamp in the left. I said, 'Who, and what do you want?' His only reply all the time was, 'Where is he. I only want him for a moment. Aren't you his wife?' I said, 'Yes.' He said, 'You know him. You know where he is. Tell me.' I said, 'He is not here. He is away.' He repeated, 'Where is he? I only want him for a moment.' I said, 'I don't know. He is away somewhere.' He searched under the bed. He then rushed out and searched the other rooms for him. He returned and questioned me again, but it was of no avail. He then searched the wardrobe and up and down through the house.

"He came in a third time and said, 'Where does he keep his documents? I want to see them.' I said, 'I know nothing about them. I never saw any documents with him. If it is invoices you mean, they are below in the office.'" (Underneath the house is the wholesale shop of the Alderman.) "He then thoroughly searched the drawers for them. He found nothing.

"He then left, the time being then about 5:20 A. M. I came down about five or six minutes later, on hearing some cattle coming along the street, and found the window smashed, and the door, which they had opened after entering through the window, still open.

"I found the following goods missing, looted, of course, by his companions downstairs while the leader was questioning me:—About £20 to £25 worth of cigarettes; about £7 worth of tobacco; and various other things, such as cocoa, etc.

"No inquiries were made by the British authorities as to the occurrence. The damage done to the shutters and windows is about £10.

"I solemnly affirm that the foregoing testimony is, to the best of my knowledge and ability, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God.

(Signed) "MRS. EAMON COUGHLAN.

"Sworn in my presence this 3d day of December, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "DOMNALL O'CEALLACAIN,

"Lord Mayor."

In that case there was no earthly doubt but that the Alderman, if he had been there and had been caught there, would have been mur-

dered. The remainder of the party stayed downstairs and looted the shop while one man alone with his drawn revolver went upstairs looking for the Alderman.

EFFECT OF REPEATED RAIDS ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Q. Senator Norris: Now, is that a common occurrence in Ireland? A. Absolutely, sir.

Q. What effect has that had upon the wives and other members of the family? A. It has had a very disastrous effect upon them, as far as the perpetual strain on their nerves is concerned. They are having a very trying time. But as regards their spirit and determination, it makes no difference whatever. As a matter of fact, I think that the more tyranny and oppression England carries out in Ireland, the more determined the people feel. But it is a very trying time on the women and children of Ireland; though the women of Ireland are brave and are able to stand it.

Q. Major Newman: Was there any particular reason why they were looking for this Alderman that you know of? A. No. We were trying to find out. I don't think there could have been any particular reason, beyond the fact that he was a Republican alderman. The only particular thing is that he had proposed—proposed or seconded a resolution of the corporation refusing to submit our accounts to audit by the English Local Government Board. That was the only thing we could imagine.

WOMAN DIES OF FRIGHT DURING RAID

There was a raid which took place about a month or six weeks since in another part of the city, in the Drapers' Club and the adjoining premises. In the house next to the Drapers' Club there happened to be a Jew family living upstairs, and these people were awakened in the small hours of the morning to find some of these men in the room with rifles and revolvers. The lady of the house, who is something over a middle aged lady, she awoke and received such a terrible shock on seeing these men on her floor, and jumped to the conclusion that they were there to shoot her husband or her son, that she came out of bed and said, "For God's sake, don't shoot," and then she fell dead at their feet. That, of course, was five or six weeks since.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, following that affidavit, you say these raids are made by the military and the police? A. Yes, sir.

Q. In any case have any raids been made by the Republican forces in Ireland on any house in Ireland? A. Not that I know of personally. I have no personal knowledge of them.

Q. Have any been made in Cork? A. There have been raids attributed to them. I am not in a position to state whether they were or not.

COUNCILLORS' RESIGNATIONS READY IN CASE OF ARREST

Q. Chairman Wood: How does the Cork Council function when you are away? Is some one else selected to preside? A. Yes, at the particular meeting.

Q. And when the Republican members have been weeded out, that leaves the Unionists or some other members of the corporation to carry on its business? A. That has been done, but it has not reached that stage with us yet. The first thing we did after election was to sign our resignations. These are lying there, so that if any of the members are sentenced to prison or are likely to be detained for a considerable time, or if a majority of the council are threatened, or it is desirable that more men be available for active service, these resignations can always be put in, and other men selected to fill their places.

Q. Can the council fill vacancies that would occur? A. In the county council, vacancies are filled by the council. In the city council, there would be a by-election.

Q. That by-election would be held by a popular vote? A. Yes, a popular vote.

Q. No obstruction by the military authorities? A. No, not up to today. Of course now I don't know what would be done.

There was one very glaring raid near Cork City. Mr. George O'Grady until about six months ago was a justice of the peace; that is, he held a commission as justice of the peace under the British Government. He is a Protestant gentleman who farms, and his wife is a lady who takes and has taken for years a great interest in poultry raising. She acts as instructress in poultry breeding over County Cork, and she adjudicates at the different exhibitions that have been held. In 1913 there was a special prize offered by the *Poultry World* for an examination, and she won the prize, which, I think, was a thousand pounds. The raiding of her place was without any reason. I have never been able to imagine, and neither has she, any reason why their place should be raided. Their political views might be assumed to be pro-British, because her husband held a British commission of justice, and her son fought in the British army during the war; and they have never been connected in any way with the Republican movement. (Reading):

PROTESTANT HOME RAIDED AND ROBBED

Sworn Testimony of Mrs. George O'Grady, "Norwood," Rochestown, County Cork, Concerning the Raiding and Looting of Her Home by Police and Military on 29th March, 1920:

"At 4 A. M. on Saturday, March 20, 1920, our home, Norwood, Rochestown, was raided by police and a large number of military. My husband got out of bed and opened the door for the raiders. I was still in bed when the soldiers rushed into my bedroom. I asked them to leave my room. They refused. I got up and proceeded to dress myself in their presence. Before I was half dressed I was called down by the officers conducting the raid to look at bullets which they said they had found in a sack in the hall. I told them that such could not be so; that they must have had them put there."

The Witness: That planting, I might explain, of ammunition and seditious documents in the course of these raids, and then the alleged discovery of them, is quite a common feature of these raids. (Continues reading):

"I went upstairs to finish dressing, the three soldiers accompanying me all the time. When dressed I came down again, and on demand gave them the keys of every place. I was placed in a room with my husband, my son (12 years old), my son who had been in the English army and was still suffering from the effects of his wounds, and my little girl aged nine years, who, though sick in bed, had been ordered up. We were then under arrest, and three soldiers guarded the door, and two soldiers guarded the windows.

"At 9 A. M. we were called into the hall, and my husband put under arrest. They said they would deal with my eldest son later. Besides the bullets mentioned before, the raiders showed us a haversack, a revolver case, my husband's field-glasses, and a black satin square painted with shamrocks, and having a small satin Sinn Fein flag in a corner.

"I suddenly thought of money which I had on the table by my bed. This was money received from sales of eggs, and amounted to sixty-three pounds in one pound and ten shilling notes. It was all in a registered envelope, contained in a cotton bag. I ran upstairs to get it, a soldier accompanying me. It was not there; and I could hardly describe the state of things in the room. I ran downstairs to the officer in command of the raiders, still accompanied by the soldier, and asked if he knew where the money was. He said he believed such was there, but might have fallen on the floor, and directed me to look again. I did so, this time alone, but could not find the money. I came down and told him I could not find it. An officer seated in the hall stuck out his tongue at me. The leader informed me that he was not liable for the loss.

"My husband was then taken away, being refused permission to have his breakfast.

"I then commenced an examination of the rooms. The bag which contained my jewelry was open on the floor of my bedroom, and all the jewel-cases empty. Over twenty locks on beautiful wardrobes and presses had been broken open, notwithstanding that I had given the raiders all the keys to open them. My dead mother's wardrobe

had been broken open, and all her lovely jewelry, which she had given me, gone. Valuable vases in the drawing room were broken, and a cut glass cake stand and cut glass glasses broken. Subjoined is a list of articles taken. We did not receive the slightest thing back:

"Gold watch and engraved heavy gold chain; old gold heavy flexible bracelet; solid gold chain bracelet; brooch, gold shield shape, in diamonds with emerald in center; gold brooch circle in wreath of pearls; gold brooch bar, about five stones alternately on ruby and diamonds; gold swallow in diamonds; pearl ear rings; gold diamond cluster ring; gold diamond ring, five stones; gold ring, sapphires with brilliants; turquoise and pearl ring; gold, pearl and diamond brooch; gold pearl pendant; gold clasped bracelet; gold chain bracelet; long gold chain (stamped J. Johnson); gentleman's gold sleeve-links (C. S. O'G.); £63 in money; set hand-painted poultry slides for poultry instruction; drawing certificates; nursing certificates.

"It will be remembered that I am the lady who won the £1000 prize for Poultry Industry offered by the *Poultry World* in 1913. The examination, oral and practical, was conducted by American judges, and was held in England. Immediately I was offered a big salary to undertake the training of pupils in Poultry Farming in a college in England. I refused, for I loved my own country best, and stated so in a Cork newspaper at the time. I had given all my time to the development of the poultry industry, and I asked the Department of Agriculture for Ireland for a post as head of a training college in Ireland, but got no offer. Since then I have worked on among the people, teaching many, making it my special business to help the industry among the cottagers. My work has always been given free among them. For it is they who hold the great industry of Ireland. At the present time I hold the judging of most of our Irish shows in the poultry line. I suppose this is our treatment for working among the people late and early, and judging and advising at agricultural shows. I suppose it was thought we were doing wrong, but we had only the industry at heart.

"I swear that the foregoing testimony is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed in Gaelic) "MRS. GEORGE O'GRADY.

"Sworn in my presence this 4th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,

"Chairman, Cove Urban District Council,
"Cork Harbor Commissioner."

FREQUENCY OF ROBBERY DURING RAIDS

Q. Senator Norris: You say nobody could explain why they raided that place? A. No, sir. There is nothing that you could possibly imagine as a real reason.

Q. Well, from the list of the property they stole it seems to me quite apparent. A. Yes, but there is no reason that we could imagine.

Q. But I want to ask you, do these fellows usually take property and jewelry? A. O, yes, robbery during raids is quite frequent.

There is also a deposition from Mr. O'Grady, but it deals with the same incident, and it is not necessary to read it.

Q. Mr. Doyle: What became of Mr. O'Grady? How long was he detained by the police? A. He was detained for three or four days, and then he was released without charge or trial.

Q. In other words, he was put in jail for some days, and then was finally released without any charge at all?

BRITISH OFFICIALS FALSELY DENY THEFT

A. O, yes, released unconditionally. In the course of Mr. O'Grady's deposition he says,—it was after five days' detention he was unconditionally released without trial:

"On my return home I applied to the Chief Secretary for the English Government in Ireland; to the General Officer Commanding English troops in Cork; and to General Macready, and had answers from all these denying that anything was touched in the house, and Sir Hamar Greenwood had the audacity to inform me that we were never placed under arrest in our house, but were treated with the greatest courtesy."

And he also says:

"I found valuable old furniture damaged, locks broken everywhere, some priceless old china wantonly smashed, and the feather pillows and coverlets all prodded with bayonets. On giving a description of the articles of jewelry stolen to an expert, I found that the value of it was at least £400. This, together with the money, £63, taken, and damage sustained, would bring our total loss sustained to about £750."

COMPLICITY OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN RAIDS PROVED BY OFFICERS IN COMMAND

Q. Chairman Wood: Mr. Lord Mayor, what evidence is there that these raids are conducted by men under the control of officers? I notice that Mrs. O'Grady says she spoke to an officer. What is the usual experience? Is it generally obvious that officers are in command of these raids? A. O, yes, openly, in uniform. In some raids there are police only, and in some raids police and military, and in some raids military only.

Q. And so you think this is connected with the Government policy. Have you any evidence of orders received from headquarters that the Government is connected with it? A. Orders that these men have received to carry on these raids?

Q. Yes. A. No, I cannot say that I have. Those would be private orders.¹

Q. Major Newman: In most cases these raids are in charge of officers? A. Yes, that is true.

Q. Chairman Wood: What grade of officer? How high an officer, do you know, has taken part in these raids? Lieutenants and captains? A. Yes, lieutenants and captains. I do not remember of any case where there was any higher officer. People raided

¹ The British Labor Commission to Ireland did see such official orders, photographic reproductions of which are contained in their Report (Jan., 1921), pp. 14, 66.

in many cases know them by their badges, as far as the lieutenants and captains are concerned. But these raids take place usually at night, and the people are not very observant.

Q. Yes, that is quite obvious, but I wanted to know if you had any definite information.

HOME AND SHOP OF POOR MAN PLUNDERED

A. Yes. These raids are not confined to people like Mrs. O'Grady. Even in the poorest houses some little thing is taken, and if nothing is taken, very often the people in the house are subjected to threats, and very often to man-handling.

This is the case of a raid on a house in one of the poorest parts of Cork.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, before you start that, you say the houses of the poor and the houses of the rich are raided. Do they make any distinction as far as religion is concerned? A. No, not as far as I know. Mr. O'Grady was a Protestant. This is the case of a man named Horgan. He has a barber shop apart from his residence, and they were both raided. (Reading):

Sworn Statement of Timothy Horgan, 19 Kearney's Lane, Cork, Concerning Raids on and Looting of His Premises by Military on 29th August, 13th September, and 8th October, 1920:

"Hearing that my business premises in 16 Kyle Street, Cork, were raided by the English military during the early hours of Sunday, 29th August, I went there that morning at 9:30 A. M. I found the door broken open, and everything, including the contents of a glass case, scattered around the floor. On examination I found the following articles missing: All my razors, 30 in number (all of these were of German pre-war make, and 13 of them were never used); 3 pair of scissors; £3:15:0 in money; 200 membership cards of the Thomas MacCurtain Memorial Band; 4 pair of boots belonging to the Republican police; 2 officers' jackets, used by Australian army, selling in all second-hand shops; 1 fawn overcoat; 1 lady's silver wristlet watch.

"I have convincing proof which I can bring forward that the lady's watch was afterwards in the possession of an officer of the Staffordshire Regiment, stationed in Cork Military Barracks. I complained in writing to Headquarters, British Military Command, Cork; answer thus:

"No. 161/41/A,

"Headquarters 17th Infantry Brigade, Cork, 9th August, 1920.

"Dear Sir: I am directed to acknowledge your letter of the 6th inst. and to inform you that your premises were entered under Defence of Realm Act, but that none of the articles mentioned by you were taken by the search party. Yours faithfully,

(Signed) "P. H. O'DEMPSEY, Captain,

"Staff Captain, 17th Infantry Brigade.

"Mr. Timothy Horgan,

"16 Kyle Street, Cork."

"On the 13th September at 1:15 A. M. my house in 19 Kearney's Lane, Cork, was raided by soldiers of the Staffordshire Regiment under the control of an officer. The search lasted

over an hour, during which time my wife and myself were in our bare feet, and only partly dressed. Just as the soldiers were commencing to search the house, I told the officer that I had been searched before. He said, "That's the hair-dresser's shop in Kyle Street?" I said, 'Yes, and everything I had was looted.' He replied, "Nothing like that will happen here.' The sergeant, coming on a portrait of Lord Mayor MacCurtain, nicely mounted on a background worked with silk and containing the inscription 'Ald. Tomas MacCurtain, First Republican Lord Mayor of Cork. Murdered by the R. I. C. on March 20th, 1920,' showed it to the officer, who said, 'That's all right. It is only a memento of the dead Lord Mayor.' The sergeant stuck his finger through the portrait.

"On one occasion, when feeling faint, my wife attempted to go for some milk; she was ordered not to move from where she stood. Both of us were refused permission to get our boots. The officer knew my name, and claimed I was a commander in the local Volunteers. The officer and soldiers were all under the influence of drink. When they had departed, I missed the following: 1 gold bracelet; 1 cloth (which I used at my hair-dressing business); some gramophone records; some razors out of a case; and a purse was emptied of a few shillings.

"On the 8th of October at midnight my house in 19 Kearney's Lane was again raided by three officers and 39 men. They inquired of my wife for me, but I was not at home. The following morning, 9th of October, I found the door of my business premises, 16 Kyle Street, again broken open. Entering I found all the flooring boards pulled up, and sheeting on the wall pulled down. Upstairs, the flooring boards were pulled up, and some of the wall round the fireplace knocked down.

"From the constant raids my wife is in an extremely nervous condition, and as a consequence she is at present under a doctor's care. My business was seriously dislocated, and my loss alone from the looting on the occasion of the first raid in Kyle Street is £57:19:0.

"I swear by Almighty God that the above testimony is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed) "TIMOTHY HORGAN.

"Sworn to in my presence this 2d day of October, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,

"Chairman, Cove Urban District Council,

"Cork Harbor Commissioner,

"Cork Poor Law Guardian."

SUFFERING INFLICTED ON WOMEN BY RAIDS

Here is an example of what the women in Ireland have to bear, about which you asked a few moments ago. This is the poor woman's own testimony. (Reading):

Sworn Statement of Mrs. T. Horgan, 19 Kearney's Lane, Cork, Concerning a Raid on Her Home by British Crown Forces on 28th October, 1920.

"I went to bed at 12:45 at my home, 19 Kearney's Lane. Five minutes afterwards I heard knocking at the front door. I got up and came out towards the door, undressed, as they kept on banging away. To my third question as to who was there I re-

ceived the answer, 'Volunteers,' and 'You have better let us in quickly.' I said, 'Give me time to dress.' At this moment the door was broken open, and my sister and myself, catching a skirt each in our hands, fled out the back door, over a wall into Mrs. O'Leary's house, No. 16. We had taken our skirts with us, and now put them on. We were only a few minutes there when the raiders went to the back and front of all the houses and entering, searched seven houses. They were dressed in khaki with black capes, some wearing trench-helmets, more black caps, all under the charge of an officer who had raided my home on the first occasion. He was dressed in khaki, and on this occasion wore a large white cloth over his mouth as a disguise. He entered Mrs. O'Leary's house through the front door, and seeing me, stopped and said, 'Are not you Mrs. Horgan?' Being afraid, I replied, 'No. I'm Mrs. Donoghue.' He asked again, sharply, and in the same English accent, but I maintained I was Mrs. Donoghue. Still not satisfied he questioned Mrs. O'Leary, but she corroborated.

"After searching the other houses, the raiders returned to my home. I could hear them shout from outside to the others inside, 'Bring! Bring! Bring!' As I afterwards found out, this meant looting.

"I then went out into Mrs. O'Leary's yard, and entered Mrs. O'Callaghan's yard, No. 17. I saw some raiders standing in her hall. They rushed, and I ran back to Mrs. O'Leary's. They went to the back to Mrs. Daly's, No. 18, and shouted, 'They're escaping through the back.' The officer replied, 'Shoot! Shoot everything down you see.' Mrs. Daly cried out from her bed, 'Officer, they may be women.' The only reply he gave was, 'I have a bomb in my pocket.' I heard the raiders leave about 2:30 A. M. About 3 A. M. Mr. Daly came to Mrs. O'Leary's and brought me to his house to sleep the night with Mrs. Daly. In Mrs. Daly's house I fainted completely, and did not come to my senses again until about 8 A. M. I then went home and found doors open. In the kitchen and bedroom everything was dragged about. An altar in the bedroom was torn down, and various china articles were smashed. I found an empty bottle of stout on the table which was not in the house when I left.

"The following articles were missing: 1 lady's golf coat; 2 waterproof coats; makings of a dress; 1 pair of curtains; 1 table cloth; 2 pairs of sheets; 2 pairs of pillows; small curtain brushes and scissors; 1 small clock; some underclothing; 1 silver mounted walking stick, initialed T. H., which my husband had received as a present; and £7 in money, and food. Total value, £27.

"I am too much afraid to sleep at home since, and every time I see a soldier I imagine I am going to be attacked. My nerves are unstrung as a result of these repeated raids.¹

"I swear before Almighty God that the foregoing testimony is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help me God!

(Signed) "BRIDGET HORGAN.

"Sworn in my presence this 10th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "DOMNALL O'CEALLACAIN,

"Lord Mayor of Cork,

"Chairman, Cork County Council."

ATTEMPTED RAPE OF GIRL BY RAIDER

This is a typical night in Cork. These raids sometimes bear other features which are still more revolting. I have here the statement

¹See preceding affidavit by affiant's husband.

of Miss Ellie Lane of Ballincollig, County Cork, who was in the house of her employer during a raid, and who was attacked personally by some members of the raiding party. There are reasons why I prefer not to read it, but I hand in the deposition. It is an assault on the girl.

Mr. Doyle: Just a moment. (Confers with Commissioners.)

Q. Senator Norris: Will you show us the part that you think is objectionable?

(Witness indicates part.)

Chairman Wood: The affidavit contains a statement of an attempt to seduce a girl, but was not accomplished. It was not accompanied by rape. I don't think it is necessary to read it. We will put it on our record.

Q. Mr. Doyle: With reference to the affidavit just mentioned, Mr. Lord Mayor, that was an attempted assault by members of the British raiding force on a house in Cork City, was it? A. Well, just near Cork,—Ballincollig, three or four miles from Cork.

Q. The deposition was taken by whom? A. The deposition was made by Miss Ellie Lane of Ballincollig.

Q. It was taken under oath? A. Yes, it was taken under oath.

(Inserted in record by order of the Commission.)

Sworn Statement of Miss Ellie Lane, Ballincollig, County Cork.

"I am a maid employed by Mr. B. J. Magner, Ballincollig, and was in bed in one of the top rooms the night of 29th September, 1920, when the house was forcibly entered and searched by armed, masked men. I have a bedroom to myself, and a Miss Maggie O'Connor, who occupies the bedroom opening into mine, came into my bed with me, as we were frightened.

"About twelve-thirty A. M. two of the raiders entered my room without knocking. The bigger one was dressed in trench coat and gray tweed cap, and had a black mask over his mouth; the other was dressed in a gray belted coat, and tweed cap, and had his face blackened. The bigger one asked what had brought the girl into my room, as he had seen the bed in the other room empty. We replied, 'For safety.' He ordered both of us up. The smaller fellow blindfolded Miss O'Connor and put her out into her own room. The big fellow searched my bed, and said he was looking for firearms. He put me over against the window, placed the screen over my face, and commenced searching the presses and examining my letters. I put my head out and told him they were my letters, and that there was nothing in them. The small fellow told me to put in my head, or he would shoot me. He had a revolver in his hand. The big fellow then took the screen off my face and kissed me in spite of all endeavors to prevent him. He tried to force me to go back to bed, and to do so caught me by the throat with his two hands, but I resisted all his efforts successfully. When he saw this, he stopped, and asked me did I know of any chap staying in the house named O'Brien, and I said I didn't, as I never heard of such a person staying in the house. The two

then left, and about five minutes afterwards, the big fellow came back again to my room.

"He made me sit down on the bed. I asked him what did he want me to do. Was it to assault me? He said no, but that I should get back to bed before he would leave. I refused. He then exposed his naked person to me, and tried to seduce me by telling me he had plenty of money. I told him that I didn't want his money. He then told me to come into the Head Office in Cork and ask for Seamus —. I told him I would not, but that I would clear out of Ballincollig the first moment I saw the daylight. The small chap was in the other girl's room all this time, and watching into my room. The other girl was in bed, but no harm was done her. He called on the big chap to come away. They then left, and about half an hour afterwards Mrs. Magner came and told us they were gone.

"I swear that the foregoing testimony is, to the best of my knowledge and ability, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help me God!

(Signed) "ELLIE LANE.

"Sworn in my presence this 12th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,

"Chairman, Cove Urban Council,

"Cork Poor Law Guardian."

Q. Chairman Wood: Referring to this attempt to seduce this girl, is there much of what we call sex crime in connection with these raids? This is the first testimony that we have had of that kind. And we were so accustomed to hearing of sex excess in the situation in Belgium that it has been in marked contrast to that. And I am wondering if there had been any charge in this connection in these raids in the treatment of the Irish people. A. This is the only case in which I have gotten a definite deposition, and it is the only case of which I know personally in Cork. There have been rumors of such cases throughout the country, but I do not know whether they are correct or not. I have no particulars about them. But I will say that that class of assaults is not very general in connection with raids.

RAIDERS SEEK TO FIND LORD MAYOR

Speaking of attacks, the attempted murder of Alderman Coughlan and the threatened murder of Alderman O'Sullivan and the uneasiness generally of administrative bodies, I may say that somewhere about July, I think, shortly before my appointment as Deputy Lord Mayor, there was a shot fired into my house one night, just one shot. The house was not raided on that occasion nor attacked. The shot came through the front door and passed through the partition into the parlor. On the 28th of October last there was a member of the City Hall staff in Cork had his home raided about two in the morning, and this raid was connected with myself, and, of course, is an intimation not only of the things that are happening, but what I am really more concerned about trying to convey, not so much the special instances as the general and continuing at-

mosphere connected with these happenings, and under which we live.

Affidavit of Sean Courtney

This is the sworn deposition of Mr. Sean Courtney, 11 Parnell Terrace, Pouladuff, Cork, concerning a raid by police and military on his residence at 2 A. M. on the 28th of October, 1920. (Reading):

"I was awakened at 2 A. M. on the 28th of October, 1920, at my residence, Pouladuff, Cork. My wife and myself got up, but before I was able to get downstairs I was accosted by a number of military officers on the lobby outside our bedroom door. Those of them who hadn't moustaches had the upper lip painted black as a disguise. They asked me my name, and kept my wife and myself about ten minutes standing in the cold, practically naked, answering questions as to why I had left my last house and come to live here, etc." (He had been living in that particular house only about a week at the time of that raid.)

"He then allowed me to get my trousers on, and ordered me down to the kitchen. My wife, in her night-dress still, and myself went down to the kitchen, where we found soldiers under the direction of an officer tearing up the flooring boards. They emptied the contents of various cupboards onto the floor. They then ordered my wife upstairs. She refused to go, as military were upstairs in the bedrooms. She was eventually compelled to go.

"An officer picked up a photograph, and in reply to his questioning I told him it was a photograph of my little son 9 years old, taken in kilts. He thereupon tore it up in bits and hit me across the face with them, saying, 'This is another murderer.'

"He asked was I the man who was employed at the City Hall. I replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'You are the fellow who said we stole your money.'

The Witness: There is a deposition bearing on that. That refers to a raid that occurred about a week or so previous in the City Hall, and in which a sum of money belonging to this man Courtney had been stolen, and he had subsequently got into communication with the military authorities and complained about it. And that was the amount referred to by this officer. Sixty pounds was the amount stolen.

"I said, 'Yes.' He kept cross-examining me on this point, giving me the impression that he was a man of law; he admitted having raided the City Hall on the occasion under discussion. He asked me if I was a loyalist. I said, 'If it is to your Crown, I am not.' He said, 'You are a Republican?' I said, 'Yes.' He took a revolver out of his pocket and placed it to my right temple, and asked me to tell him where Donal O'Callaghan, this Deputy, sleeps at night. I said I didn't know. He called me a liar, and stated I did know, and that I knew everything going on at the City Hall. He then opened the button of my shirt, and placed the muzzle of the revolver against my heart, telling me he was giving me five minutes to divulge the information. While the revolver was at my heart an officer standing at the corner discharged a shot from a revolver. It may or may not have been a blank cartridge, as we cannot yet find the bullet. There was a hearty laugh from the officers and soldiers all round at this. It was done presumably to frighten me. He pressed me hard for some time longer, still keeping the revolver to my heart; being of no avail,

he caught me by the ears and by the hair of my head, and shook me. He kicked me and told me to get upstairs. He followed and demanded where my uniform and pipes were."

The Witness: This Mr. Courtney was a member of the Piper's Band in Cork, and that band had a distinct uniform. They wore kilts, the old Irish dress.

Q. Chairman Wood: They are connected with the Republican Army? A. Yes, sir. (Continues reading):

"As it was of no use, as I refused to give him the information he desired, he ordered me to dress and to come away with them. They were about an hour in the house. When dressed and outside the house, I noticed a group of officers some ten yards away, apparently holding a consultation. A young soldier about 17 or 18 years took charge of me at this juncture. He placed a rifle to my chest and said, 'You b——d, if I had my way, you would not go in the lorry. I'd finish you now.'

"On being marched off, this same soldier kept prodding me in the spine from behind, as a result of which I am still sore. This he did all the way to Greenmount Cross, about 150 yards from my house. The party halted there, and the same officer as had previously threatened and assaulted me proceeded to start the same all over again. His brother officers tapped him on the shoulders several times, and apparently asked him to come away. He eventually called me to one side from them again, giving me a further caution respecting the Republican Army and the Pipers' Band, stating *that all the people of this country will be mown down inside another twelve months, as they—the Crown forces—intended to finish the business.*¹ He then ordered me to get away home. I did so, fully expecting to be shot at while so doing, as this has been their usual custom under such circumstances.

"On arriving home, I first found that they had entered by breaking open the door; they must have done this with some strong instrument, as there was a double lock and two bolts on it. They had taken away the key—for further use presumably. I met my wife in the kitchen, still undressed. It was then 4 A. M. She appeared quite dazed, and could not speak when I addressed her. The kitchen and one back bedroom appeared like refuse heaps. The back garden was all dug up, and articles were missing which the subjoined list details: 10 knives; 1 silver and pearl bread knife; 1 butter-knife; 3 plated spoons; 1 framed photograph of the murdered Republican Lord Mayor of Cork, Alderman Tomas Mac-Curtain; 1 2-shilling piece; 3 ordinary life insurance books; 1 pound of butter; 2 bars of soap; 6 boxes of matches; 1 large box of boot polish; 2 ivory-covered prayer-books; 1 pound of sugar; a shilling toy pistol belonging to my young son; 2 pairs of gloves.

"The party numbered about sixteen men, of whom six were dressed in officers' clothes, one having a Glengarry cap and blue serge officers' suit with brass buttons.

"I swear that the above statement is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed) "SEAN COURTNEY.

"Sworn in my presence this 4th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,

"Chairman, Cove Urban District Council,

"Cork Harbor Commissioner."

¹ The italics are as indicated in the original affidavit.

RAIDERS ROB CITY HALL OFFICES

The Witness: The City Hall, of course, has been raided a number of times. Every other day there is a raid there. In the course of one raid there was some money stolen from one of the men,—from the man of whom they wanted to get my address. For I might say that on these occasions when a raid takes place on the City Hall, all the staff is paraded in the vestibule, and they are all stood with their hands up until their pockets are searched.

Q. Chairman Wood: The building is surrounded by the police and the military. A. Yes, yes. I will read the deposition of Mr. Sean Courtney concerning the looting of money and articles during a raid on the City Hall, the fourteenth of October, 1920. (Reading):

Affidavit of Sean Courtney

"About 11:30 A. M. on the above date, on looking out the window of the Waterworks Department, where I am employed as a clerk, I saw that the building was surrounded by military and police. On the preceding day I had a removal to a new house; consequently whatever money I had at home was transferred to my pocket. This money consisted of £22 in notes, including one three-pound note; also a green morocco purse with my name blocked in gold on it. This was presented to me by my colleagues on the Corporation Staff on the occasion of my marriage some years ago, and contained fifteen pounds in gold. A receipt for a five-pound bail bond was also with the cash. Knowing the reputation of these raiders as regards robbery, I crossed the hall into the City Treasurer's office, where I saw the assistant treasurer and another clerk, who in my presence placed the money in the safe, which was open.

"Shortly afterwards the entire staff was ordered by the raiders from their offices, and in their absence the offices were looted. My money was taken from the Treasurer's open safe, and my own office was like a refuse heap when I got back. The following articles were taken from mine and another desk: 1 scissors; 1 brush and comb; 1 magnifying glass; 6 dozen brass buttons; approximately 6½ dozen photo postcards of the Volunteer Band; 1 cap badge and 1 arm badge (miniature pipes design); some green ribbon; a green poplin '67' badge, given to me by my late father (Rest in Peace); an Agnus Dei, taken from my office coat; a calendar photo of the late Bishop O'Dwyer; and several small souvenirs and nick-nacks which I kept in my desk.

"I might add that on Saturday, the 9th inst., my bicycle, coat, and several articles, including valuable framed pictures, were destroyed by the fire in the inspection offices, which was caused by bombing, etc., on that morning."

The Witness: This was one of the many attempts to destroy the City Hall before the recent and successful attempt. (Continues reading):

"The money that was taken was to be paid out for various monthly household goods, and its loss considerably handicapped our domestic affairs, as it was all we possessed, owing to the difficulty of trying to make ends meet for some years back on a small salary. I phoned the military headquarters, Victoria Barracks, Cork, immediately, of my loss; and soon afterwards, ac-

accompanied by a friend, I interviewed the two officers who were in charge of the raiding party, at Victoria Barracks. They promised to look into the matter, but I have heard nothing since from them. The total loss suffered by me for the past fortnight amounts to close on sixty pounds.

"The raiding party was composed of soldiers of the Hampshire Regiment, and wore shoulder badges with the inscription 'Hants.'

"I swear by Almighty God that the foregoing testimony is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAN O'CUIRINN.

"Sworn in my presence, dated this 23d day of October, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,

"Chairman, Cove Urban District Council,

"Cork Harbour Commissioner,

"Cork Poor Law Guardian."

IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH THREAT TO EXTORT INFORMATION

During that same period one of the members of the staff at the City Hall was arrested. This is the sworn statement of Mr. John Egar, Clerk in the Highways Department of the City Hall, Cork, concerning his arrest and subsequent treatment by the military. (Reading):

Affidavit of John Egar

"I am a clerk in the Highways Department, City Hall, Cork, and was at my work on 14th October, 1920, in that building. During a military raid there I was searched in common with the other clerks, and finding on me a ballot ticket for a drawing, the prize for which was a .32 revolver and 50 rounds of ammunition, they arrested me. This was 11:30 A. M.

"I was taken in a lorry to Cork Military Barracks, and placed in the guard room. When I got out of the lorry a sergeant of the Hampshire Regiment wanted to know from me who used to be in the City Hall at night, and what was the general run of the place. I said I didn't know, and refused to give him any information. He said he would give me until the following morning to give him what he wanted to know, if I wanted my life saved. I still refused, and they placed me in the guard room.

"He gave me some dirty food that night, stating, 'Take that, you b——, you might not be able to eat it in the morning.' I refused to touch it. The following morning he repeated the questioning and threatening all over again, using filthy language of the worst description. A civilian then came in and took my photograph. I was then placed in a cell in the detention barracks.

"I was, on 20th October, brought from the cell for trial; on my way soldiers from every quarter shouting, 'Shoot the —— rebel,' etc. I refused to recognize the court's jurisdiction to try me.

"I was kept 14 days in the cell after this, awaiting sentence. I was then brought before the Sergeant Major, who told me my sentence was to be shot. This was done to extract some statement from me, believing I would become frightened; but I refused to state anything. I was then released.

"I swear that the foregoing testimony is, to the best of my knowledge and ability, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed) "JOHN EGAR.

"Sworn in my presence this 10th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,

"Chairman, Cove Urban District Council,

"Cork Poor Law Guardian."

Q. Mr. Doyle: What was the charge made against him, Mr. Lord Mayor? A. The charge made against him was having in his possession a raffle ticket for a revolver.

Q. Chairman Wood: As it might possibly lead to being armed?

A. Senator Norris: Yes, if he happened to win it!

BROTHER ARRESTED AND HOME TERRORIZED

The Witness: This is the statement of Miss Mary O'Callaghan, 7 Merrypole Lane, Cork. (Reading):

Affidavit of Mary O'Callaghan

"I live with my brother, Timothy O'Callaghan, at 7 Merrypole Lane, Cork. On 27th October, 1920, at 10:55 P. M., I went to the door in response to a light rap. Before I could open it, it was burst in. I saw outside a military officer, two policemen, one Black-and-Tan, and about a dozen soldiers. The officer shouted, 'Come out, Callaghan!' My brother Tim was in the kitchen, and entering, the officer compelled him to put his hands up. He asked him was he a Brigade General in the so-called Sinn Fein Army. My brother laughed. The officer asked him what he was. He replied, 'An Irish Volunteer.' He asked him for his arms and ammunition, which he had used some time ago. My brother said, 'I never used my arms.' The house was then searched, but as far as I could see, nothing was found. About 11:15 P. M. the party left, taking my brother with them, partly dressed. The officer returned to me and said, 'Half an hour will do all.' With that he left.

"About half an hour after, I heard three shots fired, and I believed my brother to have been murdered. After this firing, a soldier came back immediately. He was armed with a rifle and bayonet. He compelled me to put my hands over my head. He put the point of the bayonet touching my stomach, and said in a threatening manner that he would rip me open if I wouldn't give him information about the man Donovan. This was a man which I think was arrested in Barrett's building a few nights beforehand. I said that I could give him no information, and that he could do as he pleased. Then another soldier called him from the outside, and when he went out, I ran out into a neighboring house. I heard them rapping at my door again. I heard no more after that, as I retired for the night.

"The following morning I went home, found the door open, and a framed picture of Archbishop Mannix, and a complete shaving set belonging to my brother, missing. The head was broken off a statue of the Sacred Heart, and the picture of the late Lord Mayor of Cork, Alderman Terence MacSwiney, torn.

"The morning of the 28th October I went to Cork Military Barracks and inquired for my brother. The military authorities denied all knowledge of him, but told me to search the County Jail.

I did so, but could not find him. The following evening I again went to Cork Barracks; they still denied all knowledge of his whereabouts. But coming through the Barrack yard with an escort, I identified a policeman going in as one of those present at the raid. I called him and asked him wasn't he the person who took my brother that night. He said, 'Yes.' I said, 'If you are a man, tell me if ye have done away with him, and if so, tell me where he is.' He said that he was the man who took him down to the Detention Barracks. I went down and told a sergeant that I had found proof that my brother was there. He tried to excuse the matter somehow, but admitted me to see my brother for about three minutes. As there was a warder between us, our talk was merely formal.

"I ascribe the arrest of my brother to information given by the informer, 'Mr. Walsh.' I was coming from the barrack gate on 2d November. I saw Michael Walsh going in towards the Barrack. He said, 'Hallo, Mary!' I made him no answer. He swore frightfully and said, 'I'll pin him as round as a hoop, and it will be a long time before you will see him. We have the long fellow at last.' He alluded, of course, to my brother Tim.

"On 8th October at 3:50 P. M. I spoke again to my brother. He told me that he was brought before Michael Walsh by an officer that morning. Michael Walsh swore his life away, and said that my brother was the man who held a six-chamber revolver in his hands, and gave the orders to fire, the night he, Michael Walsh, was attacked, but escaped, at Blarney Street. As my brother was with me that night in question, I know he was not concerned in that incident. My brother could bring ample proof to establish a complete alibi, and will inform the military court of such; but as a soldier of the Irish Republic he will refuse to plead or recognize the court's jurisdiction to try him.

"I swear that the foregoing testimony is, to the best of my ability and knowledge, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help me God!

(Signed) "MARY O'CALLAGHAN.

"Sworn in my presence this 11th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAN O'MORDA,
"District Registrar for Cork City."

Q. Senator Norris: What became of that man? Was he finally killed, or was he released? A. I have not got any further facts about him. He probably will be held for some months, and then either released or tried, if they are able to fix up some charge in the meantime. I think that is all now.

Q. Chairman Wood: That finishes the depositions in regard to raids that you have here? A. Yes. There are some others there that I mean to put in, that I have not read.

Chairman Wood: Then suppose we adjourn until 2:15 this afternoon.

* * * * *

2:30 P. M.

Chairman Wood: The session will come to order. We are going to continue this afternoon with the Lord Mayor of Cork.

BRITAIN BETRAYS PLEDGE TO IRISH SOLDIERS

Q. Mr. Doyle: During the war Ireland contributed her share of soldiers to the Allied cause, in proportion to those of other nations; and I want to know what is the attitude of the returned soldiers of Ireland who fought for the Allies towards the Irish Republic.

A. Oh, the vast majority,—I can practically say unanimously through the country, they are with the Republican movement, and in many instances are actively engaged for the new Republic.

Q. Do we understand that they accepted seriously the statement made by the British Prime Minister that one of the purposes of the war was to defend the rights of small nationalities? A. Absolutely, sir. They are pretty well unanimous that they, in their manner of being drawn into the fight, into the war, were fooled by England. These men really fought, I will not say in all cases, but certainly in the vast majority of cases, these men believed what was told to them by the representatives of the British Government, and in the second instance, unfortunately, by men who were public figures in Ireland. They accepted the fact that by going out to fight in the late war they went out to fight for Ireland as definitely and clearly as possible; and that one of the certain results of victory in that war would be Ireland's independence. They see now that they were fooled in that respect, and they are one now with their fellow-countrymen and women in the fight at home. A number of cases where men have been shot and wounded have been of men who have fought in the war as soldiers. ¹

WAR VETERANS WILL SUFFER FROM WITHDRAWAL OF GRANTS

Q. You said today in your testimony that the British Government had withdrawn the grants made to local authorities, including hospitals, workhouses, and asylums. Now, does that mean, therefore, that the British Government have refused to support the soldiers who fought for it and for the allies, because they happened to be placed in hospitals and asylums in Ireland? A. In so far as these men need those institutions, it does mean that. Of course there are some of these men who are in receipt of pensions from the British Government. The pensions, of course, are inadequate, and in most cases these men find themselves in actual want, with the result that they are organized in ex-soldiers' organizations with a view to improving their own situation. But so far as these men require or may require the services of any of these institutions, it is true that the British Government, by withholding the grants, has curtailed and is curtailing the efficiency of these institutions.

¹ See Turner case.

Q. Senator Norris: How many Irish soldiers were in the war?

A. Seventy thousand.

Q. How many? A. Seventy thousand soldiers from Ireland, as apart from soldiers of Irish birth.

Q. Chairman Wood: North and south Ireland both? A. Yes.

Q. You mean volunteers? A. Yes, certainly.

Q. There was no conscription in Ireland? A. No.

Q. There were many Irish soldiers in the British army before the war? A. Yes.

Q. But these volunteered to serve England during the war.

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Doyle: And these volunteers relied on the promises of the British Prime Minister and the British statesmen of that time?

A. Yes, absolutely.

Q. Now, Mr. Lord Mayor, do we understand that the upkeep of those who had been wounded, who had been rendered insane, who suffered from gas shock and other conditions of war, have been denied the help of these grants? A. That is true so far as the men will have to be denied the services of these institutions which depend upon the grants for a large part of their support.

Q. It practically means that the British Government has discarded the soldiers who fought for it from Ireland. A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the first place, as far as the services of these institutions are concerned in a general way, and in the second place, regarding the treatment of their wounds? A. That is so; but I cannot say whether the British Government has made arrangements for a special means of treatment or not. But in so far as the withdrawal of their grants is concerned, the British Government has made it impossible for them to assist anybody, which includes soldiers.

Q. Do I understand that these institutions help children as well?

A. Well, in most cases there are separate institutions for children. But in the hospitals there are separate wards for children.

Q. How are these separate institutions maintained? A. Some of them are in receipt of voluntary contributions, and some of them get in addition grants from local bodies.

Q. But these institutions, they have been supported more or less, in whole or in part, by grants that help to maintain them in their care of the children,—of course they will suffer by the withdrawal of those grants. A. Oh, undoubtedly, yes, unless the local authorities are able, by some means or other, to make up those deficiencies. One of those grants was a grant providing, during the last year or two years, I think, for the giving of free milk to school children. That grant, of course, has been withdrawn. Half was supplied by the Local Government Board and the other half by the local authorities. The local authorities will either have to provide the balance, or discontinue the service.

Q. Chairman Wood: Is that true just in Cork, or pretty well all over Ireland? A. Well, pretty well throughout the larger cities. It is true in Cork and the larger cities.

GRANTS STILL GIVEN TO UNIONIST COUNTIES

Q. Major Newman: Do you know whether the withdrawal of those grants has occurred in Belfast? A. In Belfast, no. Only in those cities that have severed their connection with the Local Government Board. Belfast has not done that.

Q. You told us this morning that 29 counties had declared their allegiance to the Irish Republic. How many have not severed their connection with England? A. There are four. There are 32 counties in Ireland, but in Tipperary there are two county councils. The Unionist counties are Antrim, with Belfast; County Down, Derry, and Armagh.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Have any counties since taken any steps looking towards the repudiation of recognition of Dail Eireann in the hopes of getting grants? A. I did not understand your question.

Q. Have any of the counties which recognized Dail Eireann taken steps looking towards a reconsideration of that action because of their failure to get grants from the British Government? A. I remember one case, the Galway Urban Council, I think. It was discussed as to the possibility of continuing without the grants. But to the best of my knowledge, nothing was done about the matter. I am not aware of any case where the repudiation of Dail Eireann has been discussed in any matter.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Then, Mr. Lord Mayor, insofar as the attitude of the British Government in Ireland today is concerned, one of their methods is the withholding of their support from the soldiers who fought for England and the Allies who happen to be in any of these counties in Ireland where the Republican Government functions? A. Yes, as far as I have just said.

Q. Do you want to say anything more about that, Mr. Lord Mayor? A. Well, there have been a number of cases,—I will get to them later on,—where the men who have been shot or wounded in Ireland have been ex-soldiers who fought for England during the war.

IMPARTIAL JUDGMENTS OF REPUBLICAN COURTS

There is one instance in regard to the courts of Ireland that I might mention as an example of the extent to which these courts are functioning and the cases which they deal with, as well as the impartiality of their judgments. The scheme of courts under the Republic is different from the English Government scheme. The city is divided into parishes, and each parish has its parish court,

and for the entire district there is a district court. The parish court deals with minor cases and cases involving money up to ten pounds. The district courts deal with cases of money upwards of ten pounds, and also appeals from the parish courts, and ordinary cases of a more important nature than those which would be dealt with by the parish courts. There is as well the High Court, which goes on circuit. In our District Court in Cork I myself have presided in a case of slander against a curate in Dunmore, Father Sheehan, one of whose parishioners sued him for slander. The action had been tried in the British courts in Dublin without results, and the case came on to us. There was immense interest in the case. All told, it occupied three days. Despite the relative standing of the plaintiff and the defendant, the verdict in that case was that the Reverend Father Sheehan was found guilty and fined. Both fine and costs were imposed upon him.

Q. Chairman Wood: About what date was that? A. This would be roughly about seven or eight months since,—about March or April.

BRITISH SEEK TO SUPPRESS REPUBLICAN COURTS

Q. In spite of the publicity, there was no interference? A. No. At that time the functioning of the courts was not much interfered with. They functioned with impunity, and did for about six months afterwards. It was only then that the campaign of repression began, and continues up to this time. From that time on it was impossible to hold the courts except the places of meeting were held absolutely secret. Raids on the courts, whenever the British authorities got any information about where they were to be held, were frequent; and all present, including the arbitrators and solicitors, were searched, and in many cases the arbitrators as well as the solicitors were arrested. So that the ordinary public sittings became secret, and if it is a matter requiring a jury, it is necessary to keep the venue secret.

REPUBLICAN COURTS FUNCTION THROUGHOUT MOST OF RELAND

Q. Chairman Wood: These court officials are not called judges,—they are arbitrators? A. Yes, arbitrators.

Q. And they are not necessarily people learned in the law? A. No. People in the High Court in Dublin are, but in the lower courts they are not.

Q. Major Newman: In this case you speak of, was the fine paid? A. The fine was paid.

Q. There was no appeal? A. No appeal.

Q. What is the higher court you speak of? A. The High

Court is composed of legal men,—men who have belonged to the bar profession under English Law.

Q. Mr. Doyle: To what extent are the courts functioning today? A. The courts today are functioning under the same arrangements, but they are not functioning publicly, as they were.

Q. Senator Norris: But how can it be secret when you have to have both sides, and you have to get witnesses? A. Well, that is obviously the difficulty. Both sides must know of it. There is the greatest danger—a constant danger—that the court will be raided and those present arrested.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: This case you spoke of about the priest: did I understand that someone had the priest arrested for slander? A. Not arrested, sir, charged.

Q. Charged. And he was found guilty by this court? A. He was found guilty by this court.

Q. What part of Ireland was this court sitting in? A. In the city of Cork.

Q. Chairman Wood: Over what proportion of Ireland do these courts now function? A. They cover the whole country except a little patch in the north.

Q. Except the four counties? A. Except the four counties.

Q. And no courts function in those four counties at all? A. There would be courts in those four counties in particular districts. I am not familiar with the districts, but I know that in some districts they are functioning even there.

Q. Down in Tyrone? A. Yes, Tyrone.

PEOPLE REFUSE TO USE ENGLISH COURTS

Q. Mr. Doyle: What is the difference between these courts and the English Courts? A. Under the English system there was what used to be called a police court presided over by a resident magistrate. Petty sessions were held in some districts fortnightly; in some cases monthly. In the cities or towns they were held daily. They dealt with the minor cases that arise in every community. These cases still exist, of course, but they are not brought into the English courts. It is only very, very rarely that any case is brought before them. They still sit formally, but when there used to be cases brought before them every day, now they may sit for a week, and the paper simply says, "Mr. So-and-So sat in the court today. There were no cases for hearing." It is only very, very rarely that a case comes before these courts for hearing.

The assizes for Cork were held for the southern counties. That usually took in Cork, Tipperary, and Limerick. The last assizes held sat in Dublin, for Dublin and Dublin County and for all the southern district. There was no court held in Cork. There were no new cases. They were old cases which had been hanging for some

time. There were very few if any new cases, but no case, as I remember, that had been voluntarily brought before the court by any of the people of Ireland. So that in that way the function of the British courts is really approaching a termination.

BRITISH COURTS-MARTIAL SUPPLANT CIVIL COURTS

Q. Mr. Doyle: Is it not true, Mr. Lord Mayor, that the military tribunals have practically taken the place today of the courts?

A. Yes, absolutely in all cases where arrests are made now during raids and such operations, which in the ordinary course would have come before either the minor court—the resident magistrate's court, or in certain cases where the charge was a serious one and where it would have got before a court of assize presided over by a judge of assize, they are all taken before courts-martial.

Q. In other words, they cannot get a jury to sit for the British courts? A. Yes, that is the reason they withdrew the last assize from the southern district. The last assizes, they said, have failed to get a jury. None of the jurors turned up, except two or three, I think; and all the jurors were fined.

CORONERS' INQUESTS PROHIBITED BY BRITAIN

As well as taking over the functions of the regular courts, they have also taken over the functions of the coroners' courts. The British Government rendered a proclamation making it illegal to hold a coroner's court. These coroners' courts were provided by the British authorities themselves. The coroners were nominated by the county councils, but their nomination had to be ratified by the British Government. For eight or nine months it has been rendered illegal for these coroners to hold an inquest, except by special authority from the British Government. And since then inquests have been held by courts-martial. It is not deemed a court-martial. It is called a court of inquiry, but it is the same as a court-martial, presided over by three military authorities. There have been some inquests held. In the country there have been three held; but it is very difficult except in cases connected with the national fight, because where a case occurs, the body is taken possession of by the military authorities, and they hold a military inquest.

Q. Chairman Wood: Was the inquest over Lord Mayor MacCurtain's body the last of the inquests? A. That was the last inquest. That was.

DECREASE OF LITIGATION IN IRELAND

Q. Is it not true that the volume of civil litigation in Ireland has greatly diminished? I mean the appeals to the Sinn Fein or

Republican courts and the cases brought before the so-called English courts added together would indicate that there is much less litigation in Ireland than there has been for the last two or three years. A. Yes, litigation has decreased, which is a good thing in itself.

Q. Well, that may be a good thing for Mr. Doyle. But my feeling is,—Is it your feeling that the struggle of the Irish people for their freedom is occupying all their energies, and they have no time for litigation between themselves; or is it because life generally has become more stagnant, and there is not so much chance for litigation? A. No, the former is the reason. I don't know that life has become stagnant in Ireland in any way.

ENFORCEMENT OF BRITISH LAWS BY MILITARY FORCE

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, before you finish up the question of courts, military law is practically the only way the British Government has of enforcing any of its decrees, except in the northeast corner of Ireland. Is that correct? A. I beg your pardon.

Q. I say, is it not true that the only way the British Government has to enforce its decrees in Ireland, with the exception of a small section in the northeast part of the country, is by military force?

A. Oh, yes, absolutely.

Q. So that there is no civil remedy for any Irishman in Ireland today unless he gets that remedy in a Republican court? A. Outside of that small section that you referred to, that is quite correct.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Does the Coercion Bill apply to northeast Ulster? A. No. The particular counties to which the writ was applied were classified in the order.

CORONERS' JURIES IMPANELLED BY ACCUSED POLICE

I suppose what led to the suppression of the coroners' juries were some of the verdicts they brought in. But the juries that had listened to sworn evidence,—where they had listened to the evidence, the verdicts they had to bring in in many cases were of wilful murder against the police. For instance, I have here some of the verdicts brought in by these coroners' juries following an inquest. I don't know whether it is understood here how our coroners' juries are conducted.

Q. Chairman Wood: How is the coroner appointed? A. In the first place, he is nominated by the county council or the corporation, as the case may be, and the nomination must be ratified by the British Local Government Board. So that, in the first place, while he is nominated by a local body, he is an appointee of the Govern-

ment. And he sits with a jury that is impanelled by the local police, and all the evidence given at the inquest is given under oath.

Q. How is the jury impanelled by the local police? Is there some method of taking a large number of names and putting them in a box and choosing from that? A. No, they pick the jury indiscriminately from the voters in the district. The usual custom is to summon about twenty men, and the first twelve who are called and are present are sworn as the jury. Sometimes there is an extra man or two sworn in case there is any accident to any of the members of the jury during the hearing. The evidence then is sworn, and the jurors are to bring in a verdict in accordance with the evidence which they hear.

Q. Then in case the police would perhaps be the parties accused and against whom the verdict would be found, they are also the people who select the jury who bring in the verdict? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You would think that the people they would select would be as favorable to the police as any people that could be found in the community. A. That would be so. But of course these people, when they are sworn to bring in a verdict in accordance with the evidence which they hear, they cannot well do anything else.

Q. Major Newman: What police do you mean? A. The local police, the Royal Irish Constabulary. They are responsible for having a jury in court for the coroners' inquests.

Q. As a matter of fact, do you know whether they select in those lists people whom they think will be favorable or otherwise? A. Yes, that is quite notorious. In cases where their own service is likely to be involved, they will select men who have been on the police force,—ex-policemen or police pensioners. In some cases that has been notoriously so.

Q. Chairman Wood: Some of my friends who are not particularly friendly to this inquiry have suggested to me that the reason it is so unanimous in Ireland is because everybody is intimidated by Sinn Fein. I was wondering if you had heard any complaint by the friends of these jurors that they have been compelled to find verdicts against the Crown forces so unanimously, as our records show they do, because of fear of violence by the populace. A. No, sir, I have never heard of such a case, no matter what the occasion. I have never heard of any case where there was any threatening or anything of that sort.

Q. You have never heard that these coroners' juries were influenced in rendering their verdicts otherwise than by the evidence presented to them? A. Absolutely; and by virtue of their oath they must do so.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: I want some of these cases cleared up. Suppose a murder was committed by a state policeman or a member of the constabulary,—I say state policemen because we have

them in our state. A member of the Royal Irish Constabulary would be accused of the crime. Would this same member of the constabulary be permitted to pick the jury? A. That is the law, sir.

Q. Then it simply means that the accused would be permitted to pick his own jury to try him. A. Well, it would not be quite that, because the solicitor of the next of kin had the right of challenge. But so far as the jury as a whole is concerned, it would mean that.

Q. But the jury could really be fixed by the accused, could it not? A. It could be that.

Q. Senator Norris: But it would depend upon whom it was. They might be entirely disinterested. A. Yes, that is true. But in these cases where it is a notorious fact that the police are the murderers, an effort can be made to get a jury which will not be unfavorable to them.

Q. Senator Norris: But what I mean is that in ordinary cases there is no undue influence exerted upon the juries by the police? A. Oh, no, sir.

Commissioner Maurer: I think it would be well to keep that under cover. I am afraid they might start to do that in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Doyle: Mr. Maurer, we are not quite as bad as that.

VERDICTS OF CORONERS' JURIES CONDEMN MURDERS COMMITTED BY BRITISH FORCES

The Witness: Let me read this case, John O'Connell of County Cork. On Thursday, August 27, 1920, a coroner's jury at Kanturk, County Cork, returned the following verdict:

"The Jury have unanimously agreed that John O'Connell was brutally and deliberately murdered by the military accompanied by police at Derrygallon on Monday, August 16, 1920. In the case of Patrick Clancy death was caused by a bayonet thrust as described by the doctors."

The Witness: The British military report had stated that John O'Connell and Patrick Clancy were both shot down while trying to escape arrest. (Continues reading):

"We strongly condemn the action of the military, more especially as they could have taken deceased alive if they so wanted, and more especially still as there was no evidence produced by the Crown or any other one to support the theory that there was any attack made on the military by the deceased. . . . We call upon General Sir Nevil Macready, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Bonar Law to bring the perpetrators of these foul murders to justice. It has been proved to the satisfaction of the jury by the evidence at the inquest that the bullets used by the murderers at Derrygallon were flat-nosed, which is an infringement of international law."

HOW PRISONERS ARE SHOT "ATTEMPTING TO ESCAPE"

That particular practice of shooting men while prisoners and then alleging that they were shot in an effort to escape was carried out even then, when coroners' courts were functioning. But since the coroners' courts have been abrogated, it has become very, very frequent, and it is one of the most frequent forms now in which murder is carried out by the British Government in Ireland. In most cases, even without a tittle of evidence, the very story itself carries its own contradiction, because it is so very obviously and patently ridiculous that a man or two men, being carried away in a military lorry surrounded by military forces fully armed and watching them and with nothing else to do but watch them, and while the lorry is moving along to the nearest barracks, it is ridiculous that this man or these men would make an effort to escape from that lorry, because the military would certainly shoot them. But since these coroners' inquests have been abrogated, it is very, very frequent. One case is of two brothers named Buckley arrested in Middleton, County Cork, last August. These fine young men were arrested in the ordinary way and put in a lorry surrounded by men fully armed, and proceeded towards Cork. I will just read this, the deposition of one of the brothers. On the way shots were fired, and both of the brothers were wounded, one fatally. No effort was made by them to escape. But on arriving at Cork they were both taken to the military hospital attached to the military barracks in Cork, where one died and the other recovered and was later released because they could not find any charge against him. The particular story given out was that these two men were arrested and were being brought to Cork, and in attempting to escape were shot in so doing.

LLOYD GEORGE IGNORES ACCUSATIONS OF JURIES

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, before you read that, I want to ask about what became of the verdict of the coroner's jury that called upon Mr. Lloyd George and General Sir Nevil Macready to stop the murders committed by their agents in Ireland. What answer was ever made? A. Oh, none; none absolutely at all.

Q. They paid no attention to it? A. None absolutely. The same was true of the verdict in the case of the murder of Lord Mayor MacCurtain, where the verdict entered charged Mr. Lloyd George himself in it.

Q. I want to ask Senator Norris a question in that case. The verdict of the coroner's jury in that case accused Mr. Lloyd George of murder. Would he not be debarred from the United States? A.

Senator Norris: I don't know. I am afraid our Department of State would make its own immigration laws for him.

Chairman Wood: I am afraid we will be encumbering our record with an arraignment of our own state instead of investigating conditions in Ireland.

HANDCUFFED PRISONERS WANTONLY SHOT

The Witness: This is the deposition of this young man Buckley. (Reading):

Sworn Testimony of Batt. Buckley, Ballyedmond, Midleton, County Cork

"On Friday morning, 27th August, 1920, at the hour of 1 A. M., I was awakened by very loud knocking at the door. My brother Sean and myself were sleeping in the one room; we got up and dressed, then came downstairs. My father had come down before us and had the door opened. Two policemen, one of whom was Constable Clancy of Midleton Police Barracks, and a Cameron officer, entered. About twenty-five Cameron soldiers who accompanied them surrounded the house outside.

"A thorough search of the house was proceeded with for about an hour and ten minutes by the officer and a sergeant of the Camerons. The officer then placed my brother and myself under arrest, without charging us with any offense. We were taken on foot by the entire party to the military headquarters at Midleton, which is occupied by Camerons. We were handcuffed there and left in the guard-room until evening, when we were removed about 6 P. M. During the interval we were at the military barracks, the handcuffs were kept on us for ten hours, but our treatment otherwise while in the barracks was quite normal.

"At 6 P. M. we were placed in a military motor lorry in charge of a Cameron officer and about ten Cameron soldiers, and the lorry proceeded along the main road leading to Cork. We were both handcuffed separately and were sitting on the floor of the lorry. I was at the rear of the lorry and my brother Sean was at the front, both of us facing in the direction from which we had come. About half a mile outside the town I heard my brother cry out, and immediately a sharp revolver shot rang out. The shout from my brother was in all probability occasioned by his seeing his assailant levelling the revolver at him. A second shot followed almost instantly, and I fell in the lorry, shot through the right shoulder. I gave no provocation whatsoever for this shot, and my brother gave none either. We were both sitting quite still, and were making no effort to escape, as is alleged by the military.

"An hour and a half later, we were both admitted to the military hospital, Victoria Barracks, Cork. During our journey to Cork, the military left us lying in the lorry and never approached us to ascertain the extent of our injuries, or to succor us in any way; neither did they speak—even among themselves—after firing the shots, until we reached the hospital. As my brother uttered no sound during the journey to Cork, I believe he was unconscious all this time. I suffered great agony from the wound in my shoulder, but did not speak. When we reached the hospital we were placed in a ward, and our wounds attended to. My brother died almost immediately on being admitted.

"On 10th November, 1920, I was released from the hospital without any charge being preferred against me, or being tried in any way. My right arm from the elbow down is still lifeless, and I am unable to

move my fingers. I have to use a crutch also, as my right leg is exceedingly weak, owing to what the military doctor terms shock. The British authorities never inquired of me as to how the tragic occurrence took place.

"I solemnly affirm and swear that the above testimony is, to the best of my knowledge and ability, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed) "BATT. BUCKLEY.

"Sworn in my presence this 30th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,
"Chairman, Cove Urban Council,
"Cork Poor Law Guardian."

Q. Chairman Wood: What sort of an officer was in charge of this lorry? A. A Cameron officer.

Q. An officer of the Cameron regiment? A. Yes, the Camerons are a Scotch regiment.

Q. Mr. Doyle: I want to ask a question with reference to that affidavit. Do I understand that these men were shot while they were handcuffed? A. Handcuffed and sitting in the lorry.

Q. Handcuffed. And while handcuffed they were shot by these soldiers? A. Yes, absolutely.

"WILFULLY AND BRUTALLY MURDERED BY MILITARY"

To continue these verdicts. (Reading):

On Monday, August 30, 1920, a coroner's jury at Queenstown, County Cork, returned the following verdict:

"We find that George Walker died on August 28th from shock caused by bullet and bayonet wounds inflicted by Cameron Highlanders. As there was no evidence of provocation, there was no justification for this man's death."

The Witness: On Monday, August 30th, a coroner's jury at Hospital, County Limerick, returned the following verdict:

"We find that Patrick Lynch was unlawfully brought from his home on the night of August 4th by military then stationed in Hospital, and taken about two hundred yards to the south side, and there wilfully and brutally murdered by the said military."

SUPPRESSION OF CORONERS' JURIES LICENSES CROWN FORCES TO MURDER WITH IMPUNITY

The Witness: So many verdicts of this kind were brought in against the British military and police and the British Government that on Friday, September 3, 1920, the British Military Government in Ireland issued an order prohibiting the holding of coroners' inquests in ten of the counties of Ireland, including the two counties in which the verdicts I have just read were returned against their troops. The counties in which the holding of inquests is now an illegal act are Cork, Clare, Galway, Kerry, Limerick, Longford,

Louth, Mayo, Roscommon, and Tipperary. It is in these ten counties that most of the worst outrages have been committed by Black-and-Tans and the police; and by abolishing the coroners' inquests the British Government has made it impossible to hold any public inquiry into such cases. It simply means that the British troops in these counties are immune to do as they please with the Irish people, and no public body will be permitted to bring the facts to light. This order of September third further decrees that in these ten counties Army Courts are to be established to fulfil the functions of the coroners' courts of inquiry. In other words, the British armed forces who in future murder and shoot Irishmen are solemnly to sit in judgment on themselves. The British Government, instead of suppressing such murders, deliberately endeavors to suppress the facts about them.

Q. Senator Norris: Is there any question as to the legality of that order to abolish these coroners' inquests, when they have been legally constituted under English law by the British authorities themselves? A. Well, that is a matter, sir, which is purely legal. Personally I don't know. But it would be an unfortunate experiment for anybody in Ireland to appeal it. In the first place, it would have to be appealed to a British court; and in the second place, the British court would certainly uphold the order. And then I think that under the Defense of the Realm Act the civil powers are handed over to the military.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, is it not a matter of fact that the coroners' courts are one of the oldest courts in Great Britain? A. Absolutely, sir. The coroner's inquest was the first protection afforded the individual citizen, the first effort to keep definite check and control on sudden or unnatural death. It was provided that in any case where death occurs in an unnatural or mysterious way, an inquest should be held so as to give the citizens that protection. Now no inquiry takes place as to why that death should happen; or if there is an inquiry, it is in the hands of the military.

Q. As I understand it, it is one of the first steps taken after the adoption of Magna Charta to safeguard the rights of the individual, and protect the life of the individual citizen against aggression by the sovereign or by anybody else contrary to the laws of the realm. A. Yes, it is one of the fundamental protections of the lives of the individual citizens, sir.

BRITISH MURDERS OF UNARMED IRISH CIVILIANS EXCEEDS GERMAN RECORD IN BELGIUM

I have here a summary of the murders in Ireland during the period from January 1, 1919, to August 21, 1920.

Q. That is covering what period of time? A. January, 1919,

to August, 1920,—about eighteen months. I shall give it to you in bulk figures without any details.

From January 1, 1919, to August 21, 1920, the British military and police in Ireland committed 51 murders of unarmed and in-offensive civilians. In the same period, 562 unarmed civilians were wounded by those armed forces. It is significant that in the ten counties of southern Ireland in which the British Government has prohibited coroners' inquests, there was a total during this period of 35 murders and 405 unarmed civilians wounded, or 69.45 per cent. of all such cases.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Is it not true, Mr. Lord Mayor, that that record is larger than the record charged against the Germans during the occupation of Belgium during the same period of time? A. As far as I know, yes, sir, just as the whole system of outrages in Ireland and the reign of terror imposed on the people living there is, I think, unquestionably far more terrible and far more cruel than anything that has been alleged against Germany in her occupation of Belgium.

IN HASTE TO MURDER, MILITARY SHOOT WRONG MAN

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Perhaps, Mr. Lord Mayor, you have later figures; but I should presume that the number of murders would be greatly increased since October. A. Yes, sir; I have later figures here. In some cases where the military engage in a raid with intention to shoot, they are not very careful. Sometimes they make mistakes. There is one particular case of where a young man was shot. Fortunately, he did not die. I myself visited him in the North Infirmary in Cork, and I was speaking to the doctor who examined him; and the doctor told me that it was marvelous that the man should have lived, as he received some terrible wounds. And one of the men engaged in this raid admitted to one of his comrades that they were in the wrong house; but by that time the poor man was lying in a pool of blood in the yard. This is the statement made by the father, Patrick Nunan, of Ardiprior, Buttevant, County Cork. (Reading):

Affidavit of Patrick Nunan

"On 28th September, 1920, my sons and myself attended mass, held in the parish church, for the Lord Mayor of Cork. The three of us, along with a laborer by the name of Michael Morrissey, were drawing hay on the day previously and also on the day referred to above. On account of the mass we returned home late in the evening with our second load of hay. When the hay was put in, Morrissey went home to change his clothes, and my two sons went with him. When the three returned to my home the soldiers were there before them. My son Patrick came in first, and he did not see the soldiers and did not know they were there until he heard the order of 'Hands up!'

"Before my son arrived I heard a noise at the door. My wife and myself were in bed, and she wanted to go downstairs to let in those outside, as she thought they were our sons. I would not let her do

so, as I had heard strange voices. I partly dressed myself, and in my bare feet went to see what was wrong. Before I could go downstairs the soldiers were in my kitchen. They asked for candles, and I gave them one. Having given the candle, one of the soldiers asked was this Ardiprior, and I said that it was. He asked me my name, and I gave it. He asked had I Pat O'Brien here in my house, and I said that I had no one but my family. He then said, 'I'll shoot you.' 'If you do so,' said I, 'I can't help it.'

"Then I heard the order of 'Hands up!' and I saw my son coming in the door with his hands above his head. The soldiers gathered about him, and before putting any question to him, one hit him with the butt end of the rifle, while others hit him with their fists about the face. They searched him, and they then asked him his name, and he said Paddy Nunan. They stopped when they heard his name. He went from the kitchen to the bedroom, and sat down on the bed beside his mother. He was not there more than two minutes when the soldier who had already threatened me said, 'Take that young fellow outside the door and shoot him!' This order was hardly given when three or four others approached him and told him to come on. I was in the room at the time this order was given, and when they were leading him out I attempted to follow, but was told to remain where I was. He went outside the kitchen door, and I could not leave the room. He was not far from the door when I heard the reports of shots. I shouted to his mother, 'Oh, Paddy is shot!' And she said, 'No, they are probably only firing to frighten him.'

"Some soldiers were in the loft where my girls were sleeping, and on hearing the shots one shouted, 'Oh, King, we are in the wrong house. Give me the ladder.' They rushed out of the house almost immediately. I then went out to look for Paddy, and when I went to the door I saw him, ten or twelve yards away, struggling to get up. I shouted to my family, and we all rushed out to where he was lying. I was first to him, and on asking him was he badly wounded, he said, 'Tis nothing. Give me a mouthful of water.' My son Ned and myself brought him into the house. When he was put to bed, I summoned a priest and doctor, who arrived about 3:30 A. M.

"I swear before Almighty God that the facts as set forth in my testimony are the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed) "PATRICK NUNAN,

"Ardiprior, Buttevant.

"Sworn in my presence this 4th day of October, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "DOMNALL O'CEALLACAIN,

"Deputy Lord Mayor of Cork and

"Chairman, Cork County Council."

MILITARY CLOAK ATTEMPTED MURDER BY FALSEHOOD

The Witness: This is the deposition made by the young man himself who was wounded. (Reading):

"I have heard read to me the written testimony of my father, Patrick Nunan, Ardiprior, Buttevant, County Cork, in the matter of an attack on me by a number of the British military forces on 28th September, 1920, and all portions of the testimony referring to me therein are true.

"When I went outside the door, I was shot in the right hand. The soldiers were standing around in a semi-circle, and I had walked only five or six yards from the door when I received several shots in the back and front of my body. I fell forward on my face and hands.

I was then hit on the jaw with something hard. They turned me over on my back, and opened my coat and waistcoat. One of them said, 'We needn't bother with him any more. He's all right.' They then went away, and my father and family came to me, and I was carried in home.

"The report issued by the Military Headquarters, Parkgate, Dublin, which states:

"Running out of a house at Ardiprior, near Liscarroll, while it was being searched by troops, and disobeying the order to "Halt," Patrick Nunan, a civilian, was wounded by the soldiers, who themselves were under fire. There is no truth in the report published in the Press that Nunan was taken out of the house, or that orders were previously given for him to be shot. He was found in possession of live and expended ammunition,' is untrue. Everything that passed from the moment I obeyed the order, 'Halt!' and entered my father's house with the soldiers is as given in my father's sworn testimony. The soldiers were not subjected to fire. There was no live and expended ammunition found on me, as I never had live or expended ammunition in my whole life.

"I swear by the Almighty God that the facts as set forth in my testimony are the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same were given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

"Signed for Patrick Nunan, Jr., Ardiprior, Buttevant, who was physically incapacitated and could not sign, by

"SEAMUS MACGEARAILT.

"Sworn in my presence at North Infirmary, Cork, this 7th day of October, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "DOMNALL O'CEALLACAIN,
"Deputy Lord Mayor of Cork and
"Chairman, Cork County Council."

Q. Mr. Doyle: You read the false report issued by the Government in that case. What Government do you mean? A. The British Government.

REIGN OF TERROR GROWING WORSE

The Witness: I mentioned today, gentlemen, that while this reign of terror had more or less existed for some years past, it has been gradually growing worse for the past year, and especially the last six months. In the first place, the night raids and searches have become more numerous. With that, the night raids are beginning, first of all, to be accompanied by the smashing in of shops and the looting of their contents; and developing later on, quite recently the burning of individual houses and shops. As well as that, the ordinary conduct of the forces of the British Crown during the day became more aggressive. It became fashionable for the soldiers and police passing through the city during the day to hang over the sides of the lorry all around, their rifles pointed at the passers-by, at the citizens of Cork, who were on their business in the streets during the day. Apart from any intention to shoot passers-by,—any deliberate intention,—it was pretty obvious that, having lorries flying along at a high rate and soldiers in charge, or the police in charge, as the case may be, not having a reputation for great calmness and

coolness, that would not have any reassuring effect upon the people, so that the citizens passed through town only when necessary.

SOLDIER FIRES IN CROWDED THOROUGHFARE

In firing from these lorries as they pass through the streets, in a number of cases shots have been fired and in a number of cases no harm was done besides terrifying the people; but in other cases people have been hit and killed by firing from these lorries as they pass through the streets. Some of the depositions bear on that, particularly during the past three or four months, when things have become more acute, than they were previously. This is the sworn statement of C. O'Cruadlaioic, 56 Grand Parade, Cork:

Affidavit of C. O'Cruadlaioic

"At 5 P. M. this evening, 2d November, whilst a lorry of soldiers in full war kit were passing along the Grand Parade in the direction of Patrick Street, I happened to be looking through the window of my office when I saw a soldier, who was sitting at the back of the lorry with a rifle between his knees, suddenly raise his rifle and fire a shot in the air. He then turned to his companions with a smile on his face. This being one of the leading thoroughfares in the city, was fairly crowded at the time, the majority being women; and naturally there was much panic.

"I swear that the foregoing testimony is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed in Gaelic) "C. O'CRUADLAOIC.

"Sworn in my presence this 5th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,

"Chairman, Cove Urban District Council,

"Cork Poor Law Guardian."

The Witness: That gives an example of the every-day life in Cork,—lorries passing and firing over the sides, terrifying the citizens.

CONSTABLE GUILTY OF MURDER PROMOTED

Here is another case of firing deliberately,—the sworn testimony of Michael A. Terry, Lavitt's Quay, Cork. (Reading):

"On Sunday evening, between 9 and 10 o'clock, on 24th June, 1920, I was standing at one of the windows in my house, and saw a group of young men being pursued along this Quay, in a western direction, closely followed by five policemen. Opposite my door I saw quite plainly one of the constables load his rifle and take deliberate aim at the men, which was quite uncalled for, as the young men ran out of reach of the policemen and were dispersing home. Within ten or fifteen minutes after the policeman had fired on the men, I saw a car driving at full speed, and coming from the western side of my house, on its way to the infirmary. I heard two men in the car call out to the policemen whom they passed: 'Mind, ye have murdered a man.' The following day the man who was taken to the infirmary in the car died.

"I then went to the police station, and saw the Chief Constable, and asked him, for God's sake and the peace of the city, to call an inquiry

into the occurrence, and I offered to bring forward at least five residents who saw the incident and were prepared to testify to the callous conduct of the police on the occasion; and was refused the grant of even an ordinary inquiry.

"Note well the result of my complaint. The very same constable who fired the rifle, and whose name I gave to the Chief Constable, was within a very short time promoted to the rank of sergeant.

"I swear before Almighty God that the facts as set forth in my testimony are the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same were given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed) "MICHAEL A. TERRY.

"Sworn in my presence this 1st day of July, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "DOMNALL O'CEALLACAIN,

"*Chairman, Cork County Council.*"

INDISCRIMINATE HIGHWAY ROBBERY BY BLACK-AND-TANS

Before the development recently of wholesale terrorism has been the scattering of these men, this Black-and-Tan police force, around the streets of the city, holding up indiscriminately the passers-by and searching them. Passing on the streets, these men challenge the passers-by and order them to hold up their hands while their pockets are gone through. In many cases all the contents of their pockets are stolen, any money especially. I do not say that occurs in all cases, but it has occurred in a very large number of cases. That thing continued for a number of weeks, down to the time I left Cork; and it was further intensified during the two or three last evenings I spent in Cork, either holding up these men and robbing them, or seizing from the drivers of the hackney cars in Cork their whips, and whipping the passers-by indiscriminately along the footpaths. I presume that it can be attributed, apart from natural savagery,—because these men were always or nearly always drunk,—I suppose the purpose was to see if these citizens of Cork would be goaded into attacking them to some extent, and thus provide an excuse for shooting them down. This is typical of these happenings. (Reading):

Sworn Testimony of John Creed, 56 Grattan Street, Cork

"On Monday evening, December 6th, about 7 P. M., I left the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union offices, 80 Oliver Plunkett Street. I was there practically the whole day, doing temporary clerical work. I proceeded to Princes Street. I went into Geary's, wine merchants, Princes Street, and had two drinks. It was near 7:30 P. M. when I left.

"I came back in the direction of the Union offices. There was not a single person to be seen on Princes Street. At the Tullamore Tobacco House, which is at the corner where Princes Street joins Oliver Plunkett Street at right angles, I saw two men come from the direction of the General Postoffice, which is at the end of Oliver Plunkett Street. They were dressed alike, in light raincoats and soft black felt hats. They both carried revolvers in their right hands. I had my hands in my coat pockets, and the smaller of these two men called out, 'Hands up!' which I immediately did. He advanced towards me to search me, whilst the other covered me with a revolver. My right-

hand breast pocket contained a roll of fourteen £1 Treasury notes, and two ten-shilling Treasury notes, one £1 Treasury note, and about three pounds eight shillings in silver, total £19:8:0. After rubbing his hands down my front, probably to see if I had a revolver or any papers on me, he put his hand into my right breast pocket and took out the bundle of notes and some of the loose money. He looked at the money and put it into his pocket. He then told me to put down my hands and button my coat, and to get away. I was going off in the direction of the Union offices, but he compelled me to go in the opposite direction. I did so. The pocket containing the money was the only one of my pockets that was searched. The man who took it had a decided English accent.

"I went back to Geary's and stayed there some ten minutes until I heard that things were quiet outside. I then went back to the Union offices, only just entering there when six fellows similarly dressed to the fellows who robbed me passed, coming from the Post Office direction, and followed closely by a motor car containing about six more of them. The two ladies in the Union offices were fainting from fright. Councillor Robert Day was with them.

"The Treasurer informed me, when I handed the remnant of the money over to him, that £16:8:0 was missing. I told him my story, and I also placed the matter before the members of the Union. The latter complimented me on escaping with my life. I made a statement the following evening to the English Labor Commission who were taking evidence of outrages at the City Hall, Cork.

"I swear that the foregoing testimony is, to the best of my knowledge and ability, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed) "JOHN CREED.

"Sworn in my presence this 10th day of December, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAN O'MORDA,

"Registrar, Cork District Court."

The Witness: That gives you gentlemen an idea of what everyday life has come to in Cork. In passing through the streets of the city one has got to be perpetually on the lookout. You judge by seeing a crowd and commotion in front of you that these men are out searching. If they are, you get out of the district as quickly as possible, if you are wise. They come along and hold up and search indiscriminately, not only men, but women and girls. Quite recently some girls who attend Miss MacSwiney's high school in Cork were searched on their way to school,—had their pockets turned out and even their books examined. One of the results of this daylight searching is that the people, on account of the many instances of robbery, never carry any money around with them, except very, very small sums that are absolutely necessary. And they do not carry any watches with them. It has become quite the custom in Cork to leave money and watches and everything of that kind at home, except a few shillings that may be absolutely necessary. Another consideration is that when it is necessary to take money or anything of value with you, it is sewn into the clothing; and money is sometimes placed in socks or boots. But lately they apparently thought of that possibility, and they searched the socks of those whom they held up.

ATTEMPTS TO MURDER PUBLIC OFFICIAL

I dealt today, gentlemen, with the particular difficulty in tending to business by those who are elected to the different public offices. This is a deposition by Mr. Seamus MacGearailt, who is chairman of the Cove (Queenstown, it was) Urban Council, and a Cork Harbor Commissioner. This, you will understand, is an important administrative body in the south of Ireland. Mr. MacGearailt has been continuously looked for and raided for, and for the past five or six months he has not been able to get near his own home in Cove, much less attend to his public duties, believing, and I think with reason in his case, that there was not only danger of arrest, but in his case danger of being shot. His deposition reads:

Affidavit of Seamus MacGearailt

"About the middle of August two of the newly arrived Black-and-Tan police came into my premises in 18 East Beach, Cove, and sought to purchase some goods. I informed them that I would prefer not to have any business dealings with them from a point of principle, and requested them to leave. They accepted my argument in seeming good faith, and left without demur. I resolved on this action, as I had reason to know they were testing me, having walked directly from the Barracks, a half mile distant, past several similar shops to come to mine. A further proof that they really did not intend to legitimately purchase is that on leaving my shop they entered a public house next door immediately.

"About a week afterwards I was approached by the woman who acts as housekeeper in the Constabulary Barracks, Cove. She told me that there was general disagreement between the old police and the new Black-and-Tan arrivals. That the Black-and-Tans wanted to come out a couple of times to burn my premises, and said that they would shoot me. That the head constable viewed the matter with so much alarm that he specially paraded and cautioned them; shifting one to Haulbowline, as he was afraid more especially that he would cause trouble in the town. He told them the place was quiet before they came, and he wanted no violence from them.

"This was the first time this woman had spoken to me, but she told me she was so horrified by the threats towards me and their general demeanor that she made a resolve to warn me.

"On Wednesday, 25th August, a party of Cameron Highlanders were disarmed by an armed body of men in the 'Hill' portion of Cove, and one soldier dangerously wounded. That night, my home, in conjunction with others in various portions of the town, was forcibly entered and searched by police and military. I was not at home. Nine searchers examined everything in the whole house for an hour, and took away with them a lot of manuscript which I had written. On Thursday I wrote a letter to the Officer Commanding, Military Hntments, Cove, asking for a return of my manuscript. That day there were many arrests by police and military in the town.

"On Friday morning at 10:45 A. M. I was in my shop at East Beach chatting to a friend. I saw a motor car containing a couple of soldiers draw up outside the door and a military officer with a revolver in his hand jump out. I ran to the back and dropped out through the window into the street below. My brother Michael, who was in the shop, told me the officer inquired for me and searched the place for me. About five minutes afterwards, from a window in a house in Harbor Row, I saw the same motor car containing the officer and two armed soldiers pass back in the direction from which they came, viz., the military camp. About half an hour afterwards my mother came

to me and told me that about twenty minutes before a motor car pulled up outside our house, 3 East Hill, and an officer rushed in and asked if I were there. On finding I was not, they left immediately.

"I believe the double raid to be consequent on police information as to my whereabouts. About 10:30 A. M. two policemen passing saw me in East Beach. They must have phoned the military immediately they reached the Barracks, as the motor car containing the officer stopped outside the shop ten minutes afterwards. They only searched my house on the return journey.

"That day a military lorry was ambushed outside Midleton, about twelve miles from Cove, the military driver shot dead, and an officer and private wounded. They were brought into the military hospital at Cove, and that night at 11 P. M. the Cameron Highlanders wrecked all the shops in the principal business streets of the town, and looted many. My shop was untouched. At 3 A. M. the following morning armed Black-and-Tans issued forth from the local police barracks. They proceeded to East Beach, smashed my shop front completely, and entered, wrecked, and looted the premises. They were under the influence of drink, and fired upwards of twenty-nine shots from their revolvers into the place, imagining, from their shouts of 'Now we have the ——,' that I was there. They only desisted from setting fire to the place, notwithstanding the facts that a family of four children under seven years were living overhead, because prevailed upon by hysterical women. The panic prevailing, and the action of those police on that occasion, is given in a separate deposition. I firmly believe they fully contemplated murdering me on that occasion.

"Subsequently upwards of nine other houses were raided by military to effect my arrest, the occupants being closely questioned as to my whereabouts.

"I swear that the foregoing testimony is to the best of my knowledge and ability the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT.

"Sworn in my presence this 15th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAN O'MORDA,

"Registrar, Cork District Court."

BRITISH OFFICERS TORTURE HUNCHBACK

The Witness: In the course of these raids, and even where personal attacks and even murders are concerned, these forces are no respecters of persons. And even where conditions obtain which would appeal to the ordinary humanity or ordinary common decency of any man, or where one would expect it would,—even where a man has been crippled or deformed, that would not save him. There have been a number of cases where these men have been shot or otherwise maltreated. There was one notorious case in Bandon, on the night when several houses in Bandon were burned down. There was a young fellow there of eighteen or nineteen who was shot down in bed. In this case I give you the deposition of a young man in the case, Sean Murphy, Cork Hill, Bandon. (Reading):

"I visited James Murphy, St. Patrick's Hill, Bandon, on Wednesday night, 10th November, 1920, and obtained from him a voluntary sworn statement re. treatment he received at the hands of three British officers that morning. He told me he heard a knock at the door at 3:50 A. M., and he went out and opened the door. Three British officers rushed in, one (we will call him X) having a drawn revolver in his

hand. X was shouting, "You are the man we want." I was dressed only in my shirt, and stepped back. They shouted to "Get a candle!" When the candle was lit, X pointed his revolver at me, and told me to stand against the wall, calling me a Sinn Fein spy. He struck me across the head and knocked me. He compelled me to sit on a chair. Another officer (whom we will call Y) commenced quoting, "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay. These are our Lord's words." And he applied these words to himself. The third officer (whom we will call Z) was searching the house. X again gave me a blow which did not knock me, but he gave me a third which did. X and Y made me get up, and again I was struck and knocked down. This was done several times. They were questioning me on who were the prominent Sinn Feiners in Bandon. They made mention of Canon Cohalan, asking was he the most prominent Sinn Feiner there. X said, "If you are a man, get up and fight; don't be getting behind ditches and hedges to us. Come on! Come on! Get up and fight!" Z then put a Dolor Beads around my neck. They got two pieces of stick and made a cross with them. They put the cross in my hands and made me swear that I never gave information to Sinn Fein about British officers. They again struck me, knocking me on each occasion. They said that they were divided as to whether they would hang me or shoot me. Z cut a line (a piece of rope used for hanging clothes), made a noose in the middle of it, and put the noose around my neck. X and Y pulled an end of the rope each, but it did not tighten too much. It lifted me off the stool and broke. Its breaking probably saved me much torture. They said, "Well saved," and threw away the rope. X again brought the revolver into play. He put it to my mouth, and said, "You are going to die now." One of them said, "We won't shoot him." X then struck me several times. I was now bleeding from my mouth and nose, and think also from my ears. Y said, "Wash yourself!" I went to wash myself, X again hitting me in the eye, and calling me a dirty Sinn Fein spy. They made me kiss the revolver before going. When they were gone, I found that several books of a religious kind (Irish), a sheet and a tablecloth were missing.

"James Murphy is a little hunch-back, who resides with his sister who is not very strong. I saw the shirt which he was wearing that morning. It was completely clotted with blood on the front and back. I also saw the piece of rope. It would not be strong enough to hang a man, but a small man like James Murphy would suffer greatly the way they pulled it while the noose was around his neck.

"He was in bed when I saw him; and his nose was very badly torn. He complained of pains in his head and back, and as a result of his treatment he is very nervous. I know James Murphy personally. He is a very quiet, inoffensive man. He is an ardent student of the Irish language.

"I swear that the foregoing testimony is to the best of my knowledge and ability, from a careful examination into his case, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help me God!

(Signed) "SEAN MURPHY.

"Sworn in my presence this 19th day of November, 1920.

(Signed) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,
"Chairman, Cove Urban Council."

The Witness: The Canon Cohalan referred to, I might mention, is the parish priest in Bandon.

Q. Mr. Doyle: That deposition, of course, is taken under oath, is it not? A. Yes, sir.

Q. All these affidavits you have read are all taken under oath? A. Yes, sir, all taken under oath.

BARBAROUS TORTURE OF IRISH PRISONERS

There have been a number of cases where ill-treatment after arrest has been alleged. But as that has been a more or less recent development, and as the men in whose cases it has been alleged are still nearly all in jail, it has not been possible to get the particulars in a number of cases. Fortunately, in one case, and I think it is a most glaring as well as a most cruel case, we have got the deposition, although the man in this particular case is still in prison. The man concerned is Thomas Hales, one of the Hales family from Knocknacurra, near Bandon, County Cork. It is a family who are famous as athletes. His brother represents the Irish Republic as consular agent there. I had the pleasure of meeting him last July when I was there. I will read the deposition of Thomas Hales:

Affidavit of Thomas Hales

"On the 27th July, 1920, at about 5 P. M., I was standing outside a farmhouse at Laragh, about two and three-quarter miles from Bandon,—Mr. Hurley is the proprietor of the house. Some police and soldiers came and surrounded the house and took me and Harte. I was brought inside the house, and there saw Captain Kelly with other military officers."

The Witness: Captain Kelly, I might explain, is one of the intelligence officers attached to the British Military Headquarters at Cork.

"I had no coat on at the time. They then took me into an outhouse, and took all my other clothes off me and searched them for documents. They found some documents on me, and on searching my coat, which was hanging up, they spilt out of it some cartridges. I had no cartridges in my possession, and I'm of the opinion that these were placed there by the military. Captain Kelly and Lieutenant Keogh took all my clothes off me. Lieutenant Keogh said, 'You have documents with regard to the boycott of the R. I. C.' When I was undressed they strapped my hands behind my back with leather straps, and put them around my neck and mouth. Harte was also strapped in a similar position. I was not in a position to defend myself, and Lieutenant Keogh hit me several times in the face and on the body. Kelly said, 'You have some documents from the Adjutant General per Michael Collins.' He apparently assumed that M. C. stood for Michael Collins. They dressed me again, tied my hands behind my back with leather straps, and also dressed Harte. Kelly said, 'You will be shot.' They put straps around my legs as well as round Harte's legs. They made me stand up, and made Harte stand behind me. They discovered a slab of gun-cotton in the farm. I do not know whether it was brought in by the military or not. They placed the gun-cotton on Harte's back, strapped it there; and Kelly said, 'Be prepared for a shock.' They looked round for a detonator, but could not find one. They then took the gun-cotton off Harte's back, and while my hands were strapped behind my back, and Harte's hands were also strapped behind his back, Lieutenant Keogh hit me and Harte in the face several times. He hit me very hard, and he had in his hand, I believe, the butt end of a revolver.

"They then tied my right leg to Harte's left leg, and marched us off to a lorry about 200 yards away. I was prodded by a bayonet, and I was hit in the nose by the butt end of a gun. I was very weak, and it was difficult to walk in a three-legged fashion.

"There were two girls in the farm who witnessed some of what

took place, namely, Miss Hurley and Miss Lordan. I am not certain if they were in the outhouse when I was stripped, but if they were not in the outhouse they were certainly outside. There were other people present who could also verify what took place. One of the boys of the farm was arrested at the same time, but the military let him go.

"On reaching the lorry, they were not able to throw us both in together, so they separated Harte from me, and they threw us into the lorry. I was nearly blind, as blood was running down my face from the injuries I had received. We were taken to Bandon into the Military Barracks yard, and were lined up to be shot. The soldiers were howling for our death, and were anxious to shoot us. We had our backs to the wall, and Harte was on my left-hand side. Keogh said, 'Do you want to be blindfolded?' We said, 'No.' I asked to see a chaplain. Keogh said, 'Damn it, why do you want to see a chaplain?' I said, 'All right, go ahead.'

"We were still tied with our hands behind our backs, and the soldiers hit us with their fists. My sight was getting very dim, owing to the blood that I was losing, and I felt very weak. Kelly paced out twelve to fifteen paces from us, and then put five or six men with rifles at the end of the fifteen paces. Harte was then very weak and could hardly see. He stuck a flag into Harte's hand, and made him hold his hand up. I recognized that the flag Harte was holding up was the Union Jack, but Harte himself was too far gone to recognize it. A man came with a camera and took a snapshot. Kelly then said, 'We must get some information first before we shoot them.' We were then taken across the Barracks yard into a room in the Barracks. The soldiers were furious at not being allowed to shoot us, and they punched us and pummelled us the whole way across the yard.

"They locked us into a room. It was getting dark by this time. About midnight I was led out by the guard, and taken to an upper room. There were, I believe, six officers in this room, including Captain Kelly of the enemy Military Intelligence Department, stationed at Cork City; Lieutenant Keogh of the Hants Regiment; Lieutenant Richardson, in charge of wireless at Bandon; Lieutenant Green, believed to be of the Hants Regiment. They were sitting down as if they were going to try me. There were no soldiers, only officers in the room.

"Kelly opened the proceedings by saying, 'We are going to try you.' My hands were still tied behind my back, and the strap was fastened round my neck and face. Kelly took up a book which he said was a Bible, and opened it and placed it in my hands behind my back. He told me to repeat the oath which he was going to say. I said, 'For what purpose?' He said, 'We want your name, and for you to answer other questions on oath. If you do not, you will be handed over to the R. I. C., and they will quickly identify you and deal with you.' I, of course, was well known to Captain Kelly. He had seen me many times before, and of course knew my correct name. I had previously given a false name when I was arrested,—that was before I knew Kelly was present.

"I said, 'I have no objection to giving my name.' They let my trousers and pants round my feet, my hands still being behind my back. 'Now,' said Kelly, 'repeat the following words after me.' He then started saying some form of oath and included in it the name of the Blessed Virgin. I did not repeat the name of the Blessed Virgin, and two of the officers took their canes and beat me on my bare legs for about five minutes. I was powerless to do anything. Kelly then asked my name. I said, 'Tom Hales.' He said, 'You are Commander of a Brigade.' I said I was one time. He asked me who was the man next in command to me. I said I refused to tell him. I said, 'You are foreigners to me, but I appeal to you, if you are gentlemen, to go ahead and get on with the shooting part of it. I am quite ready.'

"Kelly then told one of the officers to go out and get the pliers. He then said, 'You are an anarchist and a murderer. You have organized all the murder and attacks on barracks in this part of the country.' He said, 'Where were you on Sunday? Were you at mass, and at what mass?' I said, 'I was at mass at Rossmore.' He then asked me was I not responsible for raising the training camp at Glendore last year. I refused to answer. The two officers then gave me about forty cuts each on my bare legs. Kelly then said, 'Will you refuse to tell me was Professor Gerald Sullivan Commander of the camp?' I told him I did not know such a man. He said, 'You are a damned liar.' The two officers then gave me vicious blows on the leg, and the blood was flowing down my legs from several wounds in them. (Dr. Shannon, civilian doctor of Cork Prison, saw the scars that were on my legs.) The scars were visible for three weeks after this night's event.

"Kelly said, 'There was one of your dispatches intercepted connected with the camp and signed by you. Be sure we know more about you than you think.' Then he said, 'Where did you sleep last Sunday night?' I said, 'I was at home.' 'That is a damned lie,' said Kelly. I said, 'I generally sleep at home. I hardly ever sleep in anybody else's house. The hay shed is good enough for me.' Kelly said, 'You organized and were in the attack on Farnivane Police Barracks.' I said, 'You may have been told that.' He asked me what rank did John Buckley of Bandon hold in the Irish Republican Volunteers. I said, 'He is a builder, and a good Sinn Feiner at that.' I was again viciously whipped for the statement. He said, 'What position does your brother John hold and where is he staying?' I said, 'I refuse to give you any information about him.' He then turned to the officer whom he had sent for the pliers, and he started bending and twisting and pinching my fingers at the back. He gripped them at the back, placing one portion of the pinchers against one side of my nail and the other portion of the pinchers against the other. He brought the blood to the tops of several of my fingers, and for some time afterwards my fingers were black on the tops, owing to congealed blood there. I was feeling extremely weak, almost fainting, and the blood was dropping down my legs. I was asked several questions about other individuals and about military matters, but I refused to give any information.

"Kelly also put the pinchers on my thighs, but my senses were becoming quite numb. After that, and finding I would answer no questions, he told me I would be shot at dawn. He said, 'You are a Commander of a Brigade and know all about these murders. If you do not know, you should know, or you can have no control over your men.' I said, 'If that is so that I have no control over my men, there are other people besides me that have no control over their men.'

"Keogh then untied my hands and told me to pull up my trousers. I did so, and my trousers were sopping wet with blood. Kelly said, 'The Court is closed for the finding.' He said, 'Stand up,' as my knees were somewhat bending, 'and we will see what a Tommy can do to you.' Keogh then landed me a terrific punch in the face. I said I would not defend myself; I would not give them an excuse to say I had hit them. Keogh hit me several times in various parts of the body, but especially in the face, and he broke the four teeth in my upper jaw. He then knocked me down on the ground. I was absolutely exhausted and nearly fainted, and my senses were beginning to go. He hit me on several occasions while I was on the ground. After a few minutes one of the officers said, 'That's enough.' I was then dragged up and led out of the room. My hands had not been retied since they had been undone in order to lift up my trousers. When I got outside my hands were tied up again and the straps fastened round my neck and face. Five or six soldiers hit me while I was going to the room where Harte was.

"After I had been placed in this room, bleeding and exhausted,

Harte was taken upstairs. He was treated in a very similar fashion, and it has, unfortunately, had a detrimental effect upon his brain, and he is now practically mentally incapacitated.

"In the morning, at daybreak, the 28th July, the sergeant came in and loosened the straps that tied my arms. About half an hour afterwards Captain Kelly came in with a squad of men and took me out of the room. He noticed the straps were not tight. He said, 'Who in the hell loosened your straps?' He had them immediately tightened. I went into another room and had to kneel down. Harte was also brought in and told to kneel down; and we were left kneeling for about five minutes. We were then told to get up, and were taken into the barrack yard. They put me up against a wall. I said, 'Will you let me see a chaplain?' 'No,' said Kelly, 'I will not.' I said to Kelly, 'Your life will only be a short one, the same as mine.'

"He immediately drew out an automatic pistol and placed it against my temple and said, 'One question, and on the answer of this question depends your life. Give me the names of the six battalions.' I said, 'Even if I knew the names of the six battalions, I would not tell you.' Kelly said, 'I will give you another chance, and if you don't tell me the battalion names, I will shoot you dead.' I said, 'Go on. I won't tell you the names.'

"He then took down the revolver and walked over to where some of the officers were, and said something to them. I then heard him say, 'We will take him off, and we will give him some more torture.' They threw me into a motor lorry. Harte was also thrown into the same motor lorry, and we were brought to the Military Hospital in Cork. I was attended to by the doctor in the hospital, and my treatment and Harte's treatment in the hospital was satisfactory. We were given newspapers and were not in any way molested or struck, and our injuries were attended to.

"We were placed, though, in a ward where there were twelve wounded policemen, and they were all day and all night long talking at us and crying for our blood. This had a very detrimental effect upon Harte, who in consequence is now in a very weak mental state.

"On Tuesday, the 19th August, we were told by the military officer that we would be tried by court-martial sharp at 10 o'clock. On August 20th, at quarter to ten, we were taken to the place where the court-martial was to take place. After waiting for half an hour, the sergeant was told to take us back, as the court-martial was postponed. At twelve o'clock we were taken again to the same place, and again, after waiting half an hour, the court-martial was postponed and we were taken back. At 2:30 we were taken again to the court-martial, and the court-martial took place. I refused to recognize the court, and I refused to cross examine, but I stated that I had no munition on me. The president asked me did I want to cross examine Captain Kelly. I said, 'No.' We were sentenced to two years' hard labor."

The Witness: Well, that, gentlemen, is one of the most glaring cases I know of.

CRUELTY DRIVES PRISONER INSANE

Q. Senator Norris: That man is still in prison serving his time?

A. Yes, sir; that man is still in prison serving his two years. And in the case of the man Harte, we have had reports definitely,—we have heard rumors, but some time before I left we learned that the poor man had lost his mental balance and was insane. We made efforts before I left Cork to get him transferred to the Cork lunatic asylum, but up to the time I left, nothing came of it.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Was this affidavit submitted to the Labor Commission which was in Ireland? A. Not that I know of. Not in Cork. It may have been in Dublin.

Q. Were some affidavits submitted? A. Some of them were.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: That Captain Kelly is still in the Information Office? A. In Cork, he is.

Q. Is Captain Kelly an Irishman? A. That I do not know. I know nothing whatever of him. I scarcely think he would be, and I surely hope not.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: This party you were telling about, in what prison is he? A. In Dartmoor, I think.

Q. That prison is in England? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Commissioner Wood: Do you know these persons, Mr. Lord Mayor? A. Not all of them.

Q. Were these depositions made before you in your position as chief magistrate of the city of Cork? A. Yes, sir, most of them were.

Q. Senator Norris: This one you just read was? A. Well, that was an irregular one. Most of these poor men are still in prison. That is the case of this particular man whose affidavit I have just read, Mr. Tom Hales. He is still in prison; and that had to be given through channels other than the ordinary deposition. But it is perfectly reliable.

Q. Chairman Wood: Do you know that man yourself? A. Yes, I know him personally.

Q. Senator Norris: He is a reputable man in every way? A. Oh, yes, absolutely.

Q. How old a man is he? A. Thirty-five or thirty-seven. His father is a farmer in a large way near Bandon. He has three or four brothers. They have a threshing machine which they operate all around there.

Q. How long have you known him? A. Five or six years.

Q. He bears a good reputation, does he? A. Yes, as good as any man in the country.

FACTS ABOUT IRISH ATROCITIES SUPPRESSED BY BRITISH-CONTROLLED CABLES AND PRESS

Q. Commissioner Maurer: We have heard about these atrocities in Ireland. What effort have you made, if any, to inform the British authorities about them,—I mean the official family of the British Government? A. None whatever except that these particular cases have been reported in the press in some form or other.

Q. The Irish press? A. Yes, in the daily press.

Q. Has any publicity been given to these crimes in English papers? A. Yes, in some of them. Not all of these cases have been, but the case of Mr. Hales was in some of them.

Q. The thought that was in my mind was this: You probably remember that before we got into the war, and for a long time before the war ended, we heard a lot about the terrible atrocities that were happening in Belgium. A. Yes, certainly.

Q. Since the war ended we have found that a good many of those stories are not true, but we accepted them as true; and the thought I have in mind is that, as regards the stories that we have listened to for the last few weeks here about Ireland, the stories we heard about Belgium, even if they were true, are not as bad as the stories we have heard about Ireland. And yet the people do not seem to believe them. Can you explain that? A. Well, it can be explained by the way England controls her press. I understand that even in America you are not immune from that control. And that has a good deal to do with it. The fact that Republican Ireland, even in Ireland, does not own or control a daily paper, makes it very difficult to get the truth to the people!

AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS GIVE DIFFERENT PUBLICITY TO BELGIAN AND IRISH ATROCITIES

Q. Do you think it is possible that the British Government does really control the press of the United States, inasmuch as we do not get any of this information, except as we are getting it in this Commission? A. Certainly you do not get any of this information, especially in the detailed way you get it in this Commission.

Q. But we got it from Belgium every day. A. Well, as an example of the way in which that information is treated, take a case I saw in your papers the other day, the case of a young man up in the north of Ireland, in Kilmuth (?). This young fellow, his house was raided; his sister was injured in seeking to prevent his removal; his brother was forced to accompany his captors into the yard, and there, with his brother looking on, he was shot dead. Now, with reference to Belgium and the publicity about what happened there. Let us assume that that had occurred in Belgium during the war. Do you think it would be confined to a five-line space on one of the back pages of your newspapers? Could you possibly have a more glaring outrage than that committed in any country, and still have only five or six lines in the back pages of your own newspapers?—where a young fellow was taken out of his home and shot, and his brother forced to witness the procedure, and his sister injured in addition. Cases like that do not always even get five or six lines on the back page, owing to English control of the cables and its own news service.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Is it not a notorious fact that the British Government controls the cables to this country, even today? A. Abso-

lutely. I believe I have read something about that in your papers just since I have been here.

IRISH EDITORS IMPRISONED FOR EXPOSING ATROCITIES

Q. I would like to ask you, is it not true that some of these cases were published in your papers, like the *Freeman's Journal*, and the editors were arrested and put in prison? A. That is a fact. The editor and the directors were arrested.

Q. Can you give us the facts of this case? A. Well, the editor and directors were charged with giving untrue facts about one of these cases. The editor and manager, through their counsel, Mr. Dan Dealy, showed that their accounts were justified; that they had every right to put them in; and yet, in spite of that, they were found guilty and put in prison. However, I see now that the Government has released them,—or they were being released within the past week, on account of ill-health.

In regard to that case of Hales—

ABUSE OF PRISONERS A VIOLATION OF RULES OF WAR

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Before you leave the Hales case, may I ask a question or two? A. Certainly.

Q. Mr. Hales was sentenced for two years? A. Yes.

Q. Do you happen to know on what ground he was sentenced? A. No, for the moment I do not know definitely what the charge was. I think it was for having seditious documents in his possession. The two charges usually are either for having seditious documents or for having arms and ammunition in your possession.

Q. Do I understand that Mr. Hales admitted quite openly his membership in, and the fact that he had held a commission in the Republican Army? A. Yes.

Q. If Mr. Hales had been treated as an ordinary prisoner of war, would he have objected? A. No, he would have been quite satisfied.

Q. You see, the fact that I would like to bring out, and which I think you would like to impress upon us, is the treatment of this prisoner not in accordance with the rules of warfare. A. No, of course, it was his treatment subsequent to arrest, when he was a prisoner.

Q. But the fact was not disputed that he was an officer in the Republican Army? A. No, no.

Q. And as an officer in that army, he would, of course, have taken part in the operations of that army? A. Yes, of course, and would have been willing to take the consequences; and the consequences, of course, should have been in accordance with some legiti-

mate method of treatment, and not in the barbarous manner in which he was treated in this case.

BRITISH SUPPRESS IRISH NEWSPAPERS

Q. Mr. Doyle: Before you go on, Mr. Lord Mayor, I would like to ask you about the *Freeman's Journal*. Is that a large and prominent newspaper in Ireland? A. Yes, the *Freeman's Journal* is. It is a journal with an unfortunate reputation in Ireland. It has nearly always had the reputation of being in league, or practically always in touch, with the British authorities in Ireland, or at least in sympathy with Britain. However, there has been a change in the management of the *Freeman's Journal* about six months since. Since then there has been a change in the tone of the *Freeman's Journal*, and it has become more sympathetic with the fight waged by the people of Ireland, and has reported very fairly and accurately the different outrages that have occurred in the country. This culminated with the two reports with which they were charged. One of the charges against them was publishing the photograph of the back of a young man who had been lashed in prison after his arrest. The Government maintained that the photograph was not correct,—was not a true photograph,—and they maintained it was. And the young fellow himself gave evidence that it was, and his doctor also testified as to his injuries. But despite that, the editor and manager were sentenced to pay a heavy fine as well as imprisonment.¹

Q. Mr. Doyle: The photographer also gave evidence, did he not? A. Yes, he said the photograph was correct.

Q. What is the circulation of the *Freeman's Journal*? A. That I could not tell you.

Q. How many other papers in Ireland have been suppressed for telling about these outrages? A. Well, there have been a number of them suppressed from time to time; but the only papers that were suppressed of any importance were the national and weekly papers. The *Cork Examiner* and the *Independent*, I think, was suppressed for a time. The *Freeman* was also suppressed. Most of the papers that have been sympathetic with the Republican fight have been suppressed from time to time; but in most cases, as far as the daily press was concerned, the term of suppression was short. But the weekly press of the Republican movement has been suppressed continuously for the past three years. But the result of the suppression in every case has been to have a new paper issued. They simply change the name of the paper and start in again.

Q. What is the alleged charge for the suppression of these papers? A. Oh, there is never a charge made. The object, of course,

¹This photograph is reproduced in the Commission's Report, p. 89.

is to prevent full freedom of expression, and to prevent the truth being expressed to the world.

Q. Chairman Wood: Where is the *Freeman's Journal* published?

A. In Dublin.

PAPERS DARE NOT PUBLISH SWORN AFFIDAVITS OF BRITISH ATROCITIES

Q. Mr. Doyle: What I want to know is whether the affidavits that you have read were published in those papers. A. Oh, no, not at all. The suppression of the paper in that case would be a permanent one.

Q. In other words, the papers could not publish those affidavits that you have read here today, even though they are absolutely true, and are sworn to under authority? A. No, not at all.

CROWN FORCES COMPEL PAPERS TO PUBLISH THREATS

The *Cork Examiner* and the *Evening Echo* have been forced at the point of a revolver to insert threatening notices to the citizens. These notices, while they are not official, at the same time the *Examiner's* staff are forced to insert them by visits of the police force to them, who simply stand over them until these notices are put in. These notices threaten different penalties upon the people of Cork. For instance, here is an issue of the *Cork Evening Echo* for December 10, 1920, which will give you examples of what these things are like. These notices are inserted in the center of the paper in striking black type. The paper not only has to insert them, but is afraid to refer, and never has referred in any of its columns, to the manner in which these notices are handed to them and they are forced to put them in. This particular one is headed in the paper:

"We have received the following:

"NOTICE

"If G. Horgan is not returned by 4 o'clock on today (Friday), 10th December, Rebels of Cork, beware, as one man and one shop shall disappear for each hour after the given time.

(Signed): "'B. and T's.'"

The Witness: That is very important, because it was inserted on that day, December tenth, the day before the burning out of the heart of commercial Cork. It threatened definitely that if something does not happen about which nobody knows anything in Cork, one man will be shot and one shop destroyed for each hour after the given time.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Have you any idea as to who this

G. Horgan is? A. No, sir. After that everybody in Cork were asking themselves who this G. Horgan was, and I have never found out to this time.

The next notice is:

“We have received the following:

“IMPORTANT NOTICE”

“We, the undersigned, do now give the male sex of Cork City notice, ‘which must be adhered to forthwith,’ that any person of the said sex who is seen or found loitering at street corners or on the pathways without reasonable excuse why he should be there, or any man or any boy found to be standing or walking with one or both hands in his pockets, will, if he does not adhere to this order, suffer the consequences which will no doubt ensue.

(Signed): “Secretary of Death or Victory League.

“God Save the King and Frustrate His Enemies.”

Q. Commissioner Thomas: What is the politics of the paper from which you then read? A. Pardon?

Q. What is the political color of the paper from which you read these notices? A. It was the official organ in Cork of the late Parliamentary Party. It is a Parliamentary organ, mildly in sympathy with the Republic, but still adhering to constitutional methods.

Q. Chairman Wood: It would have been called a Redmond paper before? A. O, yes, a Redmond paper.

THE TORTURE OF KEVIN BARRY

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, you have another affidavit of a case following the Hales case? A. Not another affidavit, but I want to refer to Kevin Barry. I want to mention that case. Kevin Barry was a young university student of eighteen years. He was arrested following the attack upon a military lorry in Dublin. He was tried by court-martial and was hanged. In the interval between his trial and his execution, poor Barry, so it was stated by those in Dublin who were in a position to know and who were in touch with him and with the prison while he was there,—they told me that he was subjected to tortures; that he himself told them,—one of the last messages that he sent out of prison,—that he had had his arms twisted until they ached in an effort to get from him the names of those who were with him on the event of the attack on the lorry. He was subjected to that for some four or five days subsequent in order to force from him the names of those who were with him. He, of course, not only suffered tortures but suffered death; but he

certainly did not give the names of those who were with him on that occasion.¹

AMERICAN PRIEST ASSAULTED BY POLICE

In Cork quite recently a priest from Philadelphia, Rev. Edmond O'Shea, made this deposition about what happened to him in August of last year: ||

"On Sunday, August 9, 1920, I was set upon by Sergeant Larkin and Policeman Gallagher, Blarney, demanding what authority I had for putting a tri-color flag on Blarney Castle. The question was so absurd that I refused to answer; a flag similar to the flag in question floating over the City Hall, Cork, at the time. The tri-color had been left on the top story of the Castle by accident.

"I was immediately placed under arrest. I was thrown down, throttled, and only when my life seemed in danger did it occur to me to state my American citizenship. In face of two drawn revolvers I managed to forcibly escape from them, and rejoined my friends at the Castle. Just there and then I was laid violent hands upon by the police. Possibly influenced by the crowd which gathered, the police returned to barracks without me.

"On our way home the way was barred by at least six armed police. Larkin gave orders for them to take forcible possession of me, but the entire force seemed paralyzed by fear, for I passed through without harm.

"I swear that the foregoing testimony is, to the best of my knowledge and ability, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed) "EDMOND O'SHEA.

"Sworn in my presence this 15th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,
"Chairman, Cove Urban Council,
"Cork Poor Law Guardian."

The Witness: That happened at Blarney Castle. I don't know whether the reputation of Blarney Castle has come to this country, but it is quite well known in Ireland.

PEDESTRIANS INDISCRIMINATELY BEATEN AND SHOT

I have already read some depositions bearing on the everyday life in Cork. Under the new conditions that have obtained there during the past three months, under the new reign of terror, there are a few sworn statements which will give you an idea of what ordinary life is like in Cork at present.

Sworn Statement of Thomas Roberts, 2 Windsor Terrace, Ballyhooley Road, St. Luke's, Cork

"As I was walking home with two friends on the night of the 14th September, 1920, we were halted at St. Luke's at 9:50 P. M. by two men dressed in dark overcoats and caps. They presented two re-

¹ Kevin Barry's affidavit, detailing the tortures inflicted upon him in prison to compel divulgence of information, is reproduced in the Commission's Report, pp. 90-91.

volvers at us and asked where we were going. A third stranger, whom we had passed, and dressed in a gray overcoat and slouch hat, had, as far as I could see, halted two other men a little further down. He was seemingly engaged in searching them, and used the term 'Sinn Feen' and filthy language many times. He spoke with a decided English accent, as did also the two who accosted us.

"It was very dark at the time, and we told them that we were going home. One of them caught me by the throat, and pushed me, whilst the other did likewise to one of my friends; my third friend seeing his opportunity, escaped. My second friend managed to escape also, and the two strangers turned their attention to me. They jammed me up against the wall. The third stranger, either having left the other two men go, or hearing the noise, rushed up and fired point blank from his revolver at me, the bullet entering my right shoulder and skimming the lung. I fell, and they immediately ran away in the direction of Military Hill, where the Military Barracks is situated.

"My friend came and took me home, and some time afterwards I was taken in the Corporation ambulance to the North Infirmary, arriving there at midnight.

"We were held up twice on this journey by the military. On one occasion, on being told that the ambulance contained a man who had been shot by them, a military sergeant came into me. I had my right shoulder bared, the still unbandaged wound bleeding profusely. He caught hold of the wound in a brutal fashion, saying, 'Show it to me!' He then searched me. A military car accompanied the ambulance to the Infirmary.

"About four days afterwards I went under an operation, and the bullet was extracted from my shoulder. I was in the Infirmary for about three weeks, and I am still unable to work.

"The whole assault happened without the slightest provocation on my part.

"I swear that the foregoing statement is, to the best of my knowledge and ability, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntarily. So help me God!

(Signed): "THOMAS ROBERTS.

"Sworn in my presence this 16th day of November, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,

"Chairman, Cove Urban Council."

OFFICER ADMITS ANONYMOUS THREATS ARE OFFICIAL

The Witness: During one of the raids, one of the many raids on the City Hall of Cork, one of the military officers who was engaged in the raid admitted the official nature of one of these threatening notices that appeared in the press like this I read for you. This particular one, as far as I remember, threatened that for every policeman or soldier killed, ten or twelve citizens would be shot. I am not quite definite as to the particular threat to which it referred, but I think it was one of that nature. For that reason, this deposition is important, because from the way these other notices appear, it is not possible to say they are official. They are merely signed "B. & T.'s" or "Secretary Death or Victory League," or something like that.

Q. Chairman Wood: What is the nature of this? A. This is a deposition by John G. McCarthy, 2 Emmet Place, Cork, and it shows

conclusively that these notices do have an official nature. (Reading):

"I was in a small committee room adjoining the Council Chamber, City Hall, Cork, on Thursday, 14th October, 1920, at 11:25 A. M. I heard a shout of 'Hands up!' resounding through the building, and a military officer, with four or five soldiers, armed with rifles held at the ready, rushed into the room, shouting 'Hands up!' I put my hands over my head. He searched my pockets, and closely examined their contents. He appeared very excited. 'What is your business here?' he said. I replied, 'I am an Arbitrator.' He asked, 'Who sent you here?'" I said, 'A man whom I met in the street.' He asked me his name. I said I didn't know it.

"At this stage I complained that my arms were tired from holding them over my head, and as he had found me unarmed, that I should be allowed to put them down. He turned to the soldiers, who had had their rifles pointing at me all this time, and said, 'If he moves his arms, shoot him through the shoulders. You understand?' One soldier replied, 'Yes, sir.' He eventually allowed me cross my arms over my head. He then ordered the lady, who had been the only other occupant of the room when they entered, outside.

"He turned to me again and said, 'You are a murderer.' I said, 'You are a liar.' He said, 'If you are not a murderer, you are in league with them.' He opened his revolver holster and half drew his revolver out. 'Now,' he said, 'I am going to get from you the name of the man who told you to come here. You had better think quickly. You haven't much time now.' I had during his incessant requests to 'think' told him that I thought the man's name was Sullivan. This I did merely to gain time. He drew his revolver completely out of the holster, as he knew I was fooling him; and the soldiers closed in around with me with their rifles levelled at me. I then said forcibly, 'I will give you no more information. If you will give me a few minutes to say a few prayers, you can shoot away.' I said this, as I had gauged by this time that he was merely threatening me. At this he put his revolver on the table, and the soldiers stepped back. After passing many remarks about the cowardly way the soldiers were murdered in the streets of Dublin in 1916, and concerning those Sinn Feiners who go about shooting his friends, and whom he knew all about, he said, 'Did you read that document published in the paper the other day under the heading, "An extraordinary document?"' I said, 'Yes. It was a good joke.' He snapped out, 'That's no joke. I know all about that document, and you b— fellows had better look out.' I said, 'I have some influential friends, including two members of Parliament, who will be interested in your statement, more especially coming from an officer.' He pondered awhile, and glaring, said, 'You may make what use you like out of it.' Taking from my papers an envelope of a letter addressed to me, and which had come through the post, he said, 'Is this your name and address?' Replying in the affirmative, he placed it in his pocket.

"Subsequently a tall captain came into the room, and I complained of the charges and treatment which had been meted out to me, but he disregarded my statement. He ordered two soldiers to take me outside and stand guard over me. Shortly afterwards the guard was withdrawn, and I departed.

"I swear by the Almighty God that the facts as set forth in my testimony are the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same were given by me voluntarily. So help me God.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAN G. MACCARTAG.

"Sworn in my presence this 19th day of October, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "DOMNALL O'CEALLACAIN,

"Chairman, Cork County Council."

DRUNKEN CONSTABLES FIRE ON REPUBLICAN POLICE

The Witness: This one is by Robert MacDonald, 90 French's Avenue, Cove, County Cork. (Reading):

Affidavit of Robert MacDonald

"About 1 P. M. on Saturday, 20th November, 1920, in company with three other men I proceeded to the Baths Hall, Cove, to arrest, in our capacity as Republican police, a man in connection with a series of robberies and lootings which took place during the early hours of that morning."

The Witness: This is interesting as showing the difficulties of the Republican police force in functioning. (Continues reading):

"Having arrested the man, the other three men proceeded to take him to a place of trial. I delayed a short while in conversation with the manager of the Baths Hall, and then followed after them. At the exit onto the street, known as Harbor Row, one of the Republican police stopped me to tell me of the place of trial. On the opposite side of the street I noticed four R. I. C. police standing, in deep conversation. Immediately they saw us, they walked over towards us. Wishing to evade arrest, I ran from them, and one of the police immediately drew a revolver from his pocket. Shouting, 'Halt! Hands up!' they took deliberate aim at the same time and fired at us, but fortunately missed us. They were under the influence of drink.

"I swear that the foregoing testimony is to the best of my knowledge and ability the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that same was given by me voluntary. So help me God.

(Signed in Gaelic) "ROIBEAIRD MACDOMNAILL.

"Sworn in my presence this 5th day of December, 1920.

(Signed in Gaelic) "SEAMUS MACGEARAILT,

"Chairman, Urban Council of Cove,

"Cork Poor Law Guardian."

Q. Chairman Wood: The Republican police, in carrying out their functions, do not appear in uniform, do they? A. No, sir, no uniform.

IRISH ARMY NOT A "MURDER GANG"; CAPTURED POLICE RELEASED UNHARMED

One of the charges which the British Government is very fond of making against the Republican movement in Ireland, and a charge which is especially frequently made by British Ministers answering in the English House of Commons, is that police and soldiers may not walk about in Ireland with safety, but that they are liable to be murdered. I think the most definite and clear method of refuting that is that I would like to read some extracts taken from the daily press in Ireland of a number of cases where a fight has been fought, either a fight in the open or an attack on a barrack, where that fight has resulted in the capture of either policemen or soldiers. Invariably, absolutely invariably, on these men being disarmed, they have been released unharmed. I think that shows in the most conclusive way the basis there is for the British charge that the Irish Republican Army is a "murder gang." Although laboring under

many disadvantages, the Irish Republican Army has as glorious a record as any army in the world. They are neither murderers nor members of any murder gang. (Reading):

"The 'terrible provocation' given to British troops and police in Ireland. Soldiers and police who fell into the hands of 'murderers' and what became of them:

"The English press in its comments upon the burning and sacking of Irish towns and cities by British troops and police has stated that it understands 'the terrible provocation' to which these British troops and police have been subjected. The following are a few of the incidents of 'the terrible provocation' given to the British armed forces in Ireland:"

The Witness: This is May 8th, reported in the press May 10th.

Q. Mr. Doyle: What year was that? A. 1920. I will give in each case the date the attack occurred and the date the report appeared in the press. This runs from May, June, and July through August, 1920. (Reading):

Occurred, May 8—Reported in Press, May 10.

Two policemen captured at Kilbeggan, County Meath. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, May 8—Reported in Press, May 10.

Cloyne, County Cork, police barracks taken. Six policemen captured. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, May 28—Reported in Press, May 30.

Two policemen captured at Ballinagh, County Cavan. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, May 30—Reported in Press, June 1.

One policeman captured at Dundalk, County Louth. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, June 1—Reported in Press, June 2.

Thirty soldiers captured at Dublin. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, June 4—Reported in Press, June 5.

Drangan, County Tipperary, police barracks taken. Eight policemen captured. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, June 5—Reported in Press, June 7.

Eleven soldiers and one policeman captured at Carrigtwohill, County Cork. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, June 9—Reported in Press, June 11.

Two military dispatch riders captured at Cork City. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, June 9—Reported in Press, June 11.

Military dispatch rider captured at Carrigrohane, County Cork. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, June 15—Reported in Press, June 17.

Two policemen captured at Tipperary. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, June 17—Reported in Press, June 18.

Two policemen captured at Cookstown, County Tyrone. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, June 19—Reported in Press, June 22.

Six soldiers captured at Brosna, County Kerry. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, June 20—Reported in Press, June 22.

Two policemen captured at Monivea, County Galway. Disarmed and released.

Occurred, June 23—Reported in Press, June 24.

Officer and soldier captured at Drumsna, County Leitrim. Disarmed and released.

- Occurred, June 23—Reported in Press, June 25.
Seven soldiers captured at Ennis, County Clare. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, June 26—Reported in Press, June 28.
Brigadier General Lucas, Colonel Dunford, and Colonel Tyrell captured in Cork County. Dunford and Tyrell released. Lucas escaped a month later.
- Occurred, June 28—Reported in Press, June 30.
Two policemen captured at Crosses Green, Cork City. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 3—Reported in Press, July 5.
Three soldiers captured in Cork City. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 4—Reported in Press, July 5.
Two policemen captured at Claremorris, County Mayo. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 4—Reported in Press, July 6.
Nine soldiers captured at Mohill, County Leitrim. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 9—Reported in Press, July 12.
Four policemen captured at Kilfinane, County Cork. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 10—Reported in Press, July 12.
Two policemen captured at Rathduff, County Cork. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 13—Reported in Press, July 14.
Six soldiers and four policemen captured at Emly, County Limerick. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 14—Reported in Press, July 16.
One policeman captured at Mount Talbot, County Roscommon. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 16—Reported in Press, July 20.
Three policemen at Curry, County Roscommon. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 16—Reported in Press, July 20.
Three policemen captured at Kiltimagh, County Mayo. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 19—Reported in Press, July 20.
Nine soldiers captured at Dublin. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 20—Reported in Press, July 21.
Eleven soldiers captured at Tralee, County Kerry. Disarmed and released.
- Occurred, July 22—Reported in Press, July 23.
Ten marines captured in Kerry. Disarmed and released.

Q. Chairman Wood: Do you want to read the whole list of them? A. If you do not think it is advisable, sir, no. But I think this is important, because at every available opportunity the Irish Republican Army, of which, you understand, every Irish Republican is, and, I may say, justly is proud, has been described by the British Government as a "murder gang." I have facts here that will show you, and will show anybody clearly that the Irish Republican Army is not a murder gang; that the record shows clearly that they have not and never have been a murder gang. When fights have occurred they have been clean fights; and when the fights are over, they have behaved as any army in the world would where there are conditions of valor and decency maintained.

Q. I quite understand that, sir, but I thought it might save your

voice and your time by just giving us the summary of it. A. Certainly, sir. (Reading):

"It will be seen from these incidents that in the four months of May, June, July and August, 1920, 269 armed British troops and police fell into the hands of the Irish Republican Army, which the British Premier and the British press represent as a 'huge murder society.' None of these British agents, in spite of the utmost provocation given for many years by them, was injured. They were treated with the full courtesy due to prisoners of war, and were released as speedily as possible, the vast majority of them not being held more than a few hours."

The Witness: That contrasts very strongly and very glaringly with the treatment meted out to our men when they have been taken prisoners.

ESCAPING ENEMY NEVER SHOT IN BACK BY IRISH ARMY

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, have you any cases where a member of the English soldiery or the English Constabulary, where he walked away and was shot by a member of the Irish Army in the back? A. No, sir, never, never!

Q. But you have cases of the reverse, where a member of the Irish Army got away, and was shot by members of the British forces in the back? A. A great many of them.

Q. Chairman Wood: How much longer do you want to continue, Mr. Lord Mayor? A. Well, I think another quarter of an hour would enable us to break off conveniently.

Q. We do not want to unduly fatigue you. It is very interesting. A. It is all right, sir, all right.

A RECORD OF ENEMY ACTIVITIES IN CORK

I have here reports that have been compiled by ourselves in Cork as a kind of record of the events of the month. I have three or four of them here, and it will not be necessary to read them all. But if you do not desire to hear them now, I will run through one of them so as to give you an idea of what an accurate and complete record of the activities of the enemy in Cork is like.

Mr. Doyle: Mr. Chairman, the Lord Mayor has come for three thousand miles, and the evidence he has is most important; and I think he should be allowed to give it in his own way, and that he should be allowed to give it in his own time. And I suggest that, if the Commission wishes it, you give him time to do so tomorrow morning, because it leads up to the burning of Cork, which, I think, outrivals anything about the burning of Louvain, or anything that has been recorded of the Germans at their worst in Belgium.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: How long will it take? A. Ten minutes or a quarter of an hour.

Q. Chairman Wood: Would you rather give it now, or start

there in the morning? A. Well, perhaps that would be as well. Or we can cover these summaries and the lists of the murders now.

Commissioner Thomas: May I suggest, if we are coming to the particular events in Cork, might it not be a good plan, if there are figures summarizing the murders of civilians in Cork, that we should have them now? That will give us a background for the recent facts about the burning of Cork, which we can take up tomorrow morning.

Senator Norris: Yes, if he has those figures. He has given us the figures up to August.

The Witness: Yes, I have them, sir.

Chairman Wood: You gave us the record from January, 1919, up to August first, 1920.

The Witness: Well, perhaps it would be as well, if you would like, that I start there in the morning.

Chairman Wood: Then we will adjourn to 9:30 tomorrow morning. Can the Commission have an executive session now?

(Adjournment 4:45 P. M.)

FIFTH HEARINGS

Session Two

Before the Commission sitting at the Hotel LaFayette, Washington, D. C., Friday, January 14, 1921.

Session called to order by Chairman Wood at ten o'clock A. M.

Chairman Wood: The hearings will resume this morning with the Lord Mayor of Cork continuing his statement. I want to put on the record for reference this pamphlet, "Facts About Ireland for the Consideration of America," supplied by the delegates of the Protestant Churches of Ireland. I will have it marked so that we can refer to it.

(The pamphlet referred to was marked "No. 1. January 14, 1921.")

Chairman Wood: Proceed, Mr. O'Callaghan.

TESTIMONY OF LORD MAYOR DONAL O'CALLAGHAN—(Continued)

Corrections for the Sake of Accuracy

The Witness: I should like to refer to a few inaccuracies in the reports of yesterday's hearing. One report, to which my attention has been called this morning, relates to one of the depositions which I read last evening, that of Mr. Thomas Hales of Bandon, County Cork. It is a lengthy deposition which I read last evening; and I find that some papers have certain statements therein attributed to myself. That, of course, I wish to correct.

There is also one slight correction I have to make with regard to the evidence I gave yesterday. I understand that I referred in error, and unintentionally, in dealing with the meeting in Dublin of a section of the police force asking to be relieved of the duty of carrying arms, and asking to be confined to police duties as such peace officers only, that I mentioned the auxiliary police. If so, that is incorrect. The body that took that action and held that meeting was the reserve force of the constabulary, the reserve force of the ordinary police force, and not the special auxiliary force.

Q. Commissioner Newman: You mean the second group to which you referred? A. Yes.

Q. What you said about the Dublin police is correct? A. Yes. But the statement as to the auxiliary force is incorrect. It is the reserve force retained at the depot in Dublin who took that action.

Q. Are not the Dublin police called the Metropolitan Police? A. Yes. The men referred to on that occasion are the special reserve force of the ordinary police force, who are retained in the police depot in Dublin, retained for emergencies, to be shipped to

any particular part of the country where they happen to be required.

CHARACTER OF MEN ON REPUBLICAN COUNCILS

There are just a few matters which I should like to deal with as supplementary to the matters dealt with yesterday. I dealt yesterday with the public boards. I might refer to the personnel of these boards, as I should like to make it clear that these public boards are made up of representative men, and that every one of them have on them men of standing.

Q. Chairman Wood: The county councils? A. The county councils and the corporations. In the county councils the vast majority of the members are large farmers. There is also, of course, the labor representation. In the cities there may be representatives on the corporations of university professors, merchants, and of course the labor representatives; but the representation in no case is confined to any particular class of the community.

I should like to supplement that in the Cork Corporation we have members like Professor Stockley, a deposition from whom was read yesterday, and another of whose depositions will be read today. Professor Stockley is a graduate of the National University of Ireland and Professor of English Literature in Cork University College. Professor O'Reilly is also a professor at the Cork University College and registrar at that college. He also is a member of the Cork Corporation.

There are also some of the most prominent men in business, such as Mr. Barry Eagan, who is the proprietor of one of the largest jewelry stores in Cork, one of the stores which was burned out recently; Mr. Frank Dailey, who is managing director of the Sutton Stores of Cork, one of the largest coal and agricultural implement houses in the city; and so on.

Q. What is the religion of these men? A. The religion would be, I think, Catholic; yes, Roman Catholic.

Q. But on the Corporation Council there are a number of Protestants? A. Yes; but the majority of course would be Catholic. Professor Stockley was at one time professor in Ottawa University.

THE MURDER OF PRIESTS

On yesterday I referred to attacks on citizens and murders of citizens generally. I should like now to refer particularly to priests. There have been recently at least two glaring murders of Catholic priests. Father Griffin, who was one to be murdered, was, I understand, in receipt of an invitation from your Commission to attend here and give evidence, and had actually applied for his passport to enable him to come here, when he was taken, and after being

missing for about a week, was discovered murdered in a bog near his home.

Q. Was that in Galway? A. Yes. Still more recently there was the murder of Canon Magner, who was shot.

Q. Do you know whether there was any publicity given to the fact that Father Griffin had received an invitation from us, and that it was on that account that he was kidnapped, or anything of that sort? A. That has been the general impression, the general rumor; but so far as publicity is concerned, I do not remember at the moment ever having read it in the press. But that certainly was taken generally in Ireland as the explanation of the matter.

Q. He had not been particularly active, or a person obnoxious to the authorities on account of his Sinn Fein activities before that time? A. Not so far as I understand, beyond the fact that he was a member of the organization. He was, of course, a Republican.

Q. You did not know him personally, anyway, did you? A. No, I did not.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: I would like to know whether the British Government ever took any steps at all to discover the murderer of Father Griffin. A. No, sir; they did not. There have been a number of cases apart from actual murders where priests have been assaulted, where they have been arrested, tried and sentenced. In Cork on the night of the big fire there were two priests at least assaulted. They were knocked down, beaten, their clothes torn, and in one case, at all events, a demand made on them that they should repeat the words, "To hell with the Pope."

Q. Major Newman: Have you their names? A. I have their names, yes. One of them was Father MacSweeney of Saint Peter and Paul's, Cork. I will give you the name of the other later. I might add that the raids that I spoke of yesterday are not confined to private houses, but were also on churches, parochial houses, and so on.

CITIZENS MURDERED INDISCRIMINATELY BY BOMBS

A new development also in the murders complained of was the throwing of bombs. Until then the murders had been perpetrated by shooting, but within the past two months in Cork there have been two cases where murder has been perpetrated by bombing. In one case, at about half-past nine, in Patrick Street, Cork, a bomb was thrown at a number of young men. Three of them were killed, not outright; one was killed outright, and the other two died shortly after admission to the infirmary; and a number, about sixteen or eighteen, were seriously wounded.

Q. Commissioner Newman: Were the bombs thrown by the military? A. By the police. In the second case, within two or

three days of that, a bomb was thrown into the workshop of an undertaker in the Blackpool District, and two men were killed. One of the results of that was that in Cork, where we have a special Republican plot for men who were murdered at the hands of the enemy in the city cemetery, to that plot on two occasions there were two funerals in which three coffins were carried together, in both cases.

Q. Chairman Wood: Do the police or the military carry these bombs openly? Have they been seen carrying them? Of what nature are the bombs? A. In some cases people have declared they have seen the small bombs, small Mills bombs, carried in the hands.

Q. You have no deposition of anybody who has actually seen a bomb thrown? A. No, I have not.

Q. What you are telling us now is reports in the city? A. The definite facts are the two bombs which took place, to which I have referred; and the other is report.

Q. Mr. Doyle: That has not been denied by the British authorities, has it,—that those bombs have been thrown? A. Oh, no.

Q. So they are accepted as true? A. That is so.

Q. Major Newman: Do you know anything about the circumstances which led up to the throwing of those bombs? A. No, sir. I know of nothing which would in any way explain why that should happen. I knew personally two of the three men who were killed in the first bombing outrage; but I do not know of any reason why they particularly should have been dealt with in that drastic fashion. They were, of course, Republicans, members of the Republican Army; but I know of nothing particularly in their cases which would account for their being dealt with in that drastic fashion.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Do you mean to suggest by such statements as that and the one which you have made previously that merely to be Republican is sufficient reason for death or torture, if by accident or whim or otherwise this particular Republican receives a visitation of the various types of the military forces? A. That is exactly what I mean, yes.

PRIESTS BEATEN AND ABUSED

The name of the second priest to whom I referred was Father McCarthy. (Reading): "Reverend P. MacSweeney——"

Q. Chairman Wood: What is that from? A. The *Irish Weekly Independent* of December 18.

Q. And where is it published? A. It is published in Dublin. (Continues reading):

"Reverend P. MacSweeney, Chaplain to the Good Shepherds and Professor of Farranferris, while returning home by tram about nine o'clock, is alleged to have been taken out of the tram at St. Luke's

corner and assaulted by five or six armed men, who boarded and stopped the tram. It is stated they tore off Father MacSweeney's overcoat, coat, vest and collar, and kicked his breviary. The other passengers, including three or four women and seven or eight men, were ordered off the tram also, and the men made to stand against the wall. One of the armed men said, pointing to Father MacSweeney: 'We have a b—— Papist at last.' The laymen were allowed to go, and then Father MacSweeney was knocked down and ordered to write 'To hell with the Pope.' He said that surely they did not expect a Catholic priest to do that. After a consultation he was again assaulted and told, 'Clear!' and his clothes kicked towards him. He took his clothes in his arms and ran to his residence, a few hundred yards further on. One of his assailants spoke with a marked Northern accent.

"Rev. F. McCarthy, Chaplain to the Incurable Hospital, while walking from St. Patrick's church to his residence in St. Luke's the same night, at about 9:15, was halted by armed men at Summerhill, assaulted, and then prodded with a bayonet and told to run. He ran, and five shots were fired, none of which took effect. Fortunately he got home safely."

The Witness: While that is the press report, and while I have not actually spoken to either of the two men concerned, I know that the facts are correct, inasmuch as Professor Stockley, with whom we have already been dealing, is a personal friend of both men, and he has verified the facts.

REPUBLICAN FUNERALS RESTRICTED BY ARMED TROOPS

In Ireland also, having entered on this murder campaign, all that was left, in the cases where a murder was perpetrated, to the friends and sympathizers of the murdered was to pay their last respects by attending a funeral demonstration. The British Government then issued an order limiting the attendance at the funerals of these men, limiting them to fifty,—fifty relatives and friends; and it has often happened in towns or cities, as it has in Cork, that practically all the people of the city turned out at a particular funeral, wishing to pay their last respects to the particular man or men who had been murdered, but they are prevented by the military forces. On these occasions the funeral starts from the church. The streets are thronged, and when the fifty or the hundred, as the case may be, have fallen in after the hearse bearing the coffin, the military then prevent any more from joining, and the remainder of the people have to remain on the sidewalks and look on. They are prevented from paying that last tribute of respect. The order dealing with that particular restriction, in these cases, is delivered on the morning of the funeral, with the result that in most cases the order is delivered while the requiem mass, which usually precedes the burial, is in progress. In some cases, especially in one case which I remember distinctly, the case of one of the men who died on the hunger strike in the Cork jail, Fitzgerald, in that case while the Church of St. Peter and Paul in Cork was thronged at the requiem

mass, the soldiers arrived outside, entered the church, and marched right through the church from the door at the extreme end to the altar, or just outside the altar rails, where the priests were officiating, and there and then served on Father O'Reilly, who was parish priest, the order prohibiting the taking part in the procession of more than fifty relatives and friends. To insure that these orders are carried out, the funeral procession is accompanied by lorries, armed cars, and tanks, which parade the route to the cemetery.

Q. Major Newman: Are there many tanks in Ireland? A. O, there would be quite a large number. Of course, I could not give you an estimate.

Q. It is a common occurrence to see them? A. O, yes, daily. They pass through the streets daily, yes.

REPUBLICAN LEADERS SEIZED AS HOSTAGES

One of the most recent developments in general conduct has been the issuing of an official order by the military authorities stating that in the future when military cars and lorries pass through the streets or go on journeys, that prominent Republicans will be taken within the cars as hostages. The order in the case of Cork was issued by the General Officer Commanding, and it reads:

NOTICE

"Notice is hereby given that on account of the numerous attacks which have been and are being made by rebel forces on motors and lorries conveying forces of the Crown, officers and leaders of the rebel forces (commonly known as the Irish Republican Army) will, in future, be carried in government motors and lorries.

"Given under my hand at Cork this eighteenth day of December, 1920.

(Signed): "H. A. HIGGINSON,
"Brigadier General, Military Governor."

That has been carried out pretty generally, and one of the men who has been arrested and so taken during these drives as a hostage for the military has been the Mayor of Kilkenny. Following that, while the Mayor was still retained under arrest, the Mayor's brother wrote protesting and asking for information, but I have not heard that he got any reply.

ATTACKS ON LORRIES CARRYING SOLDIERS

Q. Commissioner Thomas: This order of General Higginson states that it is done to prevent attacks on lorries filled with soldiers. Was it customary in the City of Cork for the Irish Republican Army to make such attacks on motor lorries? A. Not customary. There have been such attacks.

Q. About how many? A. I know of only one definitely. As to a second, which was alleged to have occurred on the night of the

fire, the general belief was that such attack did not take place, inasmuch as it was alleged to have taken place within a hundred or a couple of hundred yards of the large military barracks in Cork.

Q. Major Newman: You say you know of one case? A. There was one case where a lorry was attacked some months since. It is the only case I know of where such a car was attacked.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Is it not the fact that ambuscades or ambushes, where they are carried out, are in the country rather than in the cities near barracks? A. Yes, that is it.

Q. Major Newman: Could you tell us about this case, the details of which you know? A. I cannot give you the facts. As I remember them from the press reports at the time, the facts were that at about a quarter of nine—

Q. At night? A. No, in the morning. A military lorry was proceeding on Barracks Street and that it was attacked by revolver fire. It was also alleged that some bombs were thrown. One soldier was badly wounded and died subsequently, and some of the other soldiers were wounded. These briefly were the facts in that particular case.

Q. Were any of the attacking party killed or injured? A. No, they were not, as reported.

Q. Do you remember how many there were in the attacking party? A. As far as I remember, the press at that time gave the number of the attacking party as being in all about twenty.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Mr. Lord Mayor, in the case of such attacks, either in Cork or in the country, do the members of the attacking party wear any insignia whatsoever to designate them as members of an armed and disciplined force? A. No, not that I know of. I do not think so.

Q. To outward appearances they are seemingly attacks by civilians, or men in civilian clothes? A. Yes, that is so.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT ORDERS INDISCRIMINATE DESTRUCTION OF HOUSES AS REPRISAL

Q. Chairman Wood: Since you are speaking of ambuscades and ambushes, recently an order has been issued, as I understand it, by the military authorities in connection with the destruction of buildings and so forth near where an ambuscade or ambush took place. Have you a copy of that, or can you tell us something about that? A. No, I have not, but for a considerable time where an attack of that kind has taken place on a section of the Crown forces, it has been followed generally by the destruction of a number of dwelling houses in the particular vicinity, and in many cases by murders as well. The British Government have always denied, until quite recently, that these were reprisals. They always took the

attitude that the claim that these were reprisals was quite wrong until quite recently, when it has been stated openly and definitely in the British House of Parliament that the order has been issued not only enabling but definitely commanding that houses where these things have occurred may be and should be destroyed. The statement that at any time such attacks have been made from houses or that shots have been fired from houses is entirely incorrect, because it is obvious that in view of the danger existing that these houses would be destroyed, attacks therefore would be made in the open. If the shooting took place from the house, of course it was absolutely certain that that house went. But it seemed that a house where there was no firing at all took place, and which simply happened to be in the vicinity of the attack, would as often in the course of events be used for such a purpose.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Following Dr. Thomas' question, has an order been issued in Ireland that no man should be allowed to wear a uniform? A. O, yes.

Q. Or an insignia of any kind? A. Yes.

REASON FOR AMBUSH OF POLICEMEN

Q. Major Newman: While we are on the subject, you gave us yesterday some figures as to the killings that had occurred during the most of last year. A. Yes.

Q. Have you any figures as to the number of police or military who have been killed? A. No, I have not any returns on that.

Q. We have had very little testimony,—we have tried to get it, because the Commission is endeavoring to ascertain all of the facts in this situation,—but we have not got very much testimony as to the attacks by the civilians on the military force or the police. We would appreciate very much if you have any information of that kind you can give us. All we have practically is what we read in the newspapers here that attacks do occur. If you can enlighten us any on that we would like to have you do so. A. No, I have not any returns, but I can offset it for you to a large extent in this way; that even with a return with the number of soldiers or policemen who have been killed in Ireland, had we that return, it would not be such as would counterbalance the figures in the statement I gave, because it is in an entirely different category. In practically all cases, with certain isolated exceptions where particular reasons obtain, these men are always killed in attacks, in fighting. In these attacks and in that fighting there are as many if not more,—at all events there are also a large number of the attacking forces killed and wounded. But you have not got any testimony on that because we, the Irish people and the Irish Army, do not complain about that. In so far as military operations happen to be necessary, some casualties of course must take place on both sides. So that the cas-

ualties on the police side would nearly offset the casualties in actual operations on the Republican side, which you have not got. The testimony that you are getting is as to outrages and murders, entirely dissociated from military operations wantonly perpetrated upon the civilian population.

Q. I understand that. But is it true or is it not true that there have been cases of killing of policemen from ambush, or what they term murders? A. From ambush?

Q. The reports from British sources always refer to them as "a policeman murdered" or "a member of the military murdered."

A. O, yes, policemen have been killed from ambush, and just as I have tried to explain to you, the men ambushing them have frequently been killed.

Q. The point in my mind is this, that we have not got very much information as to how that has occurred, where and how frequently, how it is done, and so on. A. I understand. I have not got any data bearing on that.

Q. Is there anything in your knowledge that you can give us as to that,—not necessarily statistics? A. No, I do not know that there is, except that generally the casualties in these attacks are not so heavy. As a general rule the casualties on either side run something like two or three men, very often one man, and very, very frequently these attacks are made and finished without any loss of life at all.

Q. Just what do you mean by "these attacks?" What do you have in mind? A. The attacks you referred to, the attacks from ambush on military vehicles or on patrols. These things do not lead to loss of life on a large scale, an attack of the kind you refer to.

Q. What would be the cause of an attack of that kind? What is the background for it? What would lead up to it? Why would it happen? A. The main reason, I take it, would be the disarmament. It would be for the purpose of getting arms, which the Government renders impossible in any other way by prohibition.

Q. Do you know of any cases in which attacks have been made and arms secured? I had wondered if you could give us one or two typical cases of that character? A. Yes. I gave you quite a number of these yesterday. If you remember, there was quite a long list that I read, or that I was reading, until it was suggested that it was too long to finish, of cases where policemen had been attacked, disarmed, and released. At the time I read it to show that where policemen have been captured, they have been released after being disarmed. You had quite a list of them handed in yesterday.

Q. The point you were making in that was to show, as I recall it that these men were treated decently? A. Yes.

Q. And that there was some idea of recognizing the honors of war? A. Yes, sir.

Q. The point in my mind is that we would like to have, if you could give it to us, some rather definite information as to attacks by the Sinn Fein or citizens upon the military authorities or police.

Q. Chairman Wood: Would you say, Mr. Lord Mayor, that the attacks, a list of which you gave yesterday, had for their motive the obtaining of arms in almost every case? A. I should say that that was the object in every case. In some cases, for instance, in an attack which took place on the police, there would be as a reason the attempt to release one further grip of the British on Ireland; but in every case one of the reasons, and a very important reason, would be the procurement of arms, inasmuch as the arms must be procured, and they cannot be procured in any other way.

This (indicating) is a copy, I think, of the statement I referred to, which was read yesterday and handed in, and it gives—the different dates running from May down, instances of two policemen captured and disarmed and released, and so on. For instance, May 8th, in Cloyne, 6 policemen were captured in the attack on the police barracks, and they were disarmed and released.

MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF REPUBLICAN ARMY

Q. In the instances to which these refer, should they be considered military activities of the Republican army? A. O, yes, I should think so,—speaking, of course, without any particular knowledge of the particular case, but generally taking the description of the particular attack, I should say so.

Q. Take, for instance, the matter of the police barracks taken, does that occur frequently? A. There are not very many police barracks left to be taken, so it does not happen very frequently. But most of the police barracks in Ireland have been wiped out. Practically all of the smaller police barracks which were scattered over the country districts, all of those have been either wiped out by military operations or evacuated by the British Government.

Q. And where do they mobilize? A. The police are centered in the large towns and cities. The smallest of their barracks have been burned out, and they have fallen back on the larger barracks and concentrated, in Cork for instance, in four large barracks, having evacuated all the small barracks which were thrown around the outskirts of the city.

Q. Has there been any operation at all that would be comparable to what we understand occurred in modern warfare, such as a military engagement in which one side occupies a certain place and the other side occupies a certain place, and anything like a battle

ensues? A. No, sir, I do not recall anything of that nature, except where something like that developed in the case of an attack on a barracks of a large nature, but not as such.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: If I recall the gist of certain previous testimony, it would seem that the position of the Irish Republicans was about this with regard to military activities: that they were guided in those matters by questions of expediency; that there was a state of war, but it was not, however, expedient in the present conditions in Ireland to conduct open warfare, because obviously the Irish would be wiped out. Therefore they are obliged to carry on their operations in this way that has been indicated, by attacks on barracks, by occasional ambushes of soldiers. That you regard this as acting within the lines of military procedure, but you are restrained from open warfare by practical considerations such as would appeal to any general at any time in war with the English. But your complaint is against what happens in these occasional encounters, and the mistreatment of the civilian population, who even under the laws of war are entitled to decent treatment at the hands of a foreign army. Is not that a statement of your position? A. That is exactly so.

REPUBLICAN ARMY WEARS NO UNIFORM

Q. May I recur to something that Mr. Doyle asked a while ago? I understand, of course, that the wearing of the Irish Republican uniform was proscribed in Ireland. My question was rather this: whether on the occasion of these attacks there was any insignia at all which tended to differentiate these soldiers from the average civilian population? I assume that there might be reasons for such differentiation; that is, for instance, that the attacking party might know each other; and, secondly, in order that they might distinguish themselves, if captured, from the civilian population, so as to avoid giving any excuse to the British that they could not distinguish, that they were living in a country where every man was an enemy. That was the reason. I asked the question, not because I did not know that the wearing of a regular uniform had been proscribed by the British. A. Yes; of course, it is very difficult to see, I think, how such a badge other than uniform could be worn, apart from the other reasons.

DISCIPLINE IN THE REPUBLICAN ARMY

Q. Major Newman: There is another question that I would like to ask. In maintaining discipline in the Republican army, do you know of any cases in which members of the army have been disciplined for improper conduct toward prisoners, or improper acts of any kind? A. I do, yes.

Q. If so, how is that done? What were the circumstances of it? A. The cases where that arose are not very numerous. As a matter of fact, I only remember one case in Cork where anything of that kind did occur. In the case of any ordinary, minor offense, of course, the member would simply be reprimanded or cautioned; but where the offense is serious, and there was only one such case in Cork, the man or men concerned are expelled from the organization.

Q. Could you tell us the circumstances of this one case? A. No, I do not think I could go into that.

Q. You would prefer not to do that? A. Yes. It was a case where a certain very small number, three or four men, were guilty of certain conduct that was considered to be prejudicial to the interests of the organization as such and to the country, and those men were expelled from the organization. That in itself, especially to members of the Republican Army, was the severest punishment which could possibly be meted out to these men.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Do I understand these quasi-military operations, or military operations, are carried on under the general direction of properly constituted military authorities, officers and staff? They are not carried out on the initiative of local groups, are they? A. There is a certain matter of doubt as to how far it might be advisable to discuss the military organization of the Republican Army in Ireland. But I think your point would be covered by a general statement that both army and military operations may very safely be taken as being controlled and disciplined in Ireland.

WANTON MURDER AND ATTACKS ON WOMEN

To return to the everyday life question with which I tried to deal yesterday, there is one particular situation which I would like to supplement a little today. That is the attacks on women in Ireland. It has been frequently said that women at least are held immune and are not treated in a cruel or a brutal fashion. There are just a few instances which I would like to read to you as an example of what does occur. You heard yesterday in some of the depositions accounts of how women were treated in casual raids and in night raids. These are some others of a far more serious nature.

There is the first case of all of Mrs. Ellen Quinn of Slagle, who was murdered by constabulary. Mrs. Quinn was sitting outside of her house with a child in her arms when a military lorry passed. Without any reason that I can see, or that I can imagine that is conceivable, these men fired and shot the poor woman dead.¹

¹ See Commissioner's Report, p. 79.

Q. Major Newnan: When was that? A. That has been about two months since, two or three months since. October 15th English constabulary forced an entry into several Republican houses at Clogheen, County Tipperary, and threatened to cut off the hair of three young girls. Two hours later they returned and cropped the hair of a girl of 18 years.

Q. Do you know of any reason for that? A. No, sir.

Q. Other witnesses have mentioned instances of hair being bobbed. One of them, I think, said it was because of her friendship with certain people that they disapproved of. Do you know anything about that? A. Friendly with certain people?

Q. Yes, presumably people that were on their marked list. A. I don't know what the cause was in this particular case.

Q. Senator Walsh: I think the claim made here was that certain Sinn Fein leaders or soldiers clipped hair off of Irish girls who associated with British soldiers. A. Yes.

Q. And that was the commencement of clipping hair; and that later the British started clipping the hair off of the Irish girls who would not accept their invitations to go in their company. A. It is possible that such was the case. I do not know that that is correct. I merely wanted to run through these to give an idea of the general treatment of girls. October 17th, Miss Glynn was fired upon and wounded by English constabulary in Anbally-Cummer, County Galway. No attack was made on the constabulary. It was daylight when Miss Glynn was wounded. October 17th: after midnight English constabulary attacked the residence of Mr. P. J. McCooey of Tubbercurry, County Sligo, who had resigned from the constabulary after the sacking of that town. Bombs were thrown into the house and many volleys of rifle fire were fired through the windows. Miss Brabazen, sister-in-law of Mr. McCooey, was wounded in the head; and his little son had his forehead gashed by a bullet.

October 18. Mr. Austin Brannan, member of the Clare County Council, writes that when his home was burned down by English constabulary his mother and sisters were not allowed to get clothes, and had to go out in their bare feet. They were then driven along the road with blows from rifle butts to see the hay barn on fire.

October 20. Miss Peggy Brosnan of Abbeyfeale, County Limerick, was fired upon and wounded by English constabulary in broad day while playing in the street outside of her house. There was no attack on the constabulary.¹

October 21. Miss Mary Lordan of Coolanagh, County Cork, and her mother were taken from their beds by a party of Eng-

¹ See Mr. Broderick's testimony.

lish constabulary. They were questioned as to the whereabouts of Mrs. Lordan's sons. They refused to answer. Miss Lordan was then struck in the face and knocked down. The mother and daughter were then taken from the house, which the constabulary then sprinkled with paraffin and set on fire.

October 22. A party of some 12 English constabulary raided the house of Miss Babe Hogan of Miltown-Malbay, County Clare, who is secretary of the *Cumann na m'Ban* (Women's National League) of that district. Three of them held Miss Hogan while a fourth cut off her hair. The house was surrounded by constabulary during this operation to prevent the escape of their victim.

October 23. The English soldiers forcibly entered the licensed premises of Mrs. Whelan, Galway City, after midnight. They turned Mrs. Whelan into the street in her night attire, and then rushed upstairs and broke into the bedroom of Miss Keane, the barmaid. Miss Keane escaped from them by jumping through a window seven feet high onto a roof.

October 24. At Lixnaw, County Kerry, English constabulary broke into the residence of Stephen Grady after midnight. They forcibly entered the bedroom of Mrs. Grady and her daughter. They took Miss Grady from her bed and dragged her out onto the road in her night attire. There they forced her to kneel in a channel of water, and holding her in this position, they cut off her hair.

I think all of these cases are merely on these lines, and I only wanted to give you an idea of the treatment that is meted out to them. I do not know that it is necessary to read any more.

A RECORD OF BRITISH OUTRAGES IN COUNTY CORK

Yesterday there was a request for later particulars of these murders and outrages. I have only a return from Cork and district running from July to November.

Q. Chairman Wood: Your return yesterday went to the 1st of August, 1920, did it not? A. Yes. This will supplement it to some degree so far as Cork and district is concerned, but not generally. Commencing with August:

August 16. John O'Connell, Derrygallon, County Cork.

August 17. Patrick Clancy, Derrygallon, County Cork.

August 27. John Buckley, Midleton, County Cork. With regard to him there was a deposition of his brother read yesterday. He was the man, you remember, who was shot while being brought in under arrest from Midleton to Cork.

August 28. George Walker.

August 19. British troops and police a few minutes before mid-

night opened fire in the streets of Bantry, County Cork. Shots were deliberately fired into the residences of prominent Republicans and the windows of business premises owned by them were smashed.

August 22. Shop windows of well-known Republican merchants were smashed by police and troops.

August 22. Residence of James O'Donnell of Camp, County Cork, raided and cash box stolen by the troops, containing sixty pounds.

September 1. Homes of prominent Republicans at Skibbereen, County Cork, were fired on by the British soldiers.

September 2, at Inniscarra, County Cork, British military forced an entry into a wayside tavern, and having consumed quantities of the liquor, set fire to the premises and decamped with the contents of the till.

September 3, at Youghal, County Cork, British troops smashed all the shop windows in two streets.

September 5, at Ballyvourney, County Cork, British troops murdered two young men named Wm. Hegarty and Michael Lynch.

July 21. Leap, County Cork, sacked by police.

With regard to the incident at Ballyvourney, with which I was personally in touch, I would like to say that in that particular case there was a new feature in the way of strategy. Ballyvourney is quite a small village, about 30 or 35 miles from Cork. On this particular morning three military wagons passed through, and just outside of the village one of them was left on the roadside covered over with canvas. The other two drove on in the direction of Magroom. There was a certain amount of curiosity about this wagon which had been left behind, the general assumption being that it had smashed down and been left a derelict; with the result that after a short time a number of the children and young people of the place approached it, and becoming bolder when they saw no sign of life, one of them went to the side of the lorry and raised the canvas. Immediately they were fired upon. There were soldiers concealed inside under the canvas,—obviously and quite clearly a trap. These two young men, one of whom I knew well, were shot dead. The fortunate thing in that particular case was that there were not many more, because there was quite a gathering of the children and young people of the district.

Q. Senator Walsh: How old were the young men? A. The young man that I knew was about 27, and the other was about the same age or a year or two younger.

Q. Chairman Wood: These were in July. A. September 5th.

Q. I thought you said July. A. No, September.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Were any children injured at the time? A. No, there were no other casualties as I remember, I think, except these two who were killed. (Continues reading):

July 31. Business premises of Cork City sacked by troops.

August 8. Houses at Kildorrery, County Cork, wrecked and looted by police.

August 23. Glengariff, County Cork, shot up by police.

August 27. Queenstown, County Cork, sacked by troops.

October 21. Miss Mary Lorden—well, I have already read that.

October 15. James Lehand taken from the shop in which he worked at Ballymakeera, County Cork, and shot dead in the public street by Black-and-Tans.

October 15. John Connolly, arrested September 30th by military in his home at Bandon, County Cork, and found murdered near the military barracks on the evening of October 15, 1920. In this particular case this man, having been arrested and taken from his home, all efforts of his people to get information as to his whereabouts were unavailing until his murdered body was discovered, and then the authorities declared that he had escaped from them, and they did not know anything further about him.

November 10. Christopher Lucy, shot dead in a friend's house at Ballingearry, County Cork, by auxiliary police on November 10. Lucy was a young man who was a student until some months ago at the University College, Cork, a splendid type of young Irishman, about 23 years of age, who had left Cork and was staying in Ballingearry with some relatives of his family. The place was surrounded one morning by these policemen and this young fellow was shot dead.

November 17. Patrick Hannley, aged 17, and Eugene O'Connell shot dead in bed in the presence of their families by police at Cork City on the nights of November 17 and 18. The same night (the 17th) James Coleman was shot dead in the presence of his wife at Cork.

November 23. Dennis O'Connell, Kildorrery, County Cork, was killed.

MURDERED IN PRESENCE OF WIFE

With regard to the murders of Hannley, O'Connell, and Coleman, on that particular night there were two streets attacked in the early part of the night and in each of them one man was killed and one wounded. Raids were made on particular houses in these streets, and in each street two or three houses were searched. Why the particular houses happened to be searched I do not know, and why the particular men who were murdered and shot at should have been attacked I do not know; but the fact remains they were. In each case one was killed and the other wounded. And on the other side of the city a little later on Mr. Coleman, referred to here, was shot dead. In his case, Mr. Coleman was a man somewhere about 55 years of age. He was essentially and

purely a type of business man. He had never taken any part in the national movement in Ireland so far as I know, with the exception of being a member of the Chamber of Commerce. His only public affiliation was as a member of the Cork Industrial Development Association. He was the owner in Cork of a mineral water factory, and he owned a bar. The reason given and generally believed for the murder in his case was that in order to avoid trouble in this bar of his, knowing the type of men who were in this Black-and-Tan police force, he had given instructions to the assistant in the bar not to serve them, his bar and his house being only two or three hundred yards from one of the city barracks. The men when refused accordingly declared that they would be even with Coleman, and sure enough on this particular night they knocked at the door—the knocking took place about three o'clock in the morning. Mr. Coleman came downstairs and opened the door. He was asked, "Are you Coleman?" He said, "Yes," and he was immediately shot; his wife, who had followed him down the stairs, being a witness of the tragedy. Some time after his murder, a few hours later, two policemen came back to the house and asked Mrs. Coleman what had occurred, and one of them promised at her request to go for a priest. They left, but the priest was not summoned, nor did they come back to the house again. Mr. Coleman left a wife and two children, the younger child being about five months old.

CROWN FORCES NOT DISCIPLINED FOR EXCESSES

Q. Senator Walsh: Mr. Lord Mayor, has anything been done to discipline the soldiers or officers of the Black-and-Tan organization or the British army for excesses committed by them, so far as you know? A. I have never heard of such a case.

Q. I recently read in the paper that an inquest by a coroner's jury or perhaps a court-martial—a court-martial, I believe—was held over the death of that much respected churchman, Canon Magner, and that there was a finding that the officer at the time was insane and had been drinking excessively. Other than that case, do you know of even an inquiry being made? A. No, I do not know of any other case.

Q. Is there apparently no provision for disciplining the men who resort to extreme conduct in raids and in the creation of those offenses? A. No, sir, none that I know of, and I do not believe there is.

SUMMARY OF ONE MONTH'S OUTRAGES AND ARRESTS

I referred yesterday to the monthly summary which we make in Cork for our own purposes, so as to keep an account of the ordinary

events; and at the risk of seeming somewhat unduly prolix, I think it would be well to read one of them as a sample. Of course this is in, and I do not care to be repeating so much the same class of cases, but it is essential, I think, that it be understood that from the start I have sought to deal with and to convey not so much the particular cases that are being dealt with, but to convey the background which must constitute the real history of the everyday life of the people, and the atmosphere in which the people live as a result of these outrages, rather than the particular outrages themselves.

Q. Chairman Wood: What record is this taken from? A. This is simply gathered, sir, as a record from the daily press of the different outrages and arrests.

Q. Gathered by the Republican organization? A. Gathered by the Republican organization for office purposes. Perhaps it would be sufficient if I hand one of them in.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Mr. Lord Mayor, have you it recapitulated? Have you the total number of murders and outrages set forth at the end of the list? A. No, sir. Perhaps it would be quite sufficient if I handed it in.

(The Report above referred to is as follows:)

Preliminary report, estimated to date, 6th December, 1920, of outrages committed by various English Crown forces in Cork City and County in the month of November, 1920:

280 arrests; upwards of 50 attempted arrests; 4 publicly placarded threats to the citizens of Cork; hundreds of general outrages; 15 trains held up; upwards of 200 curfew arrests, of which 74 were made the night William Mulcahy was shot at North Gate Bridge, Cork, the majority of which were made before 10 P. M., when curfew begins; 4 Sinn Fein Cumanns (clubs) burned to the ground; 12 large business houses burned to the ground; many attempts made to fire others, including the City Hall, Cork, on two occasions; amount of damage done by fire estimated at £1,000,000; seven men shot dead; upwards of 12 men dangerously wounded by shots; attempted assassination of upwards of 10 men; upwards of 500 houses of private citizens forcibly entered and searched; much indiscriminate shooting.

The majority of these outrages were committed during curfew hours, namely, from 10 P. M. to 3 A. M., and nearly all the remainder immediately before or after.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Is Cork typical of Ireland in this matter, or has it been peculiarly the scene of outrages? A. To some extent I think Cork has been rather worse. Of course, that state of affairs is generally applicable to Ireland; but in Cork things are more intensified; but the general state of affairs, so far as the system of arresting and raiding and outrages is concerned, applies to the country as a whole.

As to these depositions, gentlemen, I would like to say that they were not brought by me after being picked especially or definitely with any particular sequence. They were the last bundle which happened to be most easily and most readily available to me at a time when I had not a great amount of time to hunt them up, and

with very little notice of my leaving Cork. Otherwise, of course, it would have been possible to have considerably more, and to have had the information tabulated and in better order. However, I think even as they are, picked at random, they convey, I hope, a pretty complete picture of conditions in Ireland.

Q. Chairman Wood: It seems to us a very full and a very valuable account, and I am grateful for it. A. I thank you.

BEGINNING OF THE BURNING OF CORK

On yesterday I referred slightly to the commencement of the burning of Cork. For some time, for a period of two or three months, fires had been taking place pretty frequently at night in Cork, taking place in isolated shops, particular shops being burned out completely in some cases, efforts being made in other cases to burn them out, unsuccessfully, but accompanied by looting. That continued until something like 35 had taken place or had been started in Ireland. Before the large fire took place in Cork, damage had been done to the extent, it is computed, of over a million pounds. In some cases the attempts to burn a particular house or shop or premises were repeated a number of times. One of the first type of premises to be attacked were the Republican premises in the different portions of the city, the Republican clubs. These were tackled individually until every Republican club in Cork, I think,—practically every Republican club in Cork, had been attacked at least once, and in some cases many times. With the clubs, of course, was the City Hall. The City Hall also was attacked and an effort made to destroy it about four or five times before the recent wholesale destruction.

Q. Chairman Wood: How openly are those Republican clubs run, of which you speak? A. O, quite openly.

Q. Are they social clubs that are regarded as Republican clubs on account of the character of the membership? A. No, sir, they are the Sinn Fein clubs, the Sinn Fein organization, the political organization. There is, of course, a social side attached to them, but they are Republican institutions.

CLUB DESTROYED AND FAMILY TERRORIZED

Q. Publicly announced as such? A. Yes, sir. In the case of one of those clubs, the Thomas Ashe Sinn Fein Club, which is one of the largest in Cork, and which was subsequently burned out completely,—as an example of one of the raids which took place prior to the actual burning, this deposition which we have of the caretaker, Mrs. Honan, will give you an idea. (Reading):

Affidavit of Mrs. Honan

Sworn Statement of Mrs. Honan, Caretaker, Thomas Ashe Sinn Fein Club, Father Matthew Quay, Concerning Raid on the Premises by Police on March 11, 1920:

"I am caretaker of No. 15 Father Matthew Quay for the Thomas Ashe Sinn Fein Club, Cork. Nobody else lives in the house but myself and family. I was asleep in bed on the 11th, the night of 11th of March, 1920, and was awakened by loud banging and noise at the front door at 1:15 A. M. I shouted, 'Who is there?' and the answer came, 'Police. Open quickly or we will bust the door.' I jumped up, and putting a cloak about me, went and opened the door. About 12 men rushed in, brandishing revolvers; some of them were dressed in ordinary R. I. C. uniform; others wore khaki uniforms with R. I. C. caps and belts. One of these latter, presumably the leader, as I could afterwards see, caught me by the cloak near the throat. He pointed the revolver to my face and marched me back into the room where my children and myself slept. There were six children in bed there, aged from 12 to 2 years. The remainder of the raiders followed, and revolvers were pointed at the children. The children got very frightened. I told them there was no one in the house but myself and the children. They broke a large lamp, bedroom mirror, and chair.

"I then thought of my son, aged 14, who was asleep in the kitchen, and said, 'My little boy is in the kitchen, but don't kill him, as he is only a child.' One of them said, 'Where is he? Get me a candle until I see him!' I said I had no candle, but lit the gas in the kitchen, and three of them followed me in. When they saw he was only a child, they did not interfere with him, but started smashing ware and everything all round them. They broke three pictures, and as this was my property, I protested against their action.

"When they had smashed everything there, I heard a voice shouting from above, 'There is enough down there; come upstairs.' One of the three went up to the party upstairs. The other two rushed me into the bedroom again, one remaining inside the door with a revolver in his hand. I heard the others smashing everything upstairs. The row was terrific and my children were screaming. It frightened me so much that I asked the man with the revolver to have mercy on me and not to kill myself and my children. He said, 'I would have no mercy on anyone I would get here.' He was a Black-and-Tan.

"The others remained upstairs about 40 minutes, when they came down again, and about 2 o'clock they went out on the quay. The last man had a night helmet on. While they were leaving I ran to the door and called them a pack of cowards. Two of them ran back with rifles and told me if I didn't get in they would blow my brains out. After the remainder of the party left, those two remained behind for about 20 minutes.

"When I examined the premises I found the gas pipe cut on the second floor in several places. The fittings were pulled down from the ceiling. Every bit of the furniture, tables, chairs, forms, etc., were smashed; every window, 3 marble fireplaces, door panels, about 20 pictures, a beautiful oil painting five feet square or so, framed, were all broken beyond restoration. A mattress was cut up. Writing materials, etc., were all scattered and torn. Two pictures alone escaped in the upstairs rooms.

"This was the sixth raid by police on the premises, military accompanying them on some occasions, when flooring boards were torn up, walls smashed, etc. Acting under instructions, I placed

the matter of compensation in the hands of Dr. Dunlea, solicitor, South Mall, the following day. Two days after, two R. I. C. sergeants from Union Quay Barracks came and made an inventory of the damage done. They gave their names as Sergeants McLoughlin and Reddin. The latter did all the talking, and asked me what class of men raided the place. I said, 'Police, some of whom wore khaki uniforms.' He asked me could I identify any of them, and I said, 'I could not, as they cut off the gas; and the two local police whom I could otherwise identify kept their night helmets down over their eyes.' His attitude was one of seeming delight all the time. They then left."

The Witness: That was the sixth raid on these premises, and it has since, as I have told you, been completely destroyed.

ANONYMOUS WARNINGS PRECEDE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

In the case of another club in Cork, on North Main Street, the club in that particular case consisted of two rooms, and on one floor were the offices and on another floor was a shop. The proprietor of the shop underneath was warned before the place was attacked; warned that it was unwise to remain on those premises. Mr. McGurk, who occupied the premises, states:

Affidavit of John McGurk

"I reside at No. 6 and 7 Lavitt's Quay, Cork. My business as retailer of English Government Surplus Stocks at 54 North Main Street, Cork, is managed for me by Mr. Geoghah. I bought out the whole house about 12 months ago. A tenant was then living in the top rooms, and she had sublet rooms over my business premises to a Sinn Fein Club. The rooms are still occupied by the same people, although I often requested them to leave.

"On Thursday evening, 21st October, an R. I. C. policeman, whose name I can give, but for obvious reasons wish to withhold, came to me. He asked me if the place where the Sinn Fein Club was belonged to me. I said, 'Yes.' He said, 'If you have any valuable goods there it would be better to shift them. Ex-soldiers who have rows with their wives proclaim aloud that their wives go up to that Sinn Fein Club and that they are afterwards arrested and brought there. The authorities have heard of all this.' I thanked him. On Saturday, 23d October, I received the following typewritten notice, printed on an ordinary buff envelope:

'WARNING

"'It is extremely dangerous to be living in your premises at present.' The warning was contained in a similar buff envelope, and came through the post. The address was typewritten and ran thus: 'John McGurk, Esq., 54 North Main Street, Cork.' The post-mark was stamped 'Cork, 2:15 A. M., 23d October, 1920.'

"The amount of damage sustained by me by reason of the looting and breaking up of the premises was approximately £500. If I hadn't received warning from some kind source and shifted valuable goods, my loss would be about £2,000. I had to put some things to sale, and lost a good deal of money. The damage to the house would cost about £200 to repair."

The Witness: On that occasion the place had been broken into, and subsequently the place was burned down. When that was

burned down, a premises next door, a large wine store, which belonged to Mr. O'Connell, was also burned down, the two houses being destroyed. Mr. O'Connell had also received warning, as will appear from the following, which is the original warning that he received:

"Mr. O'Connell, Publican, 53 North Main Street, Cork.

"WARNING

"It is extremely dangerous to be living on your premises at present."

You will note there is no signature.

EARLY ATTEMPTS TO BURN CITY HALL

The City Hall was also attacked five or six times before it was destroyed. The finishing fire was expected nightly, so much so that we had made special arrangements with the fire brigade department that firemen were on duty every night, and lines of hose were laid on every night. This is the testimony of Captain Hutson, who was captain in charge of the Cork City Fire Brigade, with regard to one of the previous attempts to destroy the City Hall. On that occasion the attempt was a failure, only one room being completely destroyed, and one or two other rooms damaged on the ground floor. But on that occasion also portions of bombs were discovered on the premises. (Reading):

Affidavit of Captain Hutson

"At 4:05 A. M. Saturday, 9th October, I received a call at Sullivan's Quay fire station that the City Hall was on fire. The fire brigade proceeded immediately and found the waterworks office well alight, and the windows burned out. For the preceding eight days I had arranged protection there. A fireman remained on duty at the City Hall, and he laid down hose each night, and kept chemical engines in readiness for any outbreak. We confined the fire to the waterworks office, and played a strong pressure of water on the ceiling, where the plaster had been blown away by the explosion of bombs and the lath work was in danger of fire. I saw from the rapid manner in which the flames spread over the whole floor and out through the windows and up towards the ceiling that something more inflammable than the ordinary contents of an office building was alight. Such could only be petrol, paraffin, benzine, or such like. The outbreak was checked in half an hour.

"When I had done with the front of the building, I was approached by a man in civilian attire, with a light trench coat. He asked me if the fire were extinguished, and I replied, 'Yes.' Coming down from the City Engineer's office about 35 or 40 minutes later, I went into the telephone office to ring up the City Engineer. The same civilian, accompanied by a head-constable, R. I. C., came into the office to me. I asked what they wanted, and told them that if they waited awhile, I would show them the effects of the fire. This I afterwards did when they passed some ordinary comments as to the damage effected.

"I found a piece of a bomb on the pavement outside the City Hall on the Albert Quay side. I afterwards gave it to the Deputy Lord Mayor, Domhnaill Og O'Ceallachain, T. C. I then made preparations for departure, after placing two firemen with the necessary appliances in the building for its further safety. My inspection of the building showed me that some inflammable material must have been poured into the waterworks office (which is at the left-hand corner of the building, on the ground floor), from the grounds adjoining the southwestern side. The hoardings on the high buildings overlooking Albert Quay would prevent this being done from that direction. Bombs thrown in from Albert Quay through the windows, over the hoardings, sufficed to set the place alight.

"The waterworks office itself contained a door on the south-eastern side of the room leading to a passage running northeast and southeast, which met the force of a bomb or bombs, but owing to the fact that it opens inwards, was not blown into the passage. It was knocked off the hinges and fell into the room. A powerful dividing wall kept the flames from the adjoining room, which is the Public Health Office. Thus no flames were seen here by the attackers, and a bomb thrown in through a window from Albert Quay caused no fire in the absence of inflammable substance. This bomb lodged on a desk, in the far corner of the room adjoining the waterworks office, the walls being marked by the splinters.

"Thus our work was mainly confined to the one room, and the preventing of the fire spreading to the City Engineer's Office overhead, which suffered comparatively little damage."

HOW THE FIRE BEGAN

The Witness: On that night Timothy Ring was night watchman in the City Hall, and he deposes as follows:

Deposition of Timothy Ring

"At 3:45 A. M. on Saturday, 9th October, I heard a fusilade of shots outside the City Hall. I telephoned Sullivan's Quay Fire Station, 'Firing on City Hall.' The reply came, 'All right, Tim!' About ten minutes afterwards a fusilade of shots again commenced, during which I heard two loud explosions. On seeing fire in the direction of the waterworks department, I phoned the fire station, 'City Hall on fire.' The fire brigade were promptly on the scene. About 4:20 A. M. I opened the front door facing Albert Quay for Captain Hutson's convenience. A man in civilian clothes, in tweed cap and light trench coat, immediately came to me from opposite the City Hall, where a number of police were sitting on the railings. He was accompanied by two policemen with carbines at the ready. He said, 'Are you the porter?' I said, 'Yes.' Captain Hutson came on the scene, and he turned to speak to him. About half an hour afterwards the same civilian, with a head-constable R. I. C., went into the telephone office to Captain Hutson. A short time afterwards I saw them depart. I closed all front doors after the departure of the fire brigade, and stayed on duty until relieved at 7 A. M."

FIREMEN HALTED BY ARMED POLICE

The Witness: Timothy Ring, Jr., was also a member of the fire brigade that night, at Grattan Street Station, and he deposes as follows:

Deposition of Timothy Ring, Jr.

"I am a fireman at Grattan Street fire station, Cork. At 4:15 A. M. I received a fire call from Sullivan's Quay Station to proceed to the City Hall, that it was on fire. I arrived in the vicinity of the burning within four or five minutes, with the three men under my charge. At the corner of Parnell Bridge and Albert Quay we were halted by a man with a revolver, dressed in civilian attire, with cap and light duster coat. He was accompanied by twelve or fourteen men in R. I. C. uniform and caps, one of whom covered us with a rifle. I shouted out 'firemen.' We were allowed to pass. I afterwards saw this man in the City Hall."

POLICE BOAST THEY WILL BURN HALL

The Witness: The men referred to there, who during that particular attempt remained in the vicinity of the City Hall and Parnell Bridge, which was just adjoining it, were quite obviously the men who had sought to burn the City Hall. On one of these occasions, when the fire had taken place, one of the party actually went into the City Hall and discussed the fire with some of the firemen or porters on duty, and on this particular occasion said, "Well, it has been a failure again this time, but the next time we will finish it."

Patrick O'Connell was a lamp lighter in the employment of the Corporation. He deposes as follows:

Deposition of Patrick O'Connell

"I was inspecting the electric lamps some time after 9 P. M. on Sunday, 18th July, 1920, at Brian Boru Bridge, when I first heard firing of rifle shots in the direction of MacCurtain Street, and I saw people running in all directions. I returned to the Public Lighting Department, City Hall. There were some strangers there, including one woman. They had come in there for safety. I then heard firing in Parnell Place, coming closer all the time. I could hear those who were firing using filthy language, calling, 'Put up your hands, you — Irish swine, etc.' At that time I was standing at the outer private door facing Albert quay; when one lamp lighter was just coming in the door, a volley went off. I closed out the door. A few minutes afterwards, as I was expecting two lamp lighters, I opened the door again. Two men who were employed in the Public Baths, to the left of the City Hall, were passing, and I pulled them in for safety. We closed the door and went into the watchman's quarters and extinguished the gas there. Just then I saw a number of policemen at the door, over the railing. One of them pointed a rifle at me, using filthy language, whilst calling on me to open the door. The watchman, Tim Ring, opened the door, and they rushed in. I lit the light. There were then seven employes, one strange man, and one strange woman present. When, in answer to their questions we told them we were lamp lighters, they said,

'Ye are the — fellows we want.' They then presented their rifles to us and told us to put our hands up. They lined us up against the wall and kept us in that position for 20 minutes, with our hands over our heads all the time. The woman continually beseeched them through the Sacred Heart to have mercy on us, and not shoot us dead. They replied, 'What mercy had ye on us? Ye had none, and we'll show ye no mercy now. Ye had yere turn; it is our turn now.' They were digging some of us on the breast with the muzzle of revolvers, threatening to shoot us. The woman was in a terrible state of prostration. I saw one of them take two packets of cigarettes out of one of the men's pockets and put them into his own. There were four of these police in the room, and about three outside, all dressed in policemen's clothes, with the exception of one dressed in civilian clothes, capless and hatless. They all had strange English accents.

"After some 20 minutes they were about to leave when some of them made the remark, 'We'll pay this ——— Sinn Fein Hall another visit.' When outside in the passage one of them fired a revolver bullet through the glass window in the watchman's room, grazing the top of my head. The bullet lodged in the corner between the wall and the ceiling, and the mark is there yet. The bullet was kept. When outside on the quay, we could hear them smashing the windows of the City Hall. They all seemed to be under the influence of drink.

"The stranger and the woman remained in the watchman's rest for safety until the following morning, as I saw them there at 5 A. M."

The Witness: On that occasion all the windows in the City Hall were smashed.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Was anything more ever found out about this strange man and the woman, and who they were? A. No, sir. Presumably they were merely passers-by.

Q. Irish? A. Yes. And who went in for protection.

NINETY TOWNS RAVAGED IN ONE YEAR SUR-PASSES GERMAN RECORD IN BELGIUM

Q. Chairman Wood: Mr. Lord Mayor, can we get on now to your experiences in connection with the fire, and the dramatic exit that you made? A. Yes, sir. Before doing that I wish to put in a list of the towns that have been shot up before Cork during the last 12 months.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: What is the total? A. Ninety.

Q. Major Newman: That is in all of Ireland? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Doyle; Just a moment about that last list. That is a list showing that 90-odd towns in Ireland have been shot up and either destroyed or partly destroyed by the British forces within what period of time? A. Within twelve months.

Q. How does that compare with the number of towns shot up and partially destroyed or destroyed in Belgium? Do you know? Have you made any comparison? A. No, except that from the general information I have it would be far in excess.

Q. According to your recollection of the public records, no such list as that has been prepared which shows that ninety towns in Belgium have been destroyed by the Germans during the occupation of that country? A. That is true.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: I regret that we have not a map by which we could locate these towns. Would you say that these 90 towns and villages are fairly distributed over the whole of Ireland? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Chairman Wood: With the exception of the northwest? A. Yes, there were some burned in the northeast. It would cover the whole country. The following is a detailed list of the 90 towns ravished by British troops or police during the last 12 months:

1919

September 9—Fermoy, County Cork, sacked by troops.
November 6—Kinsale, County Cork, partially sacked by troops.
November 12—Cork City, partially sacked by troops.

1920

January 22—Thurles, County Tipperary, sacked by troops.
February 27—Three houses in Dublin wrecked by troops.
March 1—Thurles, County Tipperary, partially wrecked by troops.
March 7—Several houses in Thurles, County Tipperary, wrecked by troops.
March 12—Many houses in Cork City wrecked by police.
March 22—Many shop windows in Dublin wrecked by troops.
April 17—Bouladuff, County Tipperary, shot up by police.
April 26—Kilcommon, County Tipperary, partially wrecked by police.
April 27—Many houses in Limerick City wrecked by troops.
May 1—Limerick City shot up by police.
May 13—Houses at Thurles, County Tipperary, fired and bombed by police.
May 15—Houses at Bantry, County Cork, wrecked by police.
May 18—Limerick City shot up by police
May 19—Kilcommon, County Tipperary, shot up by police.
May 28—Kilmallock, County Limerick, sacked by police.
June 5—Midleton, County Cork, shot up by police.
June 12—Limerick City again shot up by police.
June 23—Bantry, County Cork, partially sacked by police.
June 23—Houses in Limerick City wrecked by police.
June 25—Many houses at Bantry, County Cork, wrecked and fired by police.
June 27—Fermoy, County Cork, wrecked by troops.
June 27—Lismore, County Waterford, sacked by troops.
June 27—Many houses at Newcastle-West, County Limerick, wrecked and fired by police.
June 28—Limerick City partially sacked by police.
June 28—Kilcommon, County Tipperary, shot up by police.
July 1—Newspaper offices at Limerick City wrecked and fired by police.
July 3—Union Hall, County Cork, shot up by police.
July 5—Midleton, County Cork, shot up by troops.
July 6—Residence at Ballylanders, County Limerick, bombed and wrecked by police.
July 15—Tralee, County Kerry, partially sacked by police.
July 16—Houses at Arklow, County Wicklow, bombed and wrecked by police.

- July 16—Calbally, County Limerick, shot up by police.
 July 16—Ballagh, County Roscommon, partially sacked by police.
 July 17-19—Cork City shot up by police.
 July 19—Emly, County Limerick, shot up by police. Creamery and houses wrecked.
 July 20—Tuam, County Galway, sacked by police.
 July 20—Houses at Limerick City wrecked and burned by police.
 July 20—National Foresters' Hall at Enniscarthy, County Wexford, wrecked by police.
 July 21—Houses at Limerick City bombed and wrecked by police.
 July 22—Ballina, County Mayo, shot up by police.
 July 22—Leap, County Cork, sacked by police.
 July 23—Caltra, County Galway, partially sacked by police.
 July 30—Upperchurch, County Tipperary, partially sacked by police.
 July 31—Tipperary town partially sacked by troops.
 July 31—Business premises at Cork City sacked by troops.
 August 2—Many houses at Castlerea, County Roscommon, partially wrecked by police.
 August 5—Doon, County Limerick, sacked by troops.
 August 6—Rosegreen, County Tipperary, shot up by police.
 August 7—Tralee, County Kerry, shot up by police.
 August 8—Houses at Kildorrery, County Cork, wrecked and looted by police.
 August 12—Swords, County Cork, shot up by troops.
 August 13—Limerick City shot up by police.
 August 14—Tralee, County Kerry, shot up by troops and police.
 August 15—Limerick City partially wrecked by police.
 August 16—Templemore, County Tipperary, partially sacked by police.
 August 17—Creameries at Castleiny, Loughmore, and Killea, County Tipperary, destroyed by police.
 August 19—Bantry, County Cork, shot up by police.
 August 21—Oranmore, County Galway, sacked by police.
 August 23—Glengariff, County Cork, shot up by police.
 August 24—Several premises at Dundalk, County Louth, wrecked by troops.
 August 25—Kill, County Waterford, wrecked by police.
 August 26—Creamery at Knocklong, County Limerick, destroyed by police.
 August 26—Shanagolden, County Limerick, partially sacked by police.
 August 26—Nass, County Kildare, shot up by police.
 August 27—Queenstown, County Cork, sacked by troops.
 September 1—Ballaghadereen, County Mayo, sacked by police.
 September 2—Inniscarra, County Cork, partially sacked by police.
 September 10—Tullow, County Carlow, sacked by police.
 September 17—Galway City shot up and bombed by police.
 September 18—Several houses wrecked and fired by police in County Limerick.
 September 19—Several houses at Salthill, County Galway, wrecked and fired by police.
 September 20—Carrick-on-Shannon, County Leitrim, partially sacked by police.
 September 20—Tuam, County Galway, shot up by police.
 September 20—Balbriggan, County Dublin, sacked by police.
 September 21—Balbriggan, County Dublin, shot up by police.
 September 22—Drumshambo, County Leitrim, partially sacked by police.
 September 22—Houses at Tuam, County Galway, and Galway City wrecked by police.
 September 22—Ennistymon, County Clare, sacked by police.
 September 22—Lahinch, County Clare, sacked by police.
 September 22—Miltown-Malbay, County Clare, sacked by police.
 September 22—Houses at Galway City wrecked and looted by police.

September 24—Newspaper offices and houses at Galway City bombed and wrecked by police.

September 24—Ballinamore, County Leitrim, shot up by police.

September 25—Several houses at Athlone, County Westmeath, wrecked.

September 25—Houses wrecked at Killorglin, County Kerry, by police.

September 27—Trim, County Meath, sacked by police.

ARSON RAMPANT IN CORK

The Witness: The separate fires which took place in Cork before the big fire to which I referred, I have a list of them here, which may be of interest,—premises wholly or partially burned in previous incendiary fires, in which the damage estimated was well over one million pounds, and that is in addition to the big fire in Cork. These fires occurred on separate nights, as I have explained to you.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Are they all in the City of Cork? A. Yes. Messrs. Dwyer & Co., Ltd., Washington Street, which is one of the largest wholesale warehouses in Cork, a very determined effort was made to burn that, but the effort was unsuccessful, owing to the sprinkler arrangement which the firm had installed. The sprinkler arrangement saved the premises. Not only were petrol tins found on the premises, but bales of woolen and cotton goods were found stretched along the corridors and on the stairs, saturated with petrol. Messrs. Forrest, Patrick Street, was burned out. Messrs. Cahill & Co., Blackthorn House, and American Shoe Company,—these three houses were in a row at the corner or intersection of Patrick Street by one of the side streets. Just as in regard to the City Hall and the Sinn Fein Clubs, in the case of the Blackthorn House three or four previous raids had been made, and the place smashed and looted before this final and successful effort to burn it out.

Q. Chairman Wood: This is not the large conflagration you are speaking of? A. No, prior conflagrations which occurred night after night before the large fire.

Q. By whom was this list compiled, to your knowledge? I am referring to this list you have put in of the 90 Irish towns ravaged in 12 months. A. That is issued as the Irish Bulletin. It is an official publication of the government in Ireland, the Republican Government. The facts, of course, have all appeared in the daily press all over the country.

Q. They have all appeared in the public press? A. Yes. They are taken from the public press.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Has there ever been a denial by Sir Hamar Greenwood as to the accuracy of any such lists? A. Yes, in the same way in which the burning of Cork was denied, not that it was denied the burning took place, but the effort being made to

deny that it was done by the Crown forces, while the circumstances make it clear that it would be absolutely impossible for it to have been done by any others. (Continues reading):

O'Gorman's, MacCurtain Street; Dalton's Restaurant; The Royal Liver Assce. Society; two houses on North Main Street; former Sinn Fein headquarters, 56 Grand Parade; Pipers Club, Hardwicks St.; the Sinn Fein Rooms, N. E. Ward; Sinn Fein Rooms, Shandon Street; one house on St. Augustine Street; Recreation Hall, Douglas; St. Michael's Hall, Blackrock. Both of these last places are in the suburbs of Cork. The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. That was a most determined effort, the attempt on Labor headquarters. The fire was started at first early in the night, shortly after curfew.

Q. What time is the curfew? A. At 10 o'clock, the law being from 10 o'clock until 3, and of course in the period from 10 until 3 or 9 in the morning no citizen may be out of doors without running a risk. During that time the city is patrolled by military lorries and by military and police patrols on foot. In that particular case, the fire having been started quite early in the night, the fire brigade was notified and repaired to the scene and extinguished the fire. On their way back there was considerable firing; a number of shots were fired at them, with the result that when an hour or so later they were notified the fire had been started again, they were unable to proceed to the scene until after seven in the morning, and when they got there the fire had made such headway that they were unable to extinguish it, and the premises were destroyed. Then the Thomas Ashe Sinn Fein Club, Father Matthew Quay; the City Hall, —the City Hall having been attacked on three previous occasions.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT IGNORES CITY'S PLEAS FOR PROTECTION

That covers the situation up to the Saturday night on which the commercial heart of Cork was burned out. While these isolated fires, a list of which I have just read, were taking place in Cork, certain of the public bodies in Cork, notably the Cork Chamber of Commerce, wired to the British officials calling their attention to this state of incendiarism which was rampant in Cork.

Q. Chairman Wood: The British officials in London or Dublin Castle? A. No, London, asking for protection. The same body afterwards, as we shall see in the big fire, appealed for protection; but the only result was in the fires being intensified and in the city being burned down. The same body again wired to the British officials asking for an impartial inquiry, which was refused.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Was that first request answered from London? A. Not so far as I know or have seen. The following is a copy of

the telegram sent to the Chief Secretary for Ireland on the 29th of November:

"Chief Secretary for Ireland, Chief Secretary's Office, London, S. W.: Council of Chamber desire to draw attention of Chief Secretary to number of incendiary fires occurring in Cork, more especially within the last few days, resulting in enormous destruction of property, and request immediate steps for protection of citizens' property.
(Signed) "DANCKERT, *Honorable Secretary,*
"Cork Chamber* of Commerce and Shipping."

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Is the Chamber of Commerce in Cork a predominantly Republican body, or predominantly Unionist? A. It is pretty hard to say at the moment. It is essentially a body which we do not measure by political affiliations. It is purely a commercial body. It would be very largely Republican, of course. All the large business men in Cork, the large drapery establishments, for instance, and a number of Unionists, all belong to the Chamber of Commerce. It is essentially a body which does not deal with politics in any shape or form.

Q. Senator Walsh: Has there been a change in political sentiment among that class of men within the last two years? A. O, yes, certainly. While of course I presume most of the Unionists are still Unionists, there has been a considerable landslide in the direction of Republicanism among those who were not Republicans, say, a year or two since.

Q. Senator Norris: That is a world-wide proceeding now, it seems. A. Yes. That now, of course, is so.

NO PERSONAL COMPARISON WITH BELGIAN ATROCITIES

Q. Mr. Doyle: Have you tried to compare the campaign of the British authorities in Ireland with the campaign of the German military authorities in Belgium? For instance, first, the destruction of towns; second, the service of notice such as was served at Louvain; third, the killing of priests and the taking of bishops as hostages; then the destruction of large cities, and so on? Have you made that comparison, and have you prepared any data showing how they did apparently follow the same line? A. No, sir, I have not done anything of that kind. Of course, it seems to me, and I think it is perfectly clear, that very few people now believe that all the crimes and atrocities alleged, and news of which was disseminated during that period, did take place. That I think is pretty universally doubted now.

Q. Chairman Wood: You have no personal method or special opportunity of making this comparison, have you? A. No, sir.

THE BURNING OF CORK

Q. Let us get on to the burning of Cork, because I do not think the other matter affects us very materially. A. Very well, sir. On this particular night the fires in Cork started about a quarter to ten. Curfew began at ten.

Q. What was the date of the month? A. The fires took place on the 10th.

Q. On Saturday, the 10th of December? A. Yes.

Q. Were you in Cork that night yourself? A. No. I was in Cork that evening, but I left town that night. I was about two miles outside of the town at the time of the fires. On this particular night, while curfew usually began at ten o'clock, the rumor had spread through the town early that there had been an attack of some kind in the northeast ward of the city, in Dillon's Cross direction. While nothing was known definitely of the matter, shortly before that or about nine o'clock military cars drove through the town very wildly and recklessly and a number of shots were fired, with the result that, while nobody was certain what had taken place, everybody immediately went home. The streets were cleared quite early; they were cleared practically at nine o'clock, or very, very shortly after nine o'clock. The streets were deserted in a very short time so that to all intents and purposes on that particular night curfew started an hour earlier than usual. At about a quarter to ten, shortly before ten, the first outbreak of fire was noticed in Patrick Street. That was the premises of Alexander Grant & Company. They have a very large warehouse, a general merchandise store. That fire raged for some hours. Ultimately the particular block in which that stood, that is the premises itself, was burned out; but the fire did not spread to the adjoining buildings on either side. That particular block was simply burned out clear.

Q. Senator Walsh: Did the fire department attempt to extinguish the flames? A. Yes, sir, the fire department were there, but they were not able to prevent that destruction.

Later on, about eleven, between eleven and half past eleven, the outbreaks took place all along Patrick Street. It first broke out in the premises of Forrest. Forrest had already been partially destroyed. The outbreak took place there first, but after a very short time different local outbreaks were noticed all along the street, and as a result when the fire brigade turned out they were practically powerless.

Q. Major Newman: Is Patrick Street the principal street of Cork? A. Yes, the main business thoroughfare, the heart of the city. The result was that when some hours had passed, the fire had such a grip on all that side of the street that nothing could have saved it.

Q. Senator Walsh: Was the fire department still operating?

A. Yes, they were. The result, of course, of the fire was only seen on the following day. It was then that it was discovered that twice the greater portion, nearly all of the destruction, was on one side of the street. A frontage of about a quarter of a mile was entirely burned out, and beside that, the blocks running off of Patrick Street were also laid waste. In fact, when you came to view the situation for the first time after the fire, on the following day, Patrick Street was really unrecognizable; you could not tell where the street was, where the splendid buildings had been. There was simply a wilderness of ruin and debris.

The houses burned out were in some cases shops, small ordinary shops; but in very many cases they were large warehouses, the largest houses in Cork, four or five of them. These were notably the Munster Arcade, which was one of the largest warehouses in Cork, and employing two or three hundred.

Q. Mr. Doyle: When you say warehouse, you mean, as we call them here, department stores? A. Yes. Also Cash & Company, which was similarly a large store,—grocery stores. There were at least four such large stores, including the Grant's, where roughly 200 or 250 employees, and in one or two cases about 300 employees were engaged. In only one case in all that destruction along all that frontage was there a front wall of a shop left standing. That was in the case of Sumner, a chemist, in Patrick Street, where the front wall stood, but all along the rest of the frontage everything had been levelled, and there was not even a front wall standing. This was all on one side of Patrick Street. That was also the case with certain blocks running off from Patrick Street. Back from Cash's there was one block running from Cash's to the Postoffice, and across the road from Winthrop Street on the other side. There were two blocks running from Patrick Street to Old Georges Street burned out.

BURNING OF CITY HALL AND LIBRARY

Apart from that, which was the main fire, away across the river, about a distance of a quarter of a mile, and at the other side of the river, the City Hall, which was the site, of course, of the local city government, the municipal buildings, the free library, and so on, were burned out. An effort was made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland to say that that was a part of the same fire, and that those premises had simply taken fire from the large fire in Patrick Street. It is quite clear how obviously ridiculous that is, and how typical of the truth of the government's statements with regard to Ireland, when the fact is remembered that the City Hall, the municipal buildings and the free library were fully a distance of a quarter of a mile and were at the other side of the river. Not only would the

fire have had to pass through all the intervening buildings and streets in that quarter of a mile, but it would also have blown across the River Lee.

Q. Chairman Wood: Was there a wind blowing at the time of the fire? A. There was, sir, but not very much, fortunately. That night it was very calm.

Q. That accounts, perhaps, for the other side of Patrick Street not being burned? A. It certainly does, and it also accounts for the two ends of the city which were burned. Had the night been wild, the street would have been completely wiped out between the two corners which remain.

Q. Major Newman: Do you know whether the City Hall and the municipal buildings on the other side of the river burned simultaneously with the fire in Patrick Street? A. No, sir, they were rather later. The City Hall fire was first noticed about three o'clock in the morning, and it burned steadily from then until six. The clock on the City Hall tolled until a quarter to six. About five minutes before a quarter to six the clock fell, and shortly afterwards the fire had reached the stage where it smoldered. By that time the place had nearly been burned out. The clock stood until practically the whole building had been burned out.

ONLY MILITARY AND POLICE ON THE STREETS

Q. During all this time, of course, the people did not come out? A. O, no.

Q. The streets were clear? A. Yes.

Q. Were there any military forces out, so far as you know? A. There were. The ordinary military forces were out, and they, with the police, were on the streets.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: It is usual when there are military in a town for the military to turn to and help the fire brigade. Was that done in Cork? A. Not so far as helping in the ordinary sense is concerned. It was to this extent, that, I think, during the night, and I know during the following day, they formed a cordon around the buildings.

FIRE BRIGADE FIRED UPON

Q. Was there any interference with the fire brigade there in Patrick Street, at the Patrick Street fire or at the City Hall fire? A. Yes, the fire brigade allege that they were fired upon that night. I thought that I had with me a deposition bearing on that, but unfortunately I find I have not. They also told me that the hose was cut in one case, while dealing with the first outbreak in Grant's. While I know that they have told me that, unfortunately I find I have not got those depositions with me, as I thought I had.

Q. Is there any evidence that the high military command in Cork exercised any of the usual precautions which might be exercised in such an emergency, in order to assist in the fighting of the fire?

A. I do not know of anything. I have not heard or seen anything. I do not think so.

FIRE LOSSES FOUR MILLION POUNDS

The actual losses represented by the fires on that night have been estimated at somewhere in the region of two and a half or three millions. As I explained a while ago, the damages caused by the previous isolated fires would be over a million.

Q. Mr. Doyle: You refer to pounds, not dollars? A. To pounds.

Q. In other words, say, £3,000,000? A. The total loss was four millions, including this fire and the isolated fires—roughly \$20,000,000.

GREAT USEFULNESS OF CITY HALL AND LIBRARY TO PEOPLE OF CORK

Q. Mr. Lord Mayor, I was going to suggest that before you go on, if you could, to describe a little more in detail for the benefit of the Commission about your City Hall, as to what kind of a building it was, and whether or not it was surrounded by a park?

A. The City Hall proper was a large meeting or concert hall, the largest hall in Cork. It provided seating accommodations for about 2,000 people, between the body of the hall and the gallery. We had in it an organ which had a reputation of its own in Cork. The organ was first procured at the time of the Cork International Exposition in 1902, and subsequent to the exposition was installed in the City Hall. All around the large vestibule through which one passed into the City Hall proper were the municipal buildings; all the offices of the municipal officials were there, the town clerk, the city solicitors, the city engineers, the public health department, and so on. All these departments had their offices in the front of the building. In the front of the building also was the council chamber, in which the Cork Corporation held its meeting, as well as a number of committee rooms and rooms for the members of the Corporation, and of course the Lord Mayor's room.

Q. Senator Walsh: How old was this building? A. It was about 50 years old.

Q. Stone or brick? A. It was of stone.

Q. Chairman Wood: And a slate roof, was it? A. Yes, slate roof. Then at the front of it, or just at the side, was the Carnegie Free Library. It was certainly a very fine, ornamental building, and naturally a very useful building to the city.

Q. Senator Walsh: Were the books all burned? A. Yes, sir, they were reduced to ashes.

Q. Chairman Wood: How large a library was it? How many books? A. There were something about 15,000 books.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Was it a collection of ancient books in the library, or a recent library? A. A recent library, but the library has been there for quite a number of years, twenty or twenty-five years,—the gift of Mr. Carnegie. The books, of course, were mixed in the ordinary way in which the books in a public library would be.

Q. Did you have any ancient manuscripts? A. No, there was nothing of historical value in that particular way.

CORK BURNED BY BRITISH CROWN FORCES

Q. Before you go on from there, I want to get this clearly and definitely settled. I do not think it has been brought out yet. To whom, definitely and specifically, do you charge the burning of Cork upon? A. I was just getting to that. I charge definitely the British Crown forces in Cork.

One of the unfortunate things about the burning of the City Hall itself was that all of the city records were burned. That will create a great deal of difficulty in the functioning of the different departments of the Corporation for some time to come. The records of the rates and the water records and all the city records were of course destroyed.

PREMISES BURNED AND AMOUNT OF CLAIMS

One of the clearest and best ways in which to give you an idea, to those who cannot visualize the city, and have not known the city, would be, I think, to read a list of the premises burned and a list of the claims which have been lodged officially with the Crown.

Q. Chairman Wood: I was going to ask about the ownership of these various premises or blocks, and the religion of the owners of these premises. Have you any record of that? Aside from the fact that about 95 per cent of the population of Cork is probably associated with Sinn Fein in some way politically, and a large majority Roman Catholics, I was wondering whether these larger establishments were owned by British capital,—for instance, like the Mall, which I understand was a British capital enterprise. A. Yes. While I have not any tabulated information with regard to them, I know that in many cases the larger premises, these larger warehouses or stores, were not owned, so far as I know, to any great extent, by British capital, by English capital as such. They were owned to a large extent by Unionists, and of course by Protestants to a certain extent. The list that has been lodged in Cork with the town clerk amounts roughly to \$15,000,000. It runs as follows.

These amounts, of course, would be the amounts for which insurance had been taken under the ordinary fire policies by the people concerned, and they will not represent the figures, or anything like the figures which would enable reconstruction to be made today. For instance, the first item lodged is the Corporation, for the City Hall, Carnegie Library and contents, £280,000. Certainly without any particular technical knowledge of the matter, I feel quite certain that £280,000 would not build the City Hall alone today, or near it. I will give the amounts as they were lodged with the town clerk:

Corporation: City Hall and Carnegie Library and contents..	£280,000
The Munster Arcade,—that is the large department store to which I have referred, Messrs. Robertson, Ledlie, & Ferguson, 27 to 30 Patrick St., 99–102 Old Georges St., and 3 Robert St.....	405,000
The building referred to is one large store, simply taking in the different streets, Patrick and Old Georges Streets.	
Cork Furniture Stores, 22 Merchant St., a large furniture store	8,406
William Roche, 15 Patrick St., and 21 Maylor St.....	17,000
Messrs. Roche's Stores (London House). Another large warehouse or department store.....	112,000
T. Lyons & Co., 52, 53, 54 Patrick St.....	120,000
Charles C. Harvey, premises Munster Arcade and 27–28 Patrick St.....	31,158
Messrs. Cash & Co., 18–21 Patrick St., and 24–25 Maylor St..	250,000
Cash's is the second of the large warehouses.	
Saxone Shoe Co., 24 Patrick St.....	30,000
Wm. Egan & Sons, Ltd.....	100,000
Lee Boot Mfg. Co., 16 Patrick St. and 21 Maylor St.....	19,000
Wm. Cashman & Co., Ltd., 4 Cook St.....	30,000
Annie Nolan, premises 18, 19, 20, and 21 Patrick St.....	50,000
James Donovan, for premises 52, 53 and 54 Patrick St. (Grant & Co.), and 51 Patrick St. (Samuel Haynes).....	37,000
A. M. Walker, premises 30 Patrick St. (Munster Arcade)..	20,000
James Ryan, 26 Maylor St. and 21, 22 Merchant St.....	24,000
Ed. Woods, 3 Cook St.....	6,000
Richard Sunner, 31 Patrick St.....	26,000
Messrs. Forrest and Sons, Patrick St., Cook St., and Elbow Lane	95,000
J. T. O'Regan, 25–26 Patrick St.....	40,000
J. Tyler and Sons, 20 Winthrop St.....	12,750
R. and J. McKechnie, Ltd., 25 Patrick St.....	21,000
Marcus Forester Harvey, 25, 26 Patrick St., 1–9 Robert St., 103, 104 Georges St.....	10,000
Simon Spiro, 9 Bridge St. and 3 Patrick's Quay.....	3,675
W. Roche and Lee Boot Manufacturing Co., 16 Patrick St. and 21 Maylor St.....	17,000
Lessees in Leases of Lee Cinema, Winthrop St.....	10,000
Mary Perry, 1 and 2 Winthrop St.....	10,000
Rev. F. H. Sandys and others, 26 Patrick St.....	9,000
T. F. Carroll, 13 Patrick St. and 103 Georges St.....	11,000

Q. Chairman Wood: Mr. Lord Mayor, I think we gather from that which you have read the type of the thing, and I do not believe it is worth while to wear your voice out in reading it further. If

you will file it with us we will be very glad to have it for reference. The total, as I understand it, comes to approximately £4,000,000. A. In this particular case I judge it would run in the neighborhood of £3,000,000. There had already been a million pounds damage done in the previous fires.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: I understand that this £4,000,000, including all the fires, does not represent the cost of duplicating the property at the present time by a great ways? A. That is so.

ENGLISH INSURANCE COMPANIES REFUSE TO PAY LOSSES TO REPUBLICANS

Q. Chairman Wood: In regard to the insurance, have you any information as to the insurance companies with whom these insurance policies were placed, and whether there have been any objections made to paying these losses as the result of an act of God or the King's enemies, or those other little riders which sometimes appear in insurance policies? A. No, sir, I do not know what action the insurance companies will take in these particular cases. I do know that the insurance companies have for some time inserted in all their policies a particular clause that the individual taking out the policy must not belong to or be identified with any Republican—I think it says any Republican or seditious movement in Ireland. But what their attitude will be on these wholesale claims I do not know.

Q. Senator Norris: How long has it been since that stipulation has been in the policies? A. Roughly, six months.

Q. That was prior to this fire? A. O, yes.

Q. But probably not prior to the time the policies were issued that were in existence at the time the fire took place? A. I should say not.

Q. Chairman Wood: That was a new clause? A. Yes.

Q. Senator Norris: That clause would not have much application to this fire, would it? A. I take it, in a great many cases, if the insurance companies felt so inclined, they could object to paying claims to particular people simply because they happened to be Republicans.

Q. I understand that; but at the time of the issuing of the policies that were probably in force when this fire took place, they had no such stipulation in the policy? A. O, they would have, because these policies, especially the policy which is most usually taken out there now, is called a special riot and civic commotion policy. These are usually taken out for short periods, most frequently for 3 months, sometimes for 6 months,—rarely for 6 months, and most frequently for 3 months.

Q. Would that be the kind of policies that were in force on this property? A. O, yes.

Q. Of course a provision in the policy that the company would not be liable in case of fire originating from the King's enemies would not apply here, as you claim the King himself was the instigator of these fires. A. Absolutely. Of course there are different clauses. There is the ordinary fire insurance policy which covers only accidental fire. There is this particular policy, which is most favored at the moment, in regard to riot and civic commotion; and there is the policy against malicious injury. There is one case that has occurred, of which I know, where the fire insurance company has refused, in the first instance at all events, to pay, in the case of one of the warehouses which I referred to, which was burned before the night of this big fire, the warehouse of Dwyer & Company.

Q. Senator Norris: When you refer to "warehouse" you mean department stores? A. Yes, large department stores. When that was attacked the complete destruction was prevented, as I told you, by the installation of this sprinkler arrangement. The amount of the damage claimed, I think, was £10,000. In that particular case, although covered against riot and civic commotion, I understand the insurance company have, in the first instance, refused to pay, maintaining, as I am informed, that there was no riot, and neither was there civic commotion. The case, of course, will be contested in the courts, if it has not already appeared there, and will be decided; and possibly that particular case, to a large extent, will govern the claims on all the subsequent fires.

Q. Mr. Doyle: These insurance companies that put this new clause in that you cannot be a Republican and so on, they are the English insurance companies, are they not? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Is most of your insurance carried in the Liverpool and other big insurance companies. A. O, yes.

Q. Chairman Wood: Do any American insurance companies do any business over there? A. They do, but not in fire. They do a certain amount in life.

Q. Mr. Doyle: Do you know as to the fact whether any American insurance companies, if they have policies in force, have taken any action or protest against the action of the military and the British officials in that town causing this fire? A. No, sir, not so far as I know.

Q. You have not got the list of the insurance companies affected by the fire, have you? A. No, I have not such a list.

PEOPLE MADE HOMELESS BY FIRE

Q. Chairman Wood: Is it not true that some parts of the buildings which were destroyed were used for residential purposes?

A. Yes, in a great many cases residences were upstairs.

Q. What happened to the people? Was there much loss of life in connection with it? A. The number affected in that was not so great, for this reason, that while these isolated fires had been taking place, wherever possible people who had been living over these business premises in the center of the city moved to friends in the residential portions. There were not a great number in that particular area. Those, I think, who were, of course, had to come out when the fire started, where they were not already alarmed by the outbreak elsewhere and on the lookout,—they had to come out and be taken into neighboring houses on the other side of the street. The largest case of that which I heard of was the case of the Munster Arcade, where I understand there was something like 20 or 25 girls upstairs. They came out with a considerable amount of distress and alarm, but I think they were all safely housed on the other side of the street.

INVESTIGATION BY BRITISH LABOR COMMISSION CONVICTS CROWN FORCES OF BURNING CORK

Q. I do not want to interrupt in any way the course of your story, but I saw in the paper the report of the British Labor Party's investigation, which said they had what was perfectly convincing evidence to them that this fire had been started by the Crown forces. Have you anything of that to place before us? A. What I intended to do in that regard, sir, was to read or to hand in that statement by the Labor Commission, because I personally have no particular evidence bearing on it, owing to the fact that I left Cork on the Monday following the fire.

Q. The fire started Saturday night, and you left Monday? A. I left Monday evening, and in the interval I had not time to do anything in the nature of compiling evidence with regard to that particular aspect, although it was being done for me. However, I have not yet got it.

Q. You do not know what evidence was submitted to them? A. To the Labor Party? No. But I do know that in the interval between the fire and my leaving, that I, of course, had a pretty busy time. But I know that it was quite common rumor at the time that there were a number of people who had from the houses seen the police actually engaged in setting the fires, and I have sent men to get these statements, to collect them in the city. But up to that evening when I left, I was not able to get them, and I have not got them since. But I have no doubt they are available in Cork, and very probably you will have them here before your Commission ends. However, in answer to your question, I think I can put in that report of the Labor Party Commission.

Chairman Wood: Very well.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: It might be well, Mr. Chairman, if the Lord Mayor is not in the country when this evidence comes, if he could arrange to have his counsel, Mr. Doyle, see that it reaches us.

Chairman Wood: Yes.

A. I will do that, sir. I had already intended to do it. I thought, of course, I would have them here in order to present to you, but as I have not, it will be quite a simple thing to arrange it with Mr. Doyle so that the matter will reach you, properly sworn to.

This statement was issued by the British Labor Commission on its visit to Cork. It is taken from the *Cork Examiner* of Friday morning, December 17, 1920, and reads as follows:

"Two members of the Commission, Messrs. Lawson and Lunn, were delegated to visit Cork City on Monday, December 13th, for the purpose of investigating the cause, extent, and general circumstances of the conflagration which occurred on Saturday night and during the early hours of Sunday morning. The news of the destruction in Cork did not come as a surprise to the Commission. During its stay in Cork last week the Commission could not avoid the feeling that a serious outbreak of trouble was probable. There were signs of increasing irritation provoked by the R. I. C., Auxiliary Division, which we were convinced at the time might result in retaliation against the Crown forces or in bolder or more intensified action on the part of the Auxiliary Police.

"The two members of the Commission who traveled to Cork for the special purpose of investigating the events of the week end made as close an examination of the situation as the time permitted. They visited the razed areas and took evidence from responsible citizens on the subject. In view of the extended reports of the fire in the press, it is unnecessary to specify and describe the gutted buildings, but the newspaper accounts convey only a faint impression of the terrible havoc wrought in the city. It would be difficult to conceive a scene of greater desolation than that presented by the destroyed business premises in the center of Cork.

"The whole Commission had an opportunity during last week of seeing the town before the latest calamity which has befallen it. The contrast was striking and appalling. It is clear that the incendiaries sought out the most valuable premises in the town. Large business houses and massively fronted shops have been reduced to piles of smoldering debris, charred woodwork, and twisted iron girders. It was not possible, even approximately, to estimate the money value of the property destroyed, but business men informed the members of the Commission that it might run into millions of pounds. The disaster will involve the unemployment of a considerable number of workers in addition to those who will be indirectly thrown out of work as a result of the fire.

"The commerce of the city has already suffered very appreciably as a result of the events of recent months, and the incendiarism of the past week end will strike a further blow at the economic activities of the city of Cork.

"Inquiries made and statements elicited enable the members of the Commission to make the following statement, which a number of wit-

nesses interviewed are prepared, if given adequate guarantees for their future security, to substantiate on oath:

"Shortly after 9 P. M. on Saturday auxiliary police and Black-and-Tans appeared in large numbers in the streets of the city, and at the revolver point (before actual firing took place) drove people to their homes earlier than the curfew regulations required. This was regarded by the citizens as ominous, and increased the nervousness which had been caused by the ambush at Dillon's Cross, and the apprehensions of reprisals that were naturally entertained by the people.

"The streets were soon entirely deserted, and the work of destruction begun. The first of the burnings took place at Grant's extensive premises in Patrick Street, and during the night new fires broke out. At 4 A. M. the City Hall was fired, and the efforts of the firemen failed to save it. It was completely gutted. But a few days previously the Commission had taken evidence in the City Hall of the unfortunate occurrences in Cork during the past few months. The City Library, adjacent to the Hall, was destroyed.

"The members of the Commission made special inquiry regarding the origin and cause of the fires, and numerous witnesses were interviewed. They were unanimous in stating that the fires were caused by the Crown forces. Some persons had witnessed the entry of members of the forces into buildings which shortly afterwards were on fire. In some cases explosions occurred. Others again saw them looting. The smashing of glass and doors was heard, as men forced their way into business premises for the purpose of looting.

"Firemen of the local brigade received assistance from the military engaged on patrol duty during curfew hours. The old R. I. C. men, as distinct from the Black-and-Tans, were engaged mainly in conveying to the brigade information of further outbreaks of fire occurring from time to time during the night. Two members of the brigade were slightly wounded by bullets whilst carrying out their duties.

"The members of the Commission direct attention particularly to the following facts:

"(1) The fires occurred after the Crown forces had forced the people indoors. During the greater part of the time that outbreaks of fire took place, the curfew regulations were in operation. Curfew ends at 3 A. M. But the military on curfew duty patrolled the streets until 5:30 A. M.

"(2) Eye-witnesses, observing fires from adjacent premises, positively state that Black-and-Tans or Auxiliary Police, or both, were the incendiaries.

"(3) The choice of places which were set on fire indicates a pre-conceived plan of destroying the whole of the center of the city.

"(4) An ambush occurred, as reported, at Dillon's Cross, on the outskirts of the town, and a number of Cadets were killed or wounded.

"The Commissioners sought an interview with the Cork military authorities, in order to obtain official information relating to the ambush and the fires, but owing to the absence of responsible officers at the time, they were, unfortunately, unable to obtain a statement.¹

"The joint meeting unanimously decided that the Commission should wait upon the Prime Minister to urge that a further effort be made to bring about a truce in Ireland with a view to negotiations being held between representatives of the Government and of the elected representatives of the Irish people, for a permanent settlement of the constitutional question."

¹ For summary of evidence taken by British Labor Commission establishing guilt of Crown forces in burning Cork, see Labor Commission's Report (Jan., 1921), pp. 74-76.

LABOR COMMISSION DEMANDS IMPARTIAL INQUIRY INTO BURNING OF CORK

The Witness: That was followed by a further message from the English Labor Commission:

"At a special meeting of the Labor Party in London today a telegram to the following effect from the Labor Commission at present in Ireland was read to the meeting:

"Statements made by Chief Secretary in the House of Commons concerning burning of Cork are greatly inaccurate. Parliamentary members of Labor Commission who visited Cork yesterday are convinced that the fires were the work of Crown forces. The suggestion that the fire spread from Patrick Street across the river to the City Hall, a distance of several hundred yards, cannot be entertained by anyone knowing the topography of Cork. We stand by our statements regarding the fire in Cork, and can, if the safety of witnesses is guaranteed, procure reliable evidence on the subject. We therefore demand independent inquiries into the recent incidents in Cork. If the Government refuse, the British public will form its own conclusions."

"In view of the statement contained in this message, it was decided to send a resolution to the Prime Minister asking that an independent and searching judicial inquiry be made immediately into the occurrences at Cork on Saturday last."

Q. Chairman Wood: From what paper are you reading? A. From the Cork *Examiner*.

Q. Of what date?

CORK CORPORATION REPUDIATES SUGGESTION THAT CITY WAS BURNED BY ITS CITIZENS

A. December 24th. That demand for an inquiry was also made by the Cork Corporation on that date, the Monday following the fire.

Q. That is the body over which you preside? A. Yes, sir. The following wire was sent by the Lord Mayor of Cork and Messrs. Walsh and DeReiste, members of Parliament, to Sir H. Greenwood, Lord Robert Cecil, and Messrs. Asquith, Henderson, and Commander Kenworthy:

"On behalf of the whole citizens, we absolutely and most emphatically repudiate the vile suggestion that Cork City was burned by any section of the citizens. In the name of truth, justice, and civilization, we demand an impartial civilian inquiry into the circumstances of the city's destruction. We are quite willing to submit evidence before any international tribunal, or even a tribunal of Englishmen like Bentinck Henderson, Kenworthy, and Cecil."

CORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DEMANDS INVESTIGATION

That demand for an impartial inquiry was supported by the Cork Chamber of Commerce, which, as I told you a short time ago, had already wired to the British Chief Secretary for Ireland and had asked for protection for their property. Up to then the demand for

protection had only resulted in increasing the incendiarism. And they sent the following wire:

"The Cork Incorporated Chamber of Commerce and Shipping express their astonishment at the statements made by you in the House of Commons with reference to the destruction in Cork. We demand that, as Chief Secretary, you make personal investigation on the spot of the true facts, when incontrovertible evidence will be placed before you; and that a judicial commission of inquiry be set up without delay. We claim that all damage be made good out of Government funds. The Chamber begs to draw your attention to the fact that on November 29th they wired you with reference to incendiary fires occurring in Cork and requested immediate protection for citizens' property, to which telegram no reply was made by you.

(Signed) "DANCKERT, *Honorable Secretary.*"

PEOPLE DEPRIVED OF EMPLOYMENT, RENDERED HOMELESS AND TERRIFIED

The Witness: That was also adopted by the Cork Harbor Board, on the motion of Mr. Benjamin Hicks, one of the Unionist members of the Board; and by the Cork Employers' Federation. (Reading):

"Cork Employers' Federation at a meeting on Tuesday called the attention of the Government to the effects of Saturday night's and Sunday morning's conflagrations involving destruction of an enormous amount of valuable property, the throwing out of employment of thousands of persons, rendering large numbers homeless, and the keeping of the inhabitants in an abject state of terror. They demanded an immediate and searching inquiry into the circumstances by an impartial tribunal."

ONLY RESTRICTED MILITARY INQUIRY HELD

The Witness: Despite all that, the only inquiry ordered by the British Government was an inquiry to be held and presided over by Major General Strickland, in Cork, who was the officer commanding in Cork. He communicated the fact that he intended to hold an inquiry, as follows:

"Major General Sir E. P. Strickland, commanding 6th Division, directs me to inform you that an inquiry will be held at these headquarters, on Saturday, December 18, in connection with the burning and looting of property in Cork City on the nights of the 11th-12th instants. All persons willing to give evidence in this case, and in a position to do so, are requested to communicate with these headquarters as early as possible. Name of witness will not be published in the press.

(Signed): "C. J. O'KELLY, *Captain,*
"Attached General Staff 6th Division,
"Headquarters 6th Division, Cork."

Q. Senator Norris: Is that Kelly the same one we heard about yesterday? A. I would not be surprised if it was. I do not know the initials.

Q. He was a captain yesterday. A. This is also Captain Kelly, and very probably he is the same man. (Reading):

REPRESENTATIVES OF PRESS AND PUBLIC BODIES DEBARRED FROM "PRIVATE" MILITARY INQUIRY

"At the library, Victoria Barracks, Saturday morning, a military court of inquiry assembled for the purpose of hearing evidence as to the extent of the damage done by the incendiary fires which demolished a large portion of the business property in Cork. It was the intention of the Cork Incorporated Chamber of Commerce and Shipping, and Cork Employers' Federation, to be represented by Mr. M. Healy, Solicitor, but information was conveyed to Mr. Healy by the military authorities that lawyers would not be admitted to the inquiry, and that any witnesses to be examined would only be allowed into the inquiry one by one. Under those circumstances the bodies mentioned were not professionally represented. When representatives of the press put in an appearance, they were informed by the Brigade Major that the inquiry was private and not open to press representatives. These representatives then left. As far as could be seen, no civilian witnesses were present at the appointed hour."

BRITISH CABINET SUPPRESSES STRICKLAND REPORT

Q. Mr. Doyle: I want to ask you, is it not a fact that General Strickland has sent a report to the Cabinet? The report certainly has not appeared. The only thing I have read of it was an intimation in the press that it never will appear in full, the reason given being,—and I thought it rather ingenious,—first of all, that the names of certain witnesses might not be published, inasmuch as they had been given the guarantee that they would not be published, and the evidence if given would indicate their identity, so that the names could not be given owing to their promise, and their evidence could not be given lest their names be indirectly disclosed. It was intimated that there may be an abridged version of the report published, but even that much was not stated definitely. But one definite statement was that the report as sent will not be published. A. Yes.

SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD FALSELY DENIES GUILT OF CROWN FORCES

Q. The Chairman: Mr. Lord Mayor, right after the burning took place, did not Sir Hamar Greenwood announce in Parliament that there was no evidence that this burning was due to any of the Crown forces? A. Yes.

Q. That statement of Sir Hamar Greenwood, was it true or false? A. Well, that certainly is false, absolutely.

Q. Mr. Lord Mayor, is there any reason that you know of why the fire only occurred on one side of Patrick Street, if it was started in a general attempt to set fire to Cork? A. No, sir, except I take it that these men who caused the fire wanted not so much isolated fires throughout the city,—that had been the method until then; but they wanted to wipe out one particular portion of the city, and they

have done that effectively. The whole area, covering roughly a matter of, say, one square mile, is absolutely leveled.

Q. There were, however, large buildings on the other side of Patrick Street, were there not, trade buildings? A. Yes, there were. Well, the only reason I can think of is that in doing what they were doing, and in wiping out one mile square of the city, they thought that they were doing quite sufficient for one night; and it is quite possible that they may yet return to the other side.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Do you know whether Sir Hamar Greenwood, or any of those other authorities, went to school in Germany, or otherwise derived from such sources this ingenuity of evasion of responsibility? A. No, sir; but certainly one thing about which opinion is unanimous in regard to them is admiration for their ability in that direction.

FIRE CAUSES UNEMPLOYMENT AND REVENUE LOSS

Q. Mr. Doyle: Did not that fire in Cork throw a great many persons out of employment? A. Yes, sir, it has thrown, roughly, 3,000 persons out of employment. Incidentally, so far as we in the city are concerned, so far as the municipality is concerned, it will be a severe blow, because it means that at a time when we will need all our resources to enable us to pull through, there will be a loss very probably of somewhere between eight and ten thousand pounds annually,—about \$50,000.

REASONS FOR BURNING PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND STORES

Q. Is it not true that the destruction of these public buildings was done in an effort to destroy all vestige of civil authority and government in the city? A. Undoubtedly.

Q. These stores picked out, you say, were amongst the largest department stores in Cork. Was not one reason why these places were picked out because the looting could be done easier by the soldiers of the Crown forces? A. Certainly, that is it.

Chairman Wood: Of course, we are getting only the opinion of one individual. I mean that he does not produce any evidence to support that, except his own opinion from the general background.

Mr. Doyle: Except this, that he is the Lord Mayor of the city which was destroyed, and certainly no one would know more than he, and probably no one is better fitted to form an opinion than he is.

CORK RELIEF COMMITTEE APPOINTED

Q. Chairman Wood: May I ask this, in regard to relief which is being administered in Cork? As a result of this unemployment

there must, one would suppose, be considerable suffering. Is not that so? A. Yes. On this Monday to which I referred, the Monday following the fire, one of the first things we did at the special meeting of the Corporation which we held on that morning was to appoint a relief committee. The relief committee that we outlined comprised representatives of all the public boards, the Corporation, the Harbor Board, the Chamber of Commerce, and so on, and the labor organizations.

Q. Representatives of all parties and religious affiliations were on that? A. Yes, all parties, all creeds and classes, who were to take charge in the first place, of course, of the collection of relief, and secondly, of the distribution of relief.

Q. What is the official name of that committee, and its address, if anybody wanted to send something to it? A. The Cork Relief Committee, and the Harbor Board Office would be the address, or the Court House, Cork.

Q. The Harbor Board offices were not destroyed, then? A. No.

Q. Let me ask you, do these Crown forces in Ireland show any particular animosity toward lawyers? A. I cannot say I have noticed they do.

Q. Not more than the rest of the community? A. No, sir.

FIRE CREATES SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR CITY

The two points that I would like to make with regard to the fire, so far as the city administration is concerned, are, first, the point I have just stated,—the fire, apart from the loss to the city, the loss of ordinary commercial life and employment, means a loss in the administration of affairs of \$50,000 in administration, and makes the administration more difficult. There is also the question of rebuilding, which we must face some day. And there is added, of course, the ordinary difficulties of present day prices and labor itself. Then there is the feeling of insecurity, and then the difficulty as to whether these men who own the different buildings,—that is, the capitalists, will see their way clear, under existing conditions, to rebuild when they have no sense of security, and when they do not know but that within a week of the rebuilding their premises will be again destroyed.

ACUTE HOUSING SHORTAGE IN CORK

Q. Was there a housing shortage in Cork before this happened?
A. Very acute.

Q. Very crowded conditions? A. Yes. I think that condition is general in Ireland. I know it is acute in Dublin, and very acute in Cork. And even before this occurred, one of the very great difficulties was to see a way of relieving the conditions in housing, owing

to all grants from the British Government being withdrawn. Before the break with the British Government took place, we had under way a scheme which had their approval. We had arranged for a loan as a starter, to be supplemented by others, of £100,000; the condition attaching to the loan being the condition which is the ordinary one between local boards in Ireland and the British Government, that we would provide the site and the plans, and that they should approve of the plans before the scheme was adopted. We had in Cork and in its vicinity four areas decided on, and in two of these areas we had the plans all arranged and adopted by the English Local Government Board. In the other two, the plans had been all but completed. Everything, in fact, had been settled at the time when the break took place between the English Local Government Board and the local authorities. And where we expected to start building on that site, the whole scheme toppled, the money was withheld, and the scheme fell through; and we have been able to do nothing since then. The housing situation in Cork has been acute for a number of years, and has been much accentuated from the fact that during the war there has been no building.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT ABLE TO PROVIDE RELIEF IF UNHAMPERED

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Supposing that conditions of peace were restored in Ireland and that the Republican Government was functioning without external interests, would the Republican Government be in the economic position to aid you in such schemes of housing for the relief of Cork as you have now briefly mentioned?

A. O, undoubtedly, sir. Once the Republican Government has the control of the country and of the powers of taxation of the country, there is no question on earth about it but that the Republican Government would be able to do it, because the money which at present goes to swell the British Exchequer from Ireland would, of course, be available for local development.

Q. Chairman Wood: May I return to the relief proposition? Would it in your opinion be advisable to use demountable houses, such as various organizations put up in the devastated areas of France? Would they be helpful if sent over from America to Cork and various places in Ireland;—called temporary huts? A. Frame huts?

Q. Yes. A. I certainly think they would. Yes, unquestionably.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Could land be provided for such temporary huts? A. O, yes, there is no difficulty about that.

Well, gentlemen, unless there is something you wish to ask me, I think I am about through. I have to thank you for the courteous manner in which you have heard me, and for the freedom with which

you have allowed me to deal with the matter in my own order, and to arrange it in my own way.

I do not know if it is a customary thing in your proceedings, sir, but if so, I think there are just a few things in the way of general remarks, or a general summing up, that I should like to say.

Commissioner Wood: Commissioner Newman wants to ask you a few questions about the Home Rule Bill.

EFFECT OF NEW HOME RULE BILL

Q. Commissioner Newman: What is the situation now in both north and south Ireland as a result of the passage of this new Home Rule Bill? A. I do not think the mere passing of the Home Rule Bill makes any change in Ireland. The only question of a change would be should the British Government decide to enforce the Act. Then it is pretty well near to impossible to forecast what change it will make, inasmuch as there is no seeing clearly in what way, along what lines, or to what extent the British Government will go in forcing a system of government on the country which the country emphatically does not want.

Q. That act to become effective must be supplemented by independent acts in Ireland by the Irish people, must it not? A. I should certainly think, to become effective, it would need to be supplemented by at least the good will of the Irish people; or at all events the willing acceptance of the Irish people. Of course, I take it that the circumstances are entirely unprecedented, where the foreign government is deciding a system of government where the majority of the people in the country have said, "We do not want it and we will not have it." But when it comes to forecasting how exactly things are going to develop if the Government seeks to impose it by force, as I assume they must, that is one of the things about which I would be afraid to give anything in the nature of an expression of an opinion.

Q. The newspaper reports that we have received here indicate that in the north of Ireland this may be accepted. Do you understand that is correct, that they will set up their parliament under this Act in the north of Ireland? A. Yes, I take it that is quite possible, in the north. There would, of course, be objections up there to it by sections of the people.

Q. Yes, certainly. A. But it is possible, of course, that a parliament in the north might be established; that is conceivable. But I do not know that I can picture any circumstances under which any other parliament under the Act or bill could be got together.

PROGRESS OF REPUBLICANISM IN BELFAST

Q. Chairman Wood: We have had some evidence as to the progress of the Sinn Fein movement in Belfast itself, and the probability

that the minority as it exists is rapidly enlarging. Have you any information as to that which you would care to give us, or do you know anything about it? A. I do not think I have anything that would be of use to you officially, inasmuch as I am not connected with the north. Of course I know from personal information, from friends and otherwise, that that is correct, that Republicanism is securing an increased hold in the north, and that not only is Republicanism as such securing a hold, but, what in its own way is more important, that the bigotry in the north, which I think it has been pretty generally admitted was largely due to ignorance on the part of the working classes, is being dispelled, and that being so, of course it is only a matter of time when the whole question in the north rights itself.

SOUTHERN IRELAND SOLIDLY AGAINST HOME RULE BILL

Q. Major Newman: Is there to any extent any sentiment in the south of Ireland which is favorable toward acceptance of this Home Rule Bill? A. No, sir, I can say without doubt there is not. Of course there are Unionists scattered all over the south, but as for any body of opinion, there is none.

Q. Chairman Wood: Are the Unionists in the south united really in asking for this Home Rule Bill, or do they feel that on account of the very distinct opposition of the majority of the people that it will not work, and so they are not for it? A. That is it.

Q. Major Newman: There is one other point about which I would like to ask you. Of course I understand, or I assume, that the fundamental reason for there being no sentiment for the acceptance of this measure is the desire for complete independence on the part of the people? A. Yes.

Q. Does it extend further than that? Are there specific objections to the provisions of this particular act? A. There are not at the moment, inasmuch as the Act as such is not dealt with in the critical way in which an Act would be dealt with which a country took seriously. But the Act, if it were being seriously considered by the country, would of course be criticized. But at the moment it is not. The people take no interest whatever in the Act, have not studied it, do not worry about it. They simply say, "We do not want it." And in that way the criticisms which, considered as an Act, it is open to, are not general.

Q. Have you any personal opinions about the provisions of the Act that you would express to us, along those lines? A. No, I do not think that I have, because apart from the Republican viewpoint, the mere fact that it embraces the partition, that alone must inevitably be done away with.

PRESENT CONDITIONS IN IRELAND WORST SINCE CROMWELL'S REGIME

Q. Mr. Doyle: Before you conclude, Mr. Lord Mayor, I would like to ask you, in connection with the outrages, for a general comparison. You are familiar, of course, with Irish history in the last two hundred years. Do you know of any condition in Ireland quite as bad as the present condition over there? A. No, sir, I do not.

Q. In other words, therefore, you might go back to the days of Oliver Cromwell if you would find a comparison between the British outrages in Ireland today with those of that century. Is that correct? A. That is so.

Q. Is it not true that those outrages of Cromwell and his period have been condemned often by the most staunch Unionists of today, apologizing for conditions in Ireland, stating that while the British have not governed Ireland well in the past, yet things are quite different today? A. Yes.

Q. Is it not true that things have been condemned in the past by these people which are even worse today? A. Yes, that is true.

Major Newman: I might refer counsel to the Encyclopedia Britannica for a description of Cromwell's regime.

SCHOOLS NOT ATTACKED

Q. Chairman Wood: May I ask, in regard to the schoolhouses in Cork, were any destroyed to affect the educational situation there?

A. No, I do not know of any schools that have been attacked.

Q. I thought perhaps in these conflagrations there might have been some. A. No. There have been some schools that are known as "Irish summer colleges." These have been destroyed in two cases. These are colleges where a summer course of lectures are given, principally to school teachers and to anybody else who wishes to secure a diploma for teaching. These have been attacked; but the schools ordinarily, I do not recall any case where these have been so far attacked.

DEVASTATION WORST IN MARTIAL LAW ZONE

Q. You testified to the number of towns, some ninety-odd, that have been either burned or shot up or something of the kind. What proportion of those towns are outside of the zone now in which martial law has been declared? A. That I could not say, unless I went through and tabulated the whole list.

Q. In a general way, martial law has been declared in the west and southwest? A. O, yes.

Q. These really go outside of that? A. Yes.

Q. The proportion is larger, presumably, in that zone? A. Yes.

Q. That includes Tipperary and Clare? A. Generally the south,

DESTRUCTION IN QUEENSTOWN

Q. Senator Norris: Are you acquainted with the condition of Queenstown now? A. Yes.

Q. Have you been there? A. O, yes, repeatedly.

Q. Has that been shot up? A. It has, but not on very wholesale lines. All along the west beach has been smashed.

Q. I am not speaking now of murders or fires, but the houses in Queenstown. A. Yes, they have been smashed.

Q. Have you been over the town and seen it yourself? A. Yes.

Q. Can you give the Commission an estimate of what proportion of the houses in Queenstown have had their doors or windows broken? A. I do not know that I could give you an estimate like that, inasmuch as Queenstown, of course, is a very scattered town straggling all over the hills.

Q. What is the population of it? A. It has a population of about five or six thousand. Generally the houses on the quay front have been smashed, and also all the business section.

IRELAND'S POSITION BEFORE THE WORLD

Q. Chairman Wood: The Commission is very appreciative of your having come before us. I understand you have some general remarks which you wish to make. A. I have just a few remarks in the nature of a summing up of the evidence generally. I think, gentlemen, that it would be well that, having come here and having testified as to conditions obtaining in Ireland, that that be supplemented by giving you what is Ireland's view at the moment: first of all, of her own position; and secondly, what she thinks she has a right to expect from the other free nations of the world, and especially from America; and finally, her position in the event of that help being refused. It will not take very long.

IRELAND SEEKS RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

Ireland has declared a desire to be free in every legitimate way in which an oppressed country could do it, through the ballot-box. She has elected her Republican parliament, her Republican councils, who function to carry on the administration of the country. The men engaged in that movement have not been dreamers, as has often been alleged. They are men who are at least as keen, and probably much more so, about the importance of commercial advancement and commercial progress than any recent generation, at all events in Ireland. These men have worked along these lines, even under the difficulties of the state of unrest which obtains in the country; and their efforts, in spite of these difficulties, have been to a large extent crowned with success,—a success which is only an indication of the state of things that would obtain were they free to work entirely on

different lines, and to devote their energies and their abilities solely to that purpose.

I have described for you how the people are suffering, what their record is, what their daily life in Ireland is at present; and I put it to you, gentlemen, and through you to the American people, that that suffering is being entailed and is being endured by the Irish people because of their determination to seek the right to decide for themselves their own form of government.

In Ireland the term "Republican" is used, as it is used here in referring to Ireland, in order to convey a definite and a concrete conception of liberty, not definitely that a Republican, as such, or any other particular form of government has been decided on for the country, or is being insisted on for the country. The Republican parliament and the Republican party ask merely for, and will be perfectly satisfied if they secure, the right of self-determination. They will be satisfied if that question is allowed to be decided by the people of Ireland themselves, be their verdict what it may, be the form of government which they decide on for themselves what it may.

UNANIMITY OF IRISH PEOPLE FOR FREEDOM

In Ireland there is at least as much if not more unanimity on this question of freedom than there is in any other country in the world, or than there was in any other country in the world which struggled to be free. Obviously, clearly at no time in history was it possible to secure, never will it be possible to secure, and it is a good thing that it is so, a nation where every individual of that nation has his thoughts and has his mind running along the same lines as every other individual in that nation. Never, obviously, will a nation be found where there is absolute, thorough, and complete unanimity from the north and south, east and west. The most that one can expect is that a large majority of the people of the country are unanimous. That state of affairs obtains in Ireland, obtains to a very large extent. The fact that there are a very small number of people in one corner of Ireland does not in any way imply that the country, spoken of as a country and as a nation, is not unanimous in seeking freedom.

THE NEW NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The people in Ireland have also, during recent years while the struggle for freedom has been going on, awakened to the fact that their culture, their mentality, just as their race characteristics, are entirely different from those in England, and that is the aspect of the case which I put to you gentlemen. Parliament has awakened to the fact that through a very, very clever system of education, so-

called, the Irish had been brought to the point, very recently, where they had almost lost all sense of race consciousness, where all that was best, inasmuch as all that was distinctive of them as a race, had been submerged, and where they were being modeled into a poor imitation of English men and women. All that is being changed, and contemporaneously with the fight for freedom there is the effort for reconstruction of the Irish idealism of our race. The Irish language, which, with all else that typified our individuality, had been crushed, is now more generally spoken throughout Ireland than for generations past. Every school in Ireland, practically without exception, teaches the Irish language. The children in Ireland today know their own language and are proud of their own language. They realize exactly what it is that makes that language so important and so dear to them.

ENGLAND'S FALSE PRETENSE OF SELF-DETERMINATION

During the war England, and not only England but all the other nations that fought in that war, including America, were very, very loud in their declarations that the war was being waged for the right of self-determination. That principle awakened hopes in every country where freedom was being denied. It certainly awakened hopes in Ireland, and the Irish people looked forward to freedom without much delay. The war ended, and England now very clearly shows by her conduct in Ireland that that pretense of self-determination, that pretense of fighting for the rights of small nations, was the merest humbug, the merest camouflage.

WERE AMERICA'S WAR AIMS ALSO INSINCERE?

Before leaving you today, gentlemen, I do not think it is in any way out of place or in any way improper, even though it may perhaps seem harsh, if I ask you, and through you the American people, whether we in Ireland have got to take it that England was not alone in that respect; whether Ireland has got to take it that every other nation which entered the war ostensibly for that same reason, and which was equally responsible for awakening these hopes in Ireland and other subjugated countries, whether the position is the same in all of them, and whether it is equally admitted all around that that plea was the merest smoke screen and humbug?

IRELAND WILL FIGHT TO ANNIHILATION FOR RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

Even should that be so, even if it should apply to America, which itself suffered somewhat along the lines of our sufferings such as I

have been describing for you, and which itself fought the same fight that we are waging, and fought it against the same enemy; if it be true that America also refuses to stand by her declarations, and if Ireland is forced back on herself, forced to realize that no help is to come to her from any nation, Ireland is placed with a situation, on the one hand, which will show her as making a fight, after all the noisy pretenses of the great and free powers of the world, as making the fight alone, on her own small island, with her four and a half millions of people, against this great and powerful Empire,—making their fight for self-determination, which it was alleged was being made on the battlefields of France and Belgium. While that is so, she will also be faced with a fight which would seem to lead almost with certainty to annihilation.

IRELAND'S RIGHT TO AID FROM FREE NATIONS

What I wish to put before you, gentlemen, and before the American people, is that we have a perfect right to expect help from every free nation of the world, not only because of the justice of our cause, but also because no nation, especially a nation which has been gifted in the past with ability and genius, can give of its best to the world, to the advancement and progress of the world and of civilization generally, while enslaved. For that reason, so that Irish culture might be developed freely and in an unhindered manner, and that Ireland might give of her best for the advancement of the world; for that, as well as for the reason of the absolute justice of the fight for her freedom,—if despite all these reasons we are told in Ireland that neither America nor any other nation is going to raise a hand to prevent our people being bled to death; if despite all that we say to them, through you, sirs, and the other powerful peoples who made the pretense of making this fight for self-determination, you now admit, when faced with a concrete case, that it was humbug, then we will make the fight, and in our case it will not be humbug. We will continue the fight, be the result what it may. (Applause.)

I again thank you for your courtesy.

COMMISSION APPRECIATES LORD MAYOR'S TESTIMONY

Mr. Doyle: As the Lord Mayor expects to be in the country for some time yet, his services will be at the control of the Commission at any time at all that he may be needed for further conference.

Chairman Wood: Thank you very much. Mr. Lord Mayor, the Commission appreciates very much your coming to us, and the very clear and dispassionate way in which you have produced the evidence. We appreciate, from the testimony that has come before us, the background out of which you have spoken, and we feel very

grateful for the personal inconvenience that you have suffered in coming to us. We hope if there is anything further that you feel like bringing to us at a future time, that you will feel very free to ask for a hearing, and we will be glad to give you that opportunity.

The Witness: I thank you, sir, and I thank you, gentlemen of the Commission.

Chairman Wood: We appreciate, of course, that there are many subjects upon which it is not fair to interrogate a person in your position, and it is not for lack of interest in the situation that you have just come through that we refrain from putting to you any questions in regard to merely interesting incidents of your recent life.

We will adjourn until two-thirty this afternoon.

(Adjournment at 1 P. M.)

* * * * *

Before the Commission sitting at the Hotel LaFayette, Washington, D. C., Friday, January 14, 1921.

2:30 P. M.

Chairman Wood: The Commission will please be in order.

Mr. Basil M. Manly (of counsel): I will call to the stand Mr. Thomas Nolan. (Mr. Nolan takes the witness stand.)

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS NOLAN

- Q. What is your name? A. Thomas Nolan.
 Q. How old are you, Mr. Nolan? A. Thirty-five years.
 Q. Where were you born? A. I was born in County Clare.
 Q. Where have you lived recently? A. In Galway.
 Q. What was your business in Galway? A. I was in ladies' and gentlemen's outfitting.
 Q. When did you go to Galway? A. In about 1901.

CONDITIONS IN GALWAY PRIOR TO RAID

Q. What were the conditions in Galway prior to the raid on the town following the shooting by the Black-and-Tans? A. It was supposed to be one of the quietest in Ireland.

Q. Had there been, as far as you now recall, any attacks on the police prior to that night? A. There was one attack, but it did not happen in the city. It happened somewhere out of the city. Constable Foley got shot.

Q. Did any reprisals follow that? A. Yes, sir. They went out that night and they burned down the house belonging to Mrs. Kane.

Q. Who are "they"? A. They were supposed to be the local police from Oranmore.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were they Black-and-Tans or military? A. They were supposed to be the local police. They asked if her son

was home that night. Well, he has been shot since. They asked him to come down. They said, "Come down, you coward." So they burned the house,—burned the whole place to the ground and tore the house up the same night.

Q. Major Newman: I do not think I got that date.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you give the date of that? A. It was sometime in August.

Mr. Manly: I was not going into these affairs, because there has been testimony of several witnesses with relation to earlier events in Galway. I was simply laying a background for events that occurred later in Galway, in which he personally participated. There has been some testimony, Mr. Chairman, with reference to the shooting of several people on the station at Galway that night, after they started shooting promiscuously. There is just one incident in connection with that that has not been testified to by an eye-witness,—the killing of James Quirk.

THE MURDER OF JAMES QUIRK

Q. Mr. Manly: Were you with James Quirk on the evening that the Black-and-Tan Krumm was shot? A. Yes, sir, I was.

Q. You were the last person to see him? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see his body the next day? A. Yes, sir, I saw it at seven o'clock the next morning.

Q. Where was he found? A. The body was taken back to his bed.

Q. You say he was taken back to his bed? A. Yes, sir, by two boatmen. The body was borne in betwixt two boatmen. He was taken at half-past four from his bed. The mail train came from Dublin to Galway. It was to be in Galway at five minutes to twelve,—that would be eleven fifty-five.

Q. Chairman Wood: At night? A. Yes, sir, at night. So this night we were going, James Quirk and I, into the gate, and we saw a lot of people running down. We asked what had happened, and they said that two men were shot up there. I said, "Let us see who they are. There might be some accident." So he said, "Let's go back home." "Very well," said I. So he went on home, and I said good-night to him. And the next morning my landlady said to me, "There was terrible trouble in town last night." I said, "What happened?" She said, "James Quirk was shot." So I got up early and I went down to his house. We happened to be great friends. Miss Dooley and Miss Morley were the ladies in the house who brought him the priest that morning. So I went up there and saw him on the bed with nothing on him but pants and shirt. Of course he was covered over with blood, and I did not care much about looking, so I went away. I said my prayers and went away. So that is all.

Q. What was the condition of his body? A. On medical ex-

amination it was found that eleven bullets had entered his body.

Q. And he had been shot during the night preceding,—taken away from his house and shot down? A. Yes, sir, taken away at half past four in the morning.

Q. Had he been an active Republican, do you know? A. Yes, sir, he had been.

Q. The Chairman: What time did you leave him? A. I left him about ten minutes past twelve.

Q. At night? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you saw his body the next morning? A. Yes, sir, about seven o'clock.

Q. Mr. Manly: Now, at about this time were there any attacks on the women of Galway? A. No, sir,—well——

Q. I mean clipping the girls' hair?

TWO INTENDED MURDER VICTIMS ESCAPE

A. That morning there were two of the men taken out, a man named Joe Cummins and a man named John Broderick. Cummins lived in St. Brendans Terrace, and John Broderick lived on Prospect Hill. They were taken out that same morning. They brought Cummins up to where this constable was shot and put him up against the door there. It seems they were very drunk, the military, and they put him up against the door and gave orders, "Get ready. Fire!" And as soon as he heard the word, "Get ready," he dropped down to the ground and started to moan, and they said, "We have done him." He escaped with one bullet in the ankle. So he scrambled up and went into the hotel by the back way. He had to be taken to the hospital immediately, because it was not safe to have him there in the hotel. So after they took him from there I do not know what happened.

Q. In the case of Cummins, in what house was Cummins living?

A. He was living in the house of Mrs. Madden at St. Brendans Terrace.

Q. Was any other house besides Mrs. Madden's visited by the Black-and-Tans? A. Yes, they took out a man named Broderick the same morning, and something similar happened. He escaped too. They took him into a field where he dropped down. That morning they also burned down Broderick's house, and right opposite—I know the two men there. Their names are John Droney and Michael Larkin. They rushed across to extinguish the flames, and as soon as they did, the military fired, and they had to go back to their house again.

Q. Chairman Wood: As I understand you, they fired at them when they went to attempt to put out the flames? A. Yes, sir, they had to go back again. There was a hail of bullets along the street.

ATTACKS ON WOMEN OF GALWAY

Q. Mr. Manly: In the case of Cummins, what was done in connection with the house at which he was stopping? A. On the Sunday following they called at this house and called out Miss Madden, and they cut off her hair. They also called at Miss Broderick's house and cut off her hair also; and they went to a house in College Road, the Misses Turk, and took the two of them out and cut off their hair. They also visited Miss Burke's house. She was staying in Galway, working in a dry goods store, a house called McDonald's. She lived about three miles from the city of Galway. They went out there in the morning about half-past five or six o'clock. A military lorry came, and she got out of bed and went out, and they went away. She thought when they went away that they might not come back again, and she went to bed again. She was not there a half an hour when they came back and cut her hair off. She was the sister of Father Burke.

Q. When you say *they* cut her hair off, what do you mean? A. The military did it, because nobody else could be out, especially in a military lorry, at that hour of the morning.

Q. Were they soldiers or the Black-and-Tans? A. They were supposed to be the military.

Q. Chairman Wood: Was any reason given for cutting off her hair? A. No reason whatever except that they were strong Republicans, all those girls.

Q. Were they members of the *Cumann na m'Ban*? A. Yes, sir, they were members.

Q. Mr. Manly: Now, this was in the latter part of August? A. No, the Sunday following September 9th,—Thursday would be the 9th. The Sunday after that it happened.

“ON THE RUN” TO ESCAPE POLICE

Q. Were there any raids on the houses adjacent to your shop at this time? A. Yes, sir, there were.

Q. Will you state about that occasion? A. We had curfew immediately after this business.

Q. The curfew had not been in effect at the time of the first shooting up of Galway? The curfew was not in effect at that time? A. No, sir, not until after September 9th.

Q. People were afraid to go out and talk to friends, for example, after that date? A. Yes, sir, but it was put on immediately. So Mr. Walsh asked me if I'd stay with him when curfew was put on. There were a good many raids about the place.

Q. What was his name? A. Michael Walsh. So he asked me if I would stop for a few nights and I said, “Certainly,” and I did. One night the Black-and-Tans came to where I was stopping—

Q. What night was this? A. A night about the 15th or 16th of September; and they came to where I was boarding and they asked was Tom Nolan in the house. He said I was not there. It was about half-past one in the morning. They said that I should be there, and he said I was not. Anyway, they took him out of his bed with no boots or stockings on, and no pants or anything except his shirt, and they took him down about a hundred yards away and put him up against a wall, five of them, and told him if he would not tell where I was, they would shoot him dead. So his wife got into an awful state, and got up also. There was a man living next door named Silvy, and so she asked him for God's sake to get up, that they were going to shoot her husband, and to save him. So he got up and put on his tunic, pants, and trousers, and ran down after them and told them that he was not the man, that I was not stopping at the house that particular night, and that he was all right, not to shoot that man.

Q. Did they release him then? A. Yes, sir, they released him. And in about a week's time again they called on him. They did not take him out the second time, but they said if he did not tell where I was they would burn down the house. Of course I was not sleeping there. I was somewhere else.

Q. You were sleeping out that night? A. Yes, sir. Although I happened to be working at my store during the day, they never came to me during the daytime,—always at night.

WANTED BY POLICE BECAUSE A REPUBLICAN

Q. Major Newman: Why did they want you? A. My business place was called, "Nolan, Republican Outfitter." That was the sign I had.

Q. Mr. Manly: You had a sign, "Thomas Nolan, Republican Outfitter"? A. "T. Nolan, Republican Outfitter."

Q. Major Newman: That was the reason, was it? A. That was the reason, I suppose.

Q. Mr. Manly: You were an active Republican,—you were active in the Republican ranks? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Chairman Wood: What does "Republican Outfitter" mean? An outfitter of ideas, or an outfitter of clothes? A. It is to sell Irish manufactured goods.

Q. That does not mean private Republican uniforms? A. There were no uniforms, because you would not be allowed to wear a uniform.

REPEATED RAIDS AND ROBBERY

Q. Mr. Manly: Following this, what was the next occurrence? A. The next occurrence was on the night of the 21st of September.

There were a good many raids around the city, the houses were being wrecked, and Mr. Walsh was expecting a raid; so we were sleeping there at night. He might go to bed for a couple of hours, and then he would relieve me, and I would go to bed for a couple of hours more. We were looking out for those fellows. In any case, this night they came, the 21st of September. We were expecting them. Mrs. Walsh was there and her eldest boys, Michael, Joe, and Eddie. He had eight children, the youngest two years old,—seven boys and a girl,—the youngest two and the eldest eleven years of age. So they came this night about half-past twelve, and of course we were expecting them that night; so we had escaped out at the back, and they banged the door with the butts of their rifles, and we ran downstairs and out. They tried to smash in the door, but we had a barricade. So they smashed a window and came in through the window; and then there was terrible firing with rifles and also bombs. He had a safe there, and they threw about ten bombs at the safe, but they failed to smash it.

Q. Mrs. Walsh was in the house, was she? A. Mrs. Walsh was upstairs at the time. He had a grocery and hardware place as well as a bar. He used to sell buckets and all that sort of thing. He had three big casks, that I think would contain about 75 gallons each when they are filled; so they filled the buckets with whiskey and took it away. Mrs. Walsh came down. She thought they were gone away. The taps were running at the time, and she turned them off. Then one of them came back.

Q. Do you suppose they had drunk all the whiskey in the meantime, and came back for more? (Laughter.) A. I do not know. Anyway, this man went upstairs to where Mrs. Walsh was—

Q. Mr. Manly: Was he an officer, do you know? A. He was supposed to be in charge of them, because he gave orders for them to go, and all that sort of thing. So he went upstairs where Mrs. Walsh and Michael, and Joe, the eldest, were, and the boy asked for God's sake not to shoot his mother. Mrs. Walsh held up pretty well. So he went into the sitting room and back into the kitchen. He had his revolver with him, and he took off the table cover and put all the silver and all the glass into the table cover and took it out; and came back to Mrs. Walsh and started to kiss her hand. There was also a coat there belonging to a man named Dr. Cusack, Member of Parliament for North Galway, and he took that away. So he bid her good night, and they cleared away.

Q. Did he take this table cloth filled with silverware with him? A. Yes, sir, he took it and the coat also. It was about five o'clock by this time. So she thought they would come back again; so herself and her two children went next door to a house called Gillespie's, and they took her in for an hour or so. So we came back in the back yard in the meantime, and Michael Walsh came and was look-

ing for his wife. He thought they had taken her away, and he ran up and down the street looking for her, crying; and Mrs. Gillespie, who was sitting at the window, said his wife was in there. So we went back to the house and found everything smashed up. The whiskey was all over the house. It was running down the channels, and the groceries were smashed up, and everything, and the safe pulled out in the middle of the floor. There were revolver shots sent in through the keyhole.

Q. Mr. Manly: You say that there were evidences that they had thrown bombs at the safe? A. Yes, sir, they threw bombs at the safe. We picked up pieces of the bombs.

Q. Now, were there any other incidents connected with this night that are of importance? A. No, sir, not that night.

SHOP WRECKED AND LOOTED

Q. Now, when was the next attack on the house. A. The next night. The next night we intended to stop in the house a couple of doors away, and go out by the back that night. Curfew was on by the time, and we could not get out by the front door, as we would be shot if we went out the front. So we attempted to go out and get a couple of hours sleep if we could; and we were just about to go when the door went bang. I knew it was my place, so we went away and heard them firing until about five o'clock in the morning.

Q. Did you stay in that neighborhood somewhere? A. Yes, sir, in the neighborhood. We did not go to bed at all. We stopped there all night, and when they were gone away in the morning at about five o'clock, I came out and went into my shop and found the whole place looted. All the stuff was taken away, and what was not taken away was thrown into the street.

Q. That was ready-made clothing, was it? A. Yes, sir, all made up goods, principally. I sold habits for dead people, and things that were needed like that. And they had a card attached to it, "You are a doomed man."

Q. Your death shroud was there for you? A. Yes, sir, it is there yet. There were two candles lighted on the counter. It seems that they could not get to the gas meter, and so they left two candles lighted; and I picked the good things up from the street and took them into the shop. We patched up as well as we could the door. So about two or three nights afterwards they came again and took away the remainder.

Q. What was the condition of the shop when they left? A. It was absolutely no use whatever.

Q. Following this, when was the next attack on the house of Mr. Walsh? A. The next attack was on the 20th of October.

Q. That was the night that he was killed? A. Yes, sir.

Mr. Manly: I would like to call the attention of the Commission to the fact that this is Michael Walsh, the cousin of Miss Nellie Craven, who testified here with regard to his death. She testified, though, simply on a basis of the letters which she had received. This is the same case.

NO COMPENSATION FROM INSURANCE

Q. Chairman Wood: Before you start with that, Mr. Nolan, had you any insurance on your stock? A. Yes, sir, I had insurance.

Q. Fire insurance? A. I had insurance for a thousand pounds. It was only about seven weeks started.

Q. Did you ever collect it? A. No, sir, they would not pay any insurance.

Q. What reason did they allege? A. There is no use claiming insurance, of course, if you mean compensation.

Q. No, I mean insurance from the company. A. There is no insurance against what the military breaks up in Ireland at the present time.

Q. Was there such a clause in your policy at the time? A. No, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was that fire insurance? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Your place was not burned; that was the difficulty, was it? A. Yes, sir, it was not burned.

Q. So the fire insurance did not protect you? A. No, sir.

Q. The Chairman: There is such a thing as a riot insurance written? A. Yes, sir, but the premium is very high. I could not afford to pay that.

Mr. Manly: It has developed, has it not, that there is a differential rate for damage by Crown troops and damage of the Republican forces?

Chairman Wood: Yes.

Mr. Manly: I think that testimony has been brought out. If not, I was going to ask the witness a question on it.

THE MURDER OF COUNCILLOR MICHAEL WALSH

Q. Mr. Manly: Just proceed now with the attack on Mr. Walsh's house the last night. A. Well, it was about half past nine, and there were nine or ten of us there inside.

Q. Chairman Wood: In your house or Mr. Walsh's? A. In Mr. Walsh's house.

Q. This was in the bar, was it? A. Yes, sir, the bar. And five men came in. They were five strangers. They asked for five glasses of port wine, and they sat down at the grocery counter, and Mr. Walsh himself served them with drink. Then two of them went out into the yard, and came back again. That was about half-past nine

or twenty minutes of ten. They closed the doors and then searched our pockets.

Q. Were those five men in civilian clothes? A. Yes, sir. And when they had done that, they told us to clear out, and we did, and went outside. There were a lot of Black-and-Tans out there, as we call them, and they told us to clear the streets. So we went away on our business. There was a boy there named Monaghan, 17 years of age. Four took out Mr. Walsh and one held up Monaghan. They took Mr. Walsh down High Street, down the Fish Market, and down to the Spanish Parade,—the river flows just beside the Spanish Parade. So they came back about twenty minutes past ten, and of course Monaghan was held up all the time. They pointed revolvers, these other men who had charge of him. They came back about twenty minutes past ten and said, "We have done away with that bugger." "Are you going to shoot me too?" said the young fellow. "Well," they said, "we are English secret service men; we are secret service men, and we know what we are doing. We have not heard anything about you yet." So they took a lot of cigarettes, and one man went upstairs and got Mr. Walsh's frieze overcoat that hung behind the kitchen door, and put it on and walked out. Mrs. Walsh was not sleeping in the house at that time. She was stopping with her sister. Her sister's husband, Mr. Mahon, was staying with her for some time. They said to Mrs. Walsh that her husband was taken out, and they did not know what happened. So she went to the Augustine fathers, and Father Duffy and another priest went with her around the docks, and they stayed, walking all night, looking for the body, and could not find it. But at six o'clock in the morning, when day broke, two young fishermen found him in the river with his hand sticking up; and they took him up and put him into a cart and brought him back to his house, and left him on the floor. We took his clothes off of him, and took him upstairs and washed him. Those two young men who took him out of the water have cleared out of the country.

Q. Did they threaten them? A. Yes, sir, they went to her house to find out who took him out of the water; and the two young fellows named King and a young fisherman,—one was an ex-naval man, have cleared out of the country and have not been there since.

VICTIM REFUSED SERVICES OF A PRIEST

Q. Now, before they took Mr. Walsh out, was anything said to him? A. Yes, sir, there was. Mr. Walsh asked could he see a priest. First of all, they said, "You have only an hour to live." Mr. Walsh said, "How is that?" He said, "Your time has come; you have only an hour to live." He said, "Would you mind letting me have a priest?" The man said, "No, sir, you will get no priest."

He said, "The priests are far worse than yourself." He said, "Well," he said to the assistant, "You might give me a glass of whiskey," although he never drank in his life except at very odd times. So the young fellow gave him a glass of rum. He does not drink. They asked him some other questions.

NO PUBLIC INQUEST HELD

Q. Was there any inquest held over the body? A. There was no inquest.

Q. This was at about the time when inquests were abolished in Ireland, was it? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, was there any military inquiry held? A. Yes, sir, there was a secret military inquiry held.

Q. Do you know whether any verdict was handed down? A. I have not heard of any.

Q. None was made public? A. No, sir.

MURDERED BECAUSE A REPUBLICAN CITY COUNCILLOR

Q. Major Newman: Did these men give any reason as to why they wanted Walsh? Was there any charge against him? A. No, sir, there was not any reason except he was a strong Republican, a member of the Republican council there.

Q. Do you know whether he had participated in any attacks on the police? A. O, no, sir, none.

Q. Mr. Manly: How old a man was he? A. Thirty-nine years.

Q. How many children did he have? A. He had seven boys and a girl.

Q. Eight children in all? A. Yes, sir. They ranged from two years to eleven years.

Q. And on this evening was his property further destroyed? A. Yes, sir, they took away cigarettes. The only thing they took was cigarettes and his overcoat.

HOUSES WRECKED IN GALWAY

Q. When did you leave Galway? A. I left Galway about October some time. The next thing was that of a lot of houses got smashed up.

Q. I was going to ask you what happened following. A. I have seen houses wrecked in the suburbs as well as the city. There was Mrs. Kelly's at Salthill; Mrs. Kenney, Salthill; Mr. Graham, Salthill; Mr. Hammon, the West—

Q. Are those private residences? A. Some of them are business houses. Also Mr. Connolly, Raven Terrace; Mr. Kine, Raven Ter-

race; Mr. James Lee, Dominick Street; Mr. Brown, Dominick Street; Mr. O'Connor, Main Guard Street; Mr. Moylett, Williams Gate; Mr. Glannagan, Merchants Road; John Lee, Woods Quay; Mr. Michael Lyden, the Square; Mr. Broderick, Prospect Hill.

Q. Chairman Wood: Those are all in the city of Galway, or in the suburbs? A. Nearly all are in the city except Salthill.

Q. You have seen them all? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: What was the general condition when you say they were wrecked? A. They were all wrecked, because they held Republican views.

Q. I say with regard to the condition of property? A. There was the *Express* office, the *Galway Express*, a local paper; and also Mr. O'Day's place. I have seen the *Express*, and the machinery was all smashed up.

Q. We have testimony here that following the general raid that night in which the *Galway Express* was raided, that a small paper was gotten out the next day. We had that offered in evidence here.

A. Yes, I saw that.

Q. Have they continued to issue the *Galway Express*? Have they issued any further paper? A. No, sir, when they saw that issue, they went back and smashed that machine also.

Q. Was that the last issue of the *Galway Express*? A. Yes, sir, that was the last issue.

Q. Senator Norris: Now, were those houses destroyed? What was their condition? Just tell us in a general way. A. Bombs were thrown through windows and doors. Doors were smashed and furniture taken out into the street and smashed just as match wood with sledge hammers.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Were those bombs regular military bombs such as they use in the British army? A. Yes, sir.

DRIVEN OUT OF BUSINESS BY RAIDS

Q. Mr. Manly: Were there further attacks on your house, or on your shop? A. There were. There were two further attacks. Of course, that would be about the 25th or the 29th that it was smashed up. I could not carry on business.

Q. It was some sort of a raid? A. Yes, sir, some kind of a raid.

Q. Were all the goods thrown out? A. The goods were thrown out, and that that was left were no good. It was trampled down—

Q. So your whole stock was destroyed? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the value of your stock? A. About £1,600.

Q. About \$8,000, roughly, in our money? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why did you leave Galway? A. Well, my life was threatened, and I had to go.

Q. You were continually on the run?

CONTINUOUS MAN-HUNT IN GALWAY: DENTIST FLOGGED AND SHOT

A. I was. They were continually after me from time to time. I slept in one house one night, in a certain house in Galway; and I was going back again the next night, but I found out that the city was held up. They were searching everybody; and I was told not to go near the city under any conditions; that if I did, I would be shot. So I did not go that night. I was going back to the same house, and that very night they called at that house and took out a young man named Hickey, a dentist, and took him out into the road.

Q. Did they flog him? A. Yes, sir; he has been since shot.

Q. But they flogged him? They were hunting for you that night, and they flogged him? A. Yes, sir. He was afterwards shot dead in the streets of Dublin for having his hands in his pockets.

Q. What was his name? A. Hickey.

Q. Do you know his first name? A. I do not know his first name.

Q. You say he was a dentist? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And had his place of business in Galway? A. He used to work for Mr. Anderson in Galway.

DAILY RAIDS IN DUBLIN

Q. Now, where did you go when you left Galway? A. When I found out that there was a terrible search for me, I left. They went from house to house, so I had to get an automobile, and had to go sixty miles into the country to catch the mail train for Dublin. So I escaped to Dublin, and I was walking around for three or four weeks, sleeping here and there. There was nothing but raids every day in Dublin.

Q. Raids were an everyday occurrence, were they? A. Every day you went out you had to go by some by-street, around back. But you took no notice of the raids there. They were so common. The next thing was Croke Park on the 21st of November.

Q. You saw innumerable raids, but you did not pay much attention to them? A. No, sir, we did not pay any attention to them, we were so used to them.

THE CROKE PARK MASSACRE

Q. Now, tell us about the Croke Park affair. First, tell us what was the occasion for the people going to Croke Park? A. There was a challenge match between Dublin and Tipperary. I was in company with George Nichols, Chairman of the Galway County Council. He is in jail at present. So we went to the match at about 2:45 o'clock. We were there about half-past two, but the match did not start until about three o'clock. It was a quarter of an hour

late. So we got our tickets in the ordinary way, and we went in the stands, and the teams came along, and they got photographed.

Q. Chairman Wood: How many people were there? A. The first papers that came out said there were fifteen thousand. Then again they said there were only five thousand. I do not believe there were fifteen thousand.

Q. You were seated where you could see the match? A. O, yes, sir, I saw the match.

Q. Senator Norris: How many do you think were there? A. I would say about seven or eight thousand people.

Q. Mr. Manly: The grandstand was full? A. The people were afraid to go to matches, or to any other place.

Q. The Chairman: This was a very popular football match, was it? A. No, sir, we have bigger matches. We have championship matches that draw bigger crowds. This was only a challenge match. But anyway, the teams came out to the field and got photographed. Dunphy, the umpire, was a very popular man. We were not long in the stand before we saw an aeroplane hovering over the ground. It circled around the place two or three times, but all were interested in the match and did not take any notice of it. They made the best of the game all the way through. It was a very interesting game, and we were all interested in it. And suddenly we heard a terrible volley, and saw soldiers running along the field. I looked into the field myself, and saw a man by the name of Hogan of Tipperary. He was shot through the mouth. He was just going for the ball, together with a Dublin player named Frank Burke,—the two of them were going for the ball, and he was running toward the city goal when he got shot through the mouth. Burke did the best he could for him.

Q. Chairman Wood: Who was Burke? A. One of the Dublin players. He comes from Kildare. He was a good football player. The next thing, they all ran toward the Cloniff side. The soldiers were coming in the other side, firing as they came.

Q. Major Newman: How many soldiers were coming in? A. I could not really tell you how many soldiers, because I did not pay attention to the number at that time.

Q. Chairman Wood: The first sound that you heard was the sound of a volley of shots? A. Yes, sir, a big volley of shots.

Q. More than one? A. About a hundred,—more perhaps.

Q. Major Newman: Shots from rifles? A. Rifles, yes, sir. So we all ran that way, and as soon as we did, we were faced by another crowd of soldiers who started to banging away at us.

Q. Mr. Manly: Had any of the people in the grand stand been shot? A. There was one man beside George Nichols. I do not know his name. He was shot right through the ear, and the man next to him was shot right through the hat.

Q. The other man was not killed? A. No, sir, the other man got shot right through the ear.

Q. It was at the same time? A. Yes, sir, at the same time. It seemed to be the one rifle that fired the two shots.

Q. So there were a number of shots that were fired,—a hundred shots, you would estimate, in that volley? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Chairman Wood: Did you hear any shooting from the crowd of any kind? A. No, sir, there was no shooting of any kind whatever, not the slightest.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you hear any shots fired before the general volley? A. No, sir, no shots had been fired.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Did you ever hear any rumors that there were to be sentries posted by the Irish to watch over the game? A. No, sir.

Q. There was a crowd hanging around the football match, was there? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You did not see the soldiers come in, did you? A. Yes, sir, I saw them come there.

Q. Chairman Wood: You did not see them before you heard them, did you? A. No, sir; the first thing I heard was the volley.

Q. Major Newman: You were inside the grounds when they fired the first volley? A. Yes, sir, just inside on the stand. One crowd comes into the stand by one gate, and the other comes from the far side, which is the cheaper gate. They all came this way (indicating), and ran toward the Cloniff goal. They were approached by the soldiers again, and they ran off toward the gate, and I saw women and children and thousands of people trampled on.

CROWD PANIC-STRICKEN BY SUDDEN ATTACK

Q. Mr. Manly: The whole crowd was panic stricken? A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was mad with fear, was it? A. Yes, sir, girls and children.

Q. Major Newman: Suppose you go ahead with your story from where we interrupted you, when the crowd rushed down from the grandstand. A. They were in groups, here and there, and one man recited the Rosary, and we all answered. It was rumored that they were blank shots, but they were not. The man called to us not to be afraid, that they were blank shots; but we afterwards found out that they were not blank shots.

INDIVIDUAL SEARCH PROVES CROWD UNARMED

The next thing they told us was to hold up our hands and keep our hands held up over our heads.

Q. The whole crowd? A. Yes, sir, except they allowed the women and children to go out, but kept the whole crowd. As to poor Hogan, there was one priest there who asked for permission to go and see him. His name was Father Crotty, I think.

Q. Chairman Wood: Hogan was the player who was shot in the mouth? A. Yes, sir. He was stretched on the field all the time. This priest asked permission to go to him, and in half an hour's time he got permission; and he had to hold his hands up while crossing the field. I saw him going with his two hands up like that (indicating). Hogan was dead, though, by the time he got there.

Q. Major Newman: How long did that firing continue? A. It continued for about 10 or 12 minutes.

Q. Senator Norris: What happened to the crowd? A. They held up their hands for two hours, and everybody was searched.

Q. They searched everybody? A. Yes, sir, everybody. There were two gates, and they let us out by the two gates.

Q. And as fast as they would search them, they would let them out? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And everybody had to be searched before he could get out? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Chairman Wood: Did you see them find any revolvers there? A. No, sir.

Q. Senator Norris: Do you know whether they did find any or not? A. Why, sir, there were no revolvers there.

Q. Mr. Manly: There were no shots fired back even after the first volley, were there? A. No, sir, there were no shots fired back.

Q. And to your personal knowledge there were no revolvers on the ground, that you saw, at any rate? A. There were no revolvers. It was generally believed that there were no revolvers found at all.

Q. What was the penalty at that time for carrying arms? A. A man was liable to be shot.

Q. Chairman Wood: What was the legal penalty? A. From two to ten years.

TWELVE CIVILIANS KILLED, SIXTY WOUNDED

Q. Mr. Manly: Do you recall how many persons were killed? A. There were 12 killed.

Q. How many wounded? A. About 60 were wounded, and about a couple of hundred injured.

Q. You mean injured by being trampled on in the panic? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Major Newman: Were any women or children among the killed? A. There was one woman, Miss Boyle. She was shot dead.

Q. Mr. Manly: Miss Boyle was shot dead, you say? A. Yes, sir, she was shot dead.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Were the wounded taken care of during the period while the men were kept with their hands over their heads? A. No, sir. They would not let us go near the wounded at all.

Q. Mr. Manly: Are there any further details that you know about the Croke Park affair? A. No, sir. It was so short that you could not see all that happened. In twenty minutes it was all over.

Q. Major Newman: Were any arrests made on this occasion? A. No, sir. They searched everybody, but there were no arrests.

Q. And everybody was released? A. Yes, sir.

Q. There was not a single man arrested? A. No, sir.

Q. Chairman Wood: If anybody had had a revolver found on him, he would have been arrested, according to the practice, would he not? A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were there any other instances that occurred in Dublin before you left the country?

Q. Chairman Wood: Unusual instances? A. No, sir. That is all except minor things, and that I did not attach any importance to.

TERRORISM AND SHOOTING ON COUNTRY ROADS

Q. Mr. Manly: What is the general state of mind of the people of Dublin as compared with the people in Galway, for example? Is terrorism worse in Dublin? A. It is very bad there. It is terrible all around, all out along the country roads. Of course, you cannot sleep in a bed at night. You meet them going down the roads. They have military lorries that throw a searchlight that can see for miles. That is going on night after night and hour after hour. The cattle are shot, and pigs, and everything of that kind.

Q. Chairman Wood: What happens to the pig or the cow, whatever it is, after it is shot? Do they take it along with them, or leave it for the people who come along? A. No, sir. They take away the turkeys and geese and chickens.

Q. They take away the smaller things, do they? A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you are allowed to go and get your own pig after it has been shot? A. Yes, sir, if you will take the trouble.

EFFECT OF TERRORISM ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Q. What effect on yourself, for instance, has this had? You said you had not been able to sleep in your own bed, or any other bed, as far as that is concerned. How do you sleep now that you are here,

over in America? A. O, yes, sir. I sleep all right. You see you get hardened to it, and you do not care what happens. You really do not care whether you are shot or not.

Q. Has your nervous system since broken down any? A. No, sir.

Q. Senator Norris: As a matter of fact, there are a great many people whose nerves would be broken down by that? A. It has not broken the nerves of any men in Ireland at the present time.

Q. Mr. Manly: How about the children? A. The children and their mothers feel it most—the old women and the children.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: What will be the effect on the growing children of such a thing as that? A. When they do grow up, the effect will be there all right.

Q. Is it not inevitable, no matter how great their courage, that the effect on these children cannot help but be disastrous from a physiological and a psychological standpoint as well? A. Yes, sir. It is hard on the mothers. The young men may only go home once a week, and then go away again. They are feeling it worse, the mothers.

Q. Chairman Wood: You are about the same weight that you were before the war? A. Yes, sir. I am always about the same weight—about 140 pounds.

TWO PASSPORTS TO LEAVE IRELAND

Q. Senator Norris: When did you leave Ireland? A. I left Ireland on the first of December.

Q. Did you have any trouble in getting away? A. O, no sir. I had been in quarantine for 22 days.

Q. At Ellis Island? A. No, sir, Hoffman Island.

Q. Did you get a passport? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any trouble in getting it? A. O, no, sir.

Q. Chairman Wood: Is there any objection on the part of the authorities to the Republican outfitters like yourself leaving the country? A. No, sir.

Mr. Manly: He got to Dublin, where he was not very well known.

Q. Chairman Wood: As a matter of fact, there was no objection on the part of the foreign government to people leaving? A. Mr. Manly: As a matter of fact, the Republican Government has placed a ban on any young men leaving Ireland, and Mr. Nolan was given a passport. It was a passport by the Republican Government permitting him to leave Ireland on account of the destruction.

Q. Senator Norris: Did he not have to get another passport? A. Mr. Manly: Yes, he did not show his passport, the Republican passport, when he applied for the other one.

Q. Chairman Wood: Do you object to showing it to us? A. I have no objection. (Producing the passport.)

Q. This is in two languages, is it not? A. Yes, sir, that is in Gaelic.

Q. Senator Norris: Is this English translation here a correct translation? A. Yes, sir, it is.

Mr. Manly: Suppose you read it aloud, or I will read the English translation. (Reading):

"Whereas, Thomas Nolan, a citizen of the Irish Republic, has made application for a permit to absent himself from Ireland, and has satisfied the Government of the Irish Republic that he has valid reasons for leaving Ireland for a limited period, and has complied with the regulations prescribed by the Government of the Irish Republic in such matters;

"Now, therefore, I, being Secretary of State for Home Affairs, do hereby permit the said Thomas Nolan to leave Ireland for a period of one year from the second day of November, 1920.

"Given under the seal of the Republic of Ireland this first day of November, in the Year of Our Lord, 1920."

Signed by the Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

Commissioner Thomas: It is fair to ask, Mr. Counsel, of your client what would happen if he had not got this permit? Of course, he, being a good Republican, would have gotten it; but what ways are there of enforcing this right?

Mr. Manly: I do not know. I do not suppose there is any way. We have had four witnesses on the stand who came over here without any difficulty. This is simply an assurance that this man has complied with that formality, and is not a deserter from the Republican cause. That is the whole purpose, to protect his reputation and his standing.

Q. Chairman Wood: You have no objection to the press representatives seeing that paper? A. No, sir, not the slightest.

Q. Mr. Manly: Is there anything further that you know of that we have overlooked? A. I do not think so.

Chairman Wood: We are very much obliged to you, Mr. Nolan. (The witness was thereupon excused.)

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TESTIMONY OF EMIL PEZOLT

Q. Mr. Basil M. Manly (of counsel): Your name is Emil Pezolt? A. That is it.

Q. Where were you born? A. Chicago.

Q. Is your father still living? A. No, my father is dead. He has been dead for the last 18 years. My mother is living in Oakland, California.

Q. How old are you? A. Twenty-one years old.

Q. Did you enlist during the recent war? A. I endeavored to enlist in the Marine Corps, and I did; I was successful in a way, but

I obtained my induction papers from Washington at the time when Mare Island was quarantined on account of the "flu," so I was not able to get in, and while I was waiting for my second induction papers to come, I was drafted, and sent down to Kelly Field, Texas, in the Aviation Corps. And after that the armistice was signed, and I was sent back.

Q. You were mustered out? A. Yes.

WITNESS GOES TO CORK ON AMERICAN SHIP

Q. Then what did you do? A. I wanted to be on the go, so I got in the merchant marine and shipped out of San Francisco, to the Orient chiefly, and several times around to this coast, during the last three years, since November, 1918.

Q. You were in the Shipping Board vessels? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was your ship on this trip to Ireland? A. The West Cannon.

Q. By whom is that chartered? A. I believe Evans & Evans, of Portland, are the charterers from the Shipping Board. They sent a cargo of wheat to Cork.

Q. Chairman Wood: Where did you join the West Cannon? A. At San Francisco.

Q. About what date? A. About September 27.

Q. This last September? A. This last September.

Q. Mr. Manly: Where did you get your cargo? A. In Portland, Oregon. We left Portland on November 6, I believe.

Q. What was the cargo? A. Wheat.

Q. Bound for what port? A. For Cork.

Q. On what date did you arrive in Cork? A. November 17, I believe.

Q. Chairman Wood: How did you go? A. Through the Panama Canal and right over to Queenstown.

Q. Mr. Manly: Is the West Cannon a large ship? A. She is about 8,800 tons, a large Shipping Board tramp.

Q. Where were you docked in Cork? A. We were docked at Lapp's Quay, about four blocks from the city center.

Q. Major Newman: What was your position on the ship? A. Oiler, junior engineer.

Q. Mr. Manly: How long was the West Cannon lying at Lapp's Quay? A. Not quite five weeks.

Q. When did she sail back? On what date? A. The date we sailed was perhaps about December 16. That would make it just four weeks.

Q. Suppose you now take up the story of your own experience in Cork. What was your first experience in Cork?

DAILY HOLDUPS ON CORK STREETS

A. My first experience? Well, we arrived in Queenstown on a Wednesday. Thursday morning I went to Cork. The first night at Cork I had to go ashore. We heard rumors on board the ship that things were not just as they ought to be. We sent out a couple of feelers first to see how things were. It was necessary—I had to go to the boot-makers to have my shoes fixed, so I got a little Irishman to show me the way. We got about three blocks up the quay where the boot-maker's place was, and while we were up there, or when we had got about half way up there, we looked and saw a lorry pass us, and an ambulance was right behind us. It passed us too. We got up to what is called the Parliament Bridge in Cork, and there I saw a poor fellow being put in an ambulance. I decided that I had better chase back and put my shoes in the shoemakers and get back to the ship. That was the first night. I stayed on board the next night.

Q. Chairman Wood: What time was this? A. Before 8 o'clock in the evening.

Q. You were told about the curfew, were you? A. Yes, I should say.

Q. Mr. Manly: What was the curfew hour in Cork? A. Ten o'clock.

Q. Following this, were you held up at all that evening? A. No, I was not held up that evening. I got back.

Q. What were your next experiences in Cork? A. What you would call everyday experiences after that until December 11.

Q. What do you call everyday experiences? A. Going ashore and being held up, for instance.

Q. Held up by whom? A. By the military authorities.

Q. How do they hold you up? A. Well, you are 'proceeding down the street, perhaps thinking of an ice cream cone or something—"Halt!" "Stick them up! Up higher! Come here!"

Q. That is the regular procedure? A. That is the regular procedure. No "Advance and be recognized" there.

Q. Chairman Wood: Do they search you then? A. Yes, sir. Of course, if you have a watch or any extra money, you will likely miss them. Of course, if you do have a gun—well, it had been printed in the papers if any person was found with any arms at all, they would be shot. And of course we did not carry any guns.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you see those notices in the papers while you were in Cork? A. Yes, sir.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP ABUSED BY CROWN FORCES

Q. Chairman Wood: Did you carry evidence of your American citizenship? A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Manly: What did you carry? A. A seaman's passport.

Q. Have you that seaman's passport now? A. Yes, I have one. I just obtained it.

Q. This is not the one that you had when you went to Cork?

A. No. You can't tell where that is now.

Q. Major Newman: Did the military authorities ask for your passport? Did it make any difference whether you had it or not?

A. O, no, they did not worry about that.

Q. Mr. Manly: What would they say? Did you claim American citizenship? A. Whenever they asked me. It was best not to, though.

Q. What do you mean? A. O, an Irishman is better off there than an American. There is no particular love between an Englishman and an American. I guess you understand that. There is nothing like brotherly love, or anything like that.

Q. Did you have any indications of that during this search? What did they say to you that made you think they did not love you?

A. First of all, there was the terms they used in calling us "Yanks"—there is always quite a strong adjective attached to it; and by the way they treated you generally. Of course, we could not do anything. We were told, "Slide on, you blamed Yank"; something like that. It was nothing to be held up. It got to be an everyday occurrence, and we did not think anything about it.

Q. You expected to get your hands up while you were out? A. O, sure!

Q. It got so that they raised automatically?

ILLEGAL TO HAVE HANDS IN POCKETS

A. Well, hardly. But an order came out after we had been in there perhaps a week or ten days that we were not allowed to walk down the streets with our hands in our pockets. It started when the captain was up town one afternoon, and he had been ordered to take his hands out of his pockets.

Q. You are referring to the captain of the West Cannon? A. Yes, sir, Mr. McGovern. While he was speaking to a young lady, he was ordered to take his hands out of his pockets. He did. I don't know why, but he just did it. Later that day he was ordered to take his hands out of his pockets and he objected. He says, "You can search me. I have a perfect right to keep my hands where I want to." They said, "He is an American." So they searched him,

and they let him go at that, and he related the incident to the crew. He is very nice. In fact, he goes around with the crew more than most captains do. The skippers of ships like that usually associate with the officers, but this man did not. He went along with the rest of the crew. He related the incident to us, and of course we wanted to follow his example. But in my case I did not.

I was coming back to the ship one evening. It must have been about eight o'clock; on the old bridge—I don't remember the name of it; it is called the old bridge in Cork. A man dressed in plain clothes with a long yellow slicker on him and a soft hat was on the opposite side of the street. He says, "Take your hands out of your pockets!" I stopped then and thought perhaps I would argue with him. He had one hand in his pocket, and I saw the point of a gun, and so I decided not to. I kept on. But things like that happened all the time, you know. It was not anything out of the ordinary. So we got to thinking that they really would not harm a Yank, you know; that they had some reasons for not wanting to; that perhaps they were afraid that the government might step in and do something—our American Government. But I found out differently on the night of December 11.

Q. What happened on the night of December 11? A. I was beaten up then.

ARBITRARY ORDERS GIVEN PEDESTRIANS BY MILITARY

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Before that, may I ask you, Mr. Witness, whether you were interfered with? Were you allowed to make purchases and go about the ordinary business of the town, after you were held up and accounted for yourself? A. Many times we were ordered back to the ship. Many times, if you were going in one direction, you would be told to go in another.

Q. Arbitrarily, without any rhyme or reason? A. Of course they would not give you a reason. They would stop you, halt you. Sometimes there was a flock of them. There would be four or six different guards, too, at each corner of the crossing, and they would hold up and search everybody. You would have to wait your turn with your hands up above your head. And eight minutes is quite a bit.

Q. They would be in a military uniform, a black uniform, or some other kind? A. Yes, different. Some were in Highland uniform, with a tam-o'shanter cap. Others would have black caps, brown slickers, and others just soft caps and regular yellow slickers.

Q. Mr. Manly: The regular soldiers could be distinguished? Did not the British soldiers wear khaki in Cork? A. Yes, the regular British soldiers, they wore khaki, a good deal like our soldiers.

Q. The others, the men who did the holding up, were men dressed in these more or less irregular uniforms? That is, sometimes with tam-o'-shanters, sometimes in plain clothes, and sometimes in constabulary uniforms? A. Yes.

Q. Chairman Wood: Did the tam-o'-shanter men belong to a Highland regiment, did you say? A. I don't know. I don't know how they classified those, except I know which are the worse, and which are the better.

WITNESS SAVAGELY BEATEN BY BRITISH MILITARY

Q. Senator Norris: Take up December 11th, and tell us what happened. A. I went to a theater there, which has been burned down since, and got out. They had the pictures. They had the program so that the show would end about nine o'clock in order to give the people time to get back before the curfew hour. There were not many people going to the theaters then on account of the raids and things; but we went, my partner and the little friend he had, and a girl and myself. I had a little Irish companion over there. We went to the theater and got out about nine o'clock. My partner proceeded to take his companion home, and I did the same. So we must have parted about ten after nine, and I crossed the bridge and took my companion on to her home. Shortly after we proceeded over the bridge, St. Patrick's Bridge in Cork, we heard shots right on the bridge there, and of course it scared the young lady, and I will say myself too. But anyway, I took her home and told her I had better get back to the ship, because there might be some trouble about that evening. I left her there, and started to go down along Camden Quay, the shortest way back to the ship, near the River Lee there. But she asked me not to go along the quay, because we heard the shooting along there; and she said to go along Quay Street. So after a little argument, I went along Quay Street.

I got about half way up to King Street when I was stopped by a couple of Irishmen running down toward me, and they said, "For God's sake don't go up there. There is hell to pay up there." An American does not like to show that they are scared of the British, so I kept going, regardless of what they said. But, sure enough, on the corner of King and Patrick Streets there was a party being held up. I think there were four civilians being held up by about three or four Black-and-Tans. I walked by them, and they did not seem to notice me. I got about thirty feet beyond them, and two or three of the Britishers stopped me—"Halt! Up higher!" They were not satisfied. I had to come forward. I thought, "This is going to be a little hold-up. I will just submit to it and hurry along." And I did not make a reply, I think. Of course they did

not find any guns, but they felt around and found my wallet, and then one of them found my seaman's passport. He says, "You are an American, are you? You are a Yank, are you?" I says, "Yes, I am an American." He says, "What are you doing here?" He did not use exactly that language. I said, "I am off the *West Cannon*. I am going back there now." He says, "You are, are you?" "We know you Americans," he says. Of course there were three of them. All three had their guns pressed up against me. The third one went along up the street to where there was another gang of these—there must have been a full score of them. They had just been discharged from a lorry there,—one of the British trucks which carry soldiers; and there must have been a good score. I heard them say something about "Yankee so and so," you know; and the whole flock of them came running down. "Where is he? Where is he?" My God, they came down on me. I was standing there with my hands in the air. The fellow that seemed to be a leader of the gang came up to me first, and he was not dressed in regular uniform, but the rest of the men were. He had a long black overcoat or raincoat,—I did not take particular notice.

Senator Norris: He had probably just made a raid and got that coat.

The Witness: No. It seems he had just got off that lorry. And he caught hold of my coat and he says, "You are a Yank, are you?" He grabbed me, and I said, "Yes." I don't know whether I did say yes or not, because I got smashed in the face then, with my hands over my head. I noticed he had brass knuckles on. Perhaps you know what they are, regular brass knuckles to protect his knuckles. So I did not have much time. He proceeded to tear the things right out of my pockets; right and left he tore the things out of my pockets. And when I got back I did not even have my cuff buttons. They took my fountain pen, my comb, every paper I had, except two little cards from Blarney Castle.

Q. Mr. Manly: They did not help any that night, did they?

REPEATEDLY KICKED AND KNOCKED DOWN

A. Well, after beating me up, they knocked me down several times, kicked me, made me get up. I was knocked out once. My head hit the sidewalk pretty hard, and I was knocked out. But they kicked me until I came to. They were not satisfied with that. And they would make me run—they would halt me and make me come back. Of course, I knew when I came back I would be hit again, with my hands over my head. He says, "Now, what have you to say for yourself?" I don't know why I said it, but I said, "Please let me go." So he says, "Don't please me, you ——," and they backed me up against the wall. So I did not know what they were

going to do. They held me there for a little while. There were about eight of them. I don't know where the rest of them went. There must have been about eight of them. The leader says, "Rope him." He says, "Now, sing your Yankee song," although he classified it a little differently. I didn't sing any Yankee song, though. He told me to slide on; and after I started to slide on, he kicked me and called me back again. Of course this is close to the end. . . . So he hit me again, probably several times.

Q. Did he hit you in the face? A. Oh, yes. My face was all bruised, and I had a big cut down the side. MacSwiney can tell you that. Well, I had marks all over the body when I got back to the ship. I asked him then whether he would let me pick up my belongings that were around the street, and I got a kick for that. He told me to run or he would shoot me. I did not exactly run, but I got away from him. I was halted about two hundred feet of them by just a few of them, and I told them, "For God's sake let me go. I have just been held up."

AMERICAN CONSUL UNABLE TO SECURE REDRESS

I got back and I told the captain about it. So he said he would go to the American Consul with me the following day. That was on a Saturday night, and Sunday, of course, we could not go. On Monday the captain was busy, so we did not go down there until Tuesday. That was Tuesday, the 14th of December. So the captain took me down to Queenstown to the American Consul, and I told him about it, and he had me swear to a detailed statement.

Q. What was the American Consul's name? A. Mr. Mason Mitchell. He had me swear to a detailed statement, and he said he would try as far as he could to get my papers, as if that was the main thing. Of course, I told them it was not so much the papers as it was protecting an American seaman when he came to port. Probably the next one would get killed. I don't know, but he did not listen to that. The next day he came on board the ship and told me he had sent a telegram to a General Strickland, and this General Strickland has sent him a reply stating it would be impossible to find out the culprits on account of the evidence I gave them and the description of their clothes. Furthermore, they had left the town,—something to that effect. And that has been the end of it.

Q. Did the American Consul give you a paper then to explain?
A. Yes, he gave me a note.

Q. Have you it there? A. Yes, I believe I have.

Mr. Manly: This is a letter signed by Mason Mitchell, dated Cork, Ireland, December 15, 1920, addressed to the Commissioner of Immigration, Newport News, Virginia. (Reading):

"Sir: I have to inform you that Emil Pezolt, oiler on the steamship *West Cannon*, was held up by the patrol in the City of Cork, Ireland, on the evening of December 11, 1920. They assaulted him without any provocation, beat him, and took from him his passport and discharge papers. I have taken the matter up with the general in command of the district, but up to the time of the sailing of the *West Cannon* have been unable to have the papers restored, on account of the police who perpetrated this act have left Cork.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) "MASON MITCHELL, *American Consul.*"

ROBBED OF ALL MONEY AND PAPERS

Q. Senator Norris: Did they take your money? A. I had a few pounds and a ten-dollar American note on me.

Q. Did they take that? A. They took everything I had.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you know how many pounds, approximately? A. About four or five. It was not more than twenty dollars in British money and ten dollars in American money.

Q. Senator Norris: You had about thirty dollars that they took away from you? A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Manly: Also your papers? A. Yes.

Q. And also the wallet?

COMPLAINT FILED WITH SECRETARY OF STATE

A. Yes. This (indicating) is the letter I wrote to the State Department.

Q. This is the complaint you filed with the State Department?

A. Well, I was not sure whether the American Consul had done anything in regard to the matter; whether he had really done anything, because seamen know better than citizens do that many American consuls really don't care; that they would not do anything against an English sailor or anything against the English, it seems to me, because it is known that if you ask any American sailor, he will tell you the same thing. It is known all through the world.

Q. Major Newman: Is Mr. Mitchell an Englishman or an American? A. I was not sure. I wanted to find out whether the State Department of Washington had ever heard about it, so I wrote this letter.

Q. Mr. Manly: This is a detailed statement you filed at that time? It is addressed to the Honorable Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Senator Norris: I do not believe I would read it.

Chairman Wood: I do not believe there is any advantage in that. Did the witness see anything of any fire? Is he going to describe what he saw in Cork?

Mr. Manly: Yes, sir. We will take that up right away.

Q. Mr. Manly: You are not an Irishman, are you? A. Hardly. I am an American.

Q. What was the nationality of your father? A. My father was French, although at the time he got his citizen papers from the States here, Alsace was under the German rule. But my father's ancestors were all French. The name Pezolt is a French name.

Q. Senator Norris: Of course he had to give his nationality as German when he got his papers? A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Did you wear any kind of uniform? A. No, sir.

Q. You were in ordinary civilian clothes? A. Yes, sir.

THE BURNING OF CORK

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you see the burning of Cork? A. The big burning of Cork, where it burned the most, was that night I got beat up. It was shortly after I got back to the ship. Some of the fellows on deck discovered the flames in the city. We noticed them first on one side of the city and then on the other side of the city. We noticed it was larger than usual. Many of the fellows stayed up that night and watched it. It must have started about 11 o'clock, December 11th.

Q. Chairman Wood: You had gone to bed and did not see it? A. I saw the beginning of it.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did you go into the city the next morning? A. No. The captain, the first mate, the second mate, the chief engineer, —in fact, almost all the officers went up. They were in full uniform, and went up to find the damage that had been done to the City Hall. We noticed the City Hall still burning Sunday morning. They got up to the City Hall and were ordered right back, regardless of being Americans. There were about a dozen young soldiers, the mates told me, that ran them back with bayonets. I think the captain felt a couple of them, and he was pretty angry when he got back.

Q. Senator Norris: You mean he felt a couple of the bayonets? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: You saw the ruins of various places, did you not? A. I did not go ashore that morning, but in the afternoon my partner, Pete Henderson, and myself went up town to find out what had really happened up there; and we saw that all of Patrick Street, the main street in Cork, had burned out. If any of you saw San Francisco after the earthquake, you know how Patrick Street looked.

Q. Were you in San Francisco during the earthquake? A. I saw the ruins a year after.

Q. And Cork looked about like San Francisco looked after the earthquake? A. Just the same.

Mr. Manly: I think that is all, unless there are some further questions.

Chairman Wood: All right. Thank you very much.

Mr. Manly: There are three sailors here from the *West Cannon* that I would like to put on for a moment or two.

Chairman Wood: Very well.

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TESTIMONY OF HENRY TURK

Q. Mr. Manly: What is your full name? A. Henry Turk.

Q. Where were you born? A. San Francisco.

Q. How old are you? A. Twenty-six.

Q. You are a sailor on the *West Cannon*? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your position? A. I am a messman, steward's department.

PEZOLT BADLY BEATEN AND BRUISED

Q. Were you on the *West Cannon* at the same time that Mr. Pezolt was? A. Yes.

Q. And you were in Cork during the time he mentioned? A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Mr. Pezolt on the evening when he returned? A. I just happened to be in the mess room the moment he returned.

Q. What was his condition? A. He was very much bruised and cut up. His clothes were soiled from probably being dragged around the street. He had several cuts in the face, and on his cheek was a large smear of dirt from his having probably been dragged along the street, and his face also touched the ground.

BURNING OF CORK AN EXPECTED CLIMAX

Q. Did you see the flames that evening of the burning of Cork? A. Yes, sir. I saw them probably the first time they were discovered on the ship. I remained awake until about one o'clock, and the whole sky was lit up, not only from the main place in Cork itself, but also a reflection in the sky from the place in Dillon's Corner, the outskirts of the town.

Q. The place at Dillon's Corner started burning that evening? A. About 8 o'clock. I happened to be up in the crow's nest, and watched it for an hour. We were more or less excited, and watched it an hour.

Q. Had you been out in the city that night? A. I had returned about 8 o'clock.

Q. Was there any excitement in the streets of the city at that time? A. The way things had been going the previous week, it

looked like there was some sort of a climax coming along. Everybody was being held up and terrorized more or less generally. I remember that I was keeping a little note book, and I remember writing that afternoon that things probably had come to a climax; and sure enough they did. The people were all more or less terrified that night; and not wishing to be in any trouble myself, I returned to the ship early. About nine the rest of the crew began coming back and relating their different experiences in town. It was at that time that I saw Mr. Pezolt.

GIRL SHOT IN WANTON FIRING ON STREET

Q. Had you yourself had any experiences? A. Well, I have had quite a number of experiences over there. The thing that interested me most was that one evening a friend of mine and myself were in Evans' book store on Patrick Street, the main book store in town, about six-thirty, buying some books. After buying some books, we left and walked down the street. And about seven o'clock, just about an hour later, a lorry,—I am not quite sure whether of Black-and-Tans or just the military,—in passing by they opened up their machine gun, right on the store. As it happened, fortunately, there was only one little girl standing there, and she was shot behind the ear. We had heard of the firing, so we came back and looked in one of the plate-glass windows. We counted seven bullet holes, and each one was on the level of the body of a person coming along the street. It seemed to me that not only had they shot in the store, but this store was on the corner, and they had probably shot down the side street too.

Q. Was there any account in the newspapers of occurrences of that sort? Did you see any account of this particular case? A. To the best of my memory I believe there was, yes.

Q. You think there was of this case? A. I believe there was some account of it. Of course, they cannot go into details in the newspaper accounts. They just mentioned the shooting on Patrick Street, a little girl shot.

Q. No statement of who did the shooting? A. No.

Q. Senator Norris: Was the little girl killed? A. No, she was shot in the ear, and taken to the infirmary, and her wound was declared not to be serious.

CORK LIKE SAN FRANCISCO AFTER FIRE

Q. Major Newman: Did you go up into Cork the morning following the fire? A. The first opportunity I had to go ashore was about eight-thirty, right after breakfast. I went ashore and walked around town, different places, until eleven-thirty. Then I returned,

and went out and stayed until about four; and then went up in the evening again. I wanted to see all I could see.

Q. What did you see generally? A. Mr. Pezolt mentioned the fact of it appearing like the San Francisco fire. I happened to be in San Francisco at the fire and immediately after, and that is about the best description you can give of it. The streets were just a mass of ruins and debris. The tram lines were unable to run. There was no gas or electricity in the city for several days following.

CIVILIANS PATROL RUINS

Q. Was the city being patrolled at the time you went up there? A. I should imagine there were about 25 of the Royal Irish, but they made no effort to keep people away from falling ruins. They just stood around with their guns in their arms. And about two-thirty that afternoon I was walking along South Mall, and there was quite a crowd collected. An ambulance came along and took away a man who had been either killed or very seriously hurt by falling ruins. But there was no one around to guard those ruins at all, except some of the civilians themselves. They just appointed themselves as more or less policemen and guards around the ruins to warn people away.

Q. That is, civilians of Cork? A. Yes, sir.

A CONTRAST IN RESPECT FOR DEAD

There is just one thing I would like to mention, if I could. And that is, the most pathetic thing I remember in Cork in connection with the killing of the people over there is that they usually combine the funerals. There are three or four of the men buried at one time; and the bodies are carried along the streets on the shoulders of their comrades. They are draped with the Republican colors. Following the bodies come the mourners, the relatives, and probably the members of their society. Then immediately following that is an armored car with machine guns, and three or four lorries of heavily armed men. Each one has got a trench helmet on, and guns all leveled at the people on the sidewalk and the corners. That is not an exception. Every funeral I have seen was carried on that way.

Q. And you saw several funerals? A. I saw about half a dozen. I saw four men buried at one time, three at another, and I saw at different times two each.

Q. These are the funerals of Republicans that you are speaking of now? A. Yes, sir. It seems to me it is generally considered that we can show respect to the dead, no matter under what conditions, or what feelings you have had for them. But no respect is shown that way at all. And as a contrast, when the 16 men, I be-

lieve it was, that were ambushed 'at Macroom were shipped away from Cork, I saw the bodies placed on the ships in the harbor, the British men-of-war; and the people of Cork, I think voluntarily, declared a holiday in respect to these Black-and-Tans who were shot; and from 11 to 2 every shop, every business place, was closed, and the people along the streets, either Irish Republicans or just the plain people, the plain citizens of the town, as the bodies were carried past each one doffed his hat until the body had passed. That is just a contrast.

Mr. Manly: Are there any other questions?

The Chairman: No, that is all. Thank you very much.

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TESTIMONY OF HAROLD JOHNSON

Q. Mr. Manly: What is your name? A. Harold Johnson.

Q. Where were you born? A. Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

Q. Were you on the *West Cannon*? A. I was.

Q. While it was docked in Cork? A. Yes, all the time we were in Cork.

Q. Did you go about the city a great deal? A. Yes, especially in the daytime. I was night watchman from 12 midnight until 8 A. M., and I spent most of the day in the city, and sometimes after dark, but not very often,—generally during the day. And I often walked in the country as well and talked with the people in the surrounding country.

SINN FEIN NOT A CLASS MOVEMENT

Q. What was your purpose in making these inquiries? A. I wanted to learn all I could about the movement in every way. I wanted to find out if it was, as I was given to understand, something connected with Bolshevism. That was the impression I gained from reading the papers before going there. I wanted to see if that was it, or if it was a movement in which the people took part. As far as I could see,—and I talked with shopkeepers more than anyone else, and in the warehouses,—the poor people were not more inclined toward Sinn Fein than the shopkeepers, I should think. There would have been trouble sure, because the shopkeepers were very strongly—they certainly were anti-English,—at any rate, and Sinn Feiners, and the farmers as well.

Q. It was not a class movement as you saw it? A. No, I should say certainly not.

Q. Did you find any Bolshevism? A. No, not from what I heard of the movement, I do not think there was,—apparently none. It was simply anti-English. As I understand, the word Sinn Fein means "Ourselves alone"; and they thought they could rule the country better than the English could, and under the Irish flag.

NO JUSTIFICATION FOR REPRISALS AT DILLON'S CORNERS

Q. Did you go down and look at the houses at Dillon's Corners?

A. I was there twice, once Sunday afternoon,—that is, Sunday, the 12th of December; and once on Tuesday, the 14th of December; the first time in company with Mr. Turk and Mr. Taylor here, and one other man. We simply passed through. At that time the ruins were still smoking. Two days following we had a chance to make a more extensive investigation.

Q. What did you find out as the result of your investigation?

A. On both occasions we tried to get the people to talk, but they were badly scared and would hardly talk. But they denied there had been any ambush. From the version I heard from three different people,—one a man, one little girl, and one a lady,—they all claimed that the bomb had exploded in the lorry accidentally as it was passing a vacant lot. Whereas the version which was given in the Cork paper, in the British report, was that the lorry slowed up for a turn there, at the corner, and that more than one bomb was hurled from behind a stone wall, and one man was killed and eight wounded. At any rate, there were six houses burned, four of them, say, within twenty yards of the place where this ambush was supposed to have occurred. That is about as near as there were any houses to it. Around the corner, on the other side of the right angle, about 150 yards from the place where the ambush was said to have occurred, two others were burned. These were larger houses than the others. I could not see what connection those two houses could possibly have with the affair. They could not overlook the road, and it seemed to me they could have no connection at all. As I stood around on the other side of the right angle Tuesday afternoon I heard a lorry coming, and almost immediately I heard a shot fired. Some children were playing on the corner, and they ran into the houses, and women too. The lorry came around the corner full tilt. There were soldiers with trench helmets on. They were brandishing their rifles and laughing.

I talked with the ladies there, too. After they found out I was an American they were willing to talk, and one of them said her husband had been arrested as soon as the ambush occurred, and had only got loose the preceding day; but several others had not come back yet. They had been arrested and were still under arrest at that time. The impression I got was they had certainly done a thorough job in terrorizing the people in that district.

GENERAL DEMOLITION IN QUEENSTOWN

Q. Did you go down to Queenstown? A. The fourth of December I went down there.

Q. What did you see as to the condition in Queenstown? A. I

walked along the street fronting the quay. I should say, rather, there were two or three streets that fronted the quay, and I counted thirty-two shop fronts that were more or less damaged there. I was told before I left that this damage had taken place about a month before, and they could have had time to repair it had they ever intended to, or had the means to repair it. But the shops were in bad condition. Some of them had been patched up in a fashion, and some not at all. I did not go into any, but you could look past the shop front and you could see the show cases in some cases smashed. The damage had been very extensive. It was just a hasty investigation. As I say, I counted thirty-two shop fronts that had been damaged, some of them apparently by bullets and others by the butts of guns. At any rate, they were completely smashed. They seemed to have done a great deal of shooting. Also, some of the street lamps were smashed.

Q. The town generally was in a state of wreck? A. Well, the shops were, yes, sir, and the street lamps. Otherwise, not so bad. I understood there was no curfew in Queenstown, but quite a few people were getting hurt, and in some cases killed, from time to time.

Q. Senator Norris: What proportion of the shop windows were injured in any way? A. I should say a third, anyhow. They had not taken every one; but I should say a third.

Q. Mr. Manly: In how many blocks would you say those thirty-two were smashed? A. They do not go very much by blocks there. The streets are irregular. I don't know how you would figure it.

Q. Was it in half a mile? A. Yes, in about half a mile, I guess. The street winds along the waterfront. That was the most noticeable thing about Queenstown.

DAILY HOLDUPS ON STREETS OF CORK

I saw some Highlanders, soldiers with steel helmets on, the Monday I got off the train. They were standing in the middle of the street. I did not see any Black-and-Tans until the week beginning the 5th of December, or the 6th, I should say. And on Monday of that week I first noticed them holding people up in the street. I had heard a great deal of it, but never saw it before. Every day that week I would go out about 3:30 in the afternoon. This holding up would start at that time, and I made it a point to be out on the streets at that time to see it. You could see them going around and holding them up. The Black-and-Tans wore uniforms of a tam-o'-shanter cap; they had either puttees or high shoes and a sort of khaki trousers, something like that; sometimes ulsters and long coats. They went about the streets in twos. There would be two here, and then twenty yards ahead two others, and so on. They

did not always point their revolvers or pistols directly at the people, but they had them in their hands ready. I saw one of them who carried a bomb. This was kept up every day of the week preceding the fire, as well as putting threatening notices in the paper. I saw one case where a man with an unusually large automatic held up about 20 people while another searched them. I saw at the same time some of the Royal Irish form a blockade at Washington Street, apparently for no reason. I came up to one end of the street and was told I could not go past; and I turned back and walked two blocks and went right past. One would not let me through, but the other did not stop me.

Personally I was never searched myself. I have been turned back many times, but I have not been searched, probably because I did not come out after dark very much. The other men on the ship, nearly all of them, went at one time or another out after dark.

Q. You were on night duty and could not get away? A. I could have got away.

Q. You liked to watch the excitement during the daytime, and not at night? A. Yes.

PEZOLT BATTERED BY ASSAILANTS

Q. Did you see Pezolt the evening he came in? A. No, I did not. I saw him the next day, and he had a scar about four inches long.

Q. You mean a cut? A. A cut here (indicating). And he showed me his suit, and it looked as if it had been thrown into a mud puddle. I was asleep and did not see him that night. I was down town until about 6:30 that evening. I went to sleep, and I got up when I heard the fires. I got up once and went to bed again, and got up again about 1:30 in the morning.

WRECKED SHOPS POORLY PROTECTED FROM LOOTING

We went to town about 9 o'clock in the morning, I and this gentleman and Mr. Taylor and one other. We went up past the burning City Hall. There were two Royal Irish who questioned us, but let us pass, and then we went to the center of the town. First we went to King Street, and we could see where they had gone along the street the night before. You could see numbers of bullet holes. We visited a jewelry store, one of the largest in the town. I had heard the night before it had been smashed into, and it evidently had by the state of it, and about half the contents carried away. When we were there nobody was molesting the jewelry store. On Patrick Street, no guards were there, only perhaps 30 of the Royal Irish were on duty to guard about five acres of property, places

that had been burned and looted, and so forth. On the back street there were civilians,—I heard later they were Sinn Fein special police. They had no badge of authority or arms of any kind. They kept the people back from the burning walls. There were no barricades stretched except what they stretched themselves. The Royal Irish did the best they could, but 25 men could not do much.

Q. There were no troops that day to protect the property from looting? A. I believe they came about 12:30, but only on St. Patrick's Street. On King Street and the side streets near Patrick Street there were no troops. They guarded Patrick Street thoroughly, and the real danger from looting and from falling walls was on the side streets. I walked along the shop fronts, and it would have been easy to carry away valuable stuff if a man wanted to,—valuable stuff that would be needed by poor people, such as clothing of all kinds and food stuffs; but no one did it.

Q. You saw no looting? A. I saw no looting. I was along that street several times for two hours, and I saw no looting of any kind.

Mr. Manly: That is all, unless the Commission has some questions.

Chairman Wood: That is all. Thank you very much.

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TESTIMONY OF RALPH TAYLOR

Q. Mr. Manly: What is your full name? A. Ralph Taylor.

Q. Where were you born? A. Scott Township, Pennsylvania.

Q. How old are you? A. Twenty-two the seventh of last July.

Q. You are a sailor on the *West Cannon*? A. I was officers' mess man.

PEZOLT BADLY BATTERED

Q. Did you see Mr. Pezolt when he returned to the ship that evening? A. Yes, sir, I did. I was right on deck at the head of the gang plank when he came on.

Q. What was his condition? A. His condition was as he has stated. There was a long scar down the side of his face. The back of his head was bruised. There was dirt along his cheek. His clothes were all mussed up, dirty. There were about half a dozen boys on deck discussing what had taken place in the evening, and we saw him come walking down on the quay pretty fast. He came up the gang plank and he said, "Well, I got mine tonight." And he told us what had happened, and went right up and told the captain. The captain kept him up there five or six minutes, as near as I could tell, and he came down and went aft.

HOLDUPS AND AGENTS PROVOCATEURS ON STREETS

Q. Were you held up and searched yourself while you were in Cork? A. Yes, sir, I have been held up and searched.

Q. Was this in the evening, at night only? A. No, sir. Any time from 3.30 or 4 o'clock you could find them on the streets. The postoffice seemed to be their general place. You could never tell when they would hold you up, though. Half the time they might be in uniform, and a part of the time in civilian clothes. You could never tell who you were talking to. Several times men have come up to me and started running down the British Government, and tried to get me to state my opinions, just to get you to tell what you think about it, and they keep track of you until they get an opportunity to take it up.

Q. You say men came up to you and started talking about the British Government? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Disrespectfully? A. Yes, sir. Never had seen them before at all. The Irish people that were there, you would see them going around—they would come up. If they spoke to you at all—they can recognize an American as far as they can see them—and they would start to say, "Is not this terrible? Is not this awful?" and get you to sympathize with them. But these British police there, the Black-and-Tans, whoever they happened to be, would just come up and start to run down the British Limey.

Q. What is a British Limey? A. British sailors are known as British Limeys.

Q. American sailors call them Limeys? A. Not all. Limie—Limo—from lime juice, I guess.

YOUNG GIRLS HELD UP AND SEARCHED

Q. Were there any particular instances that came to your knowledge that you feel ought to be put in the record? A. I cannot add much to what the men have said about the general condition in Cork. There were a few instances I witnessed. There was a dance hall called Mac's Dance Hall. He had been in the United States quite a while, and gone back there and was teaching dancing. I used to go up there and stay a couple of hours after supper. Coming down one night, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, I was right at the corner of the street coming down to the quay. About ten feet off the corner there were two men. One of them was back on the curb with a revolver in his hand flourishing it this way. Right in front of him were three girls running in age from 15 to 20 years old, reaching for the sky. Another man was up there feeling all over their persons, searching them, making a bluff of searching them. I

don't know what their object was. You could tell by looking at the girls that they did not have a place to conceal a gun or anything. It just happened to be the practice, or something. I don't know. I stood there about three minutes on the corner watching them. No one said a word to me. They let the girls go, and I went on down.

PASSPORTS TAKEN FROM AMERICAN SAILORS

It is nothing unusual to be walking along the streets and hear somebody say, "Halt! Put them up, up, up!" They come up and search you. "Well, it is all right. We will let it go at searching you." Once in a while they would take your watch out, take the back off, and examine the movements. They did that with the chief officer's watch. They will examine all your papers. Two or three of the men had their passports taken, two that I know of.

Q. One of those two was Pezolt? A. Yes.

Q. Did any of the other men lose papers? A. None that I know of. I have heard several—

Q. Did they carry any papers with them when they went out? A. There was one A. B. seaman was out there one night. It was the first we ever noticed their taking from them. They took his passport.

Q. What was his name? A. Scanlon. He goes down and tells the captain. The captain goes up to headquarters to try and get the passport, and they did not know anything about it, and he could not get any satisfaction. He had to go to the consul to get another passport. After that the majority of us left our passports and any papers that we had on board, and did not take any more money than we had to, and what we did, we packed in our socks.

Q. So the reason they did not take anything away from you was because you did not have anything with you? A. Yes, sir. This boy happened to be one of the unfortunates that night. There were not many that did.

Mr. Manly: Any questions by the Commission?

Chairman Wood: I think not. Thank you very much.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

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MR. PETER MACSWINEY WILLING TO ANSWER QUESTIONS

Mr. Manly: Mr. Chairman, there were some questions this morning about matters that the Lord Mayor did not know about. One of them was the Queenstown affair. It has later been cleared up by these witnesses. But Mr. Peter MacSwiney is here, and while he does not desire to give testimony, he is quite willing to appear before the Commission and answer any questions. He saw all that the

Lord Mayor saw, and is ready to corroborate it, if the Commission desires. If not, he has no desire to take the stand.

Chairman Wood: If there is anything that you think he can add to what has been said in the way of new testimony, we would be very glad to hear him. He will be in this country for our meetings next week, I presume, if there is anything he wants to say.

Mr. Manly: You will be here and available if the Commission wants you later, will you not, Mr. MacSwiney?

Mr. Peter J. MacSwiney: Yes, sir, but I do not think there is anything I can add to what has been said by the Lord Mayor. I was in Queenstown and saw what was there. The gentleman was asked about Queenstown awhile ago, about how many blocks, and he said he was not able to give a correct description. It is the whole beach from one end to the other which was wrecked. I saw that myself. I do not know that there is anything else I can add to what has been said.

Chairman Wood: Thank you very much.

Mr. MacSwiney: If there are any questions, I have seen the lorries going through C ork with soldiers who were drunk. I saw them firing at the national monument, at the Grand Parade. I saw that with my two eyes. They were shooting, and anybody passing by was likely to be shot.

Chairman Wood: Come forward, Mr. MacSwiney, so that we can all see you, at any rate. (Mr. MacSwiney takes the stand.)

TESTIMONY OF PETER J. MACSWINEY

Q. Mr. Manly: Mr. MacSwiney, first of all, are you a brother of the late Lord Mayor of Cork? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your first name? A. Peter—Peter J.

Q. You are an American citizen, as I understand it? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of how long standing? You were not born here, were you?

A. I was naturalized in 1916, four years ago.

Q. Where do you reside now? A. In New York.

CORROBORATES PEZOLT'S TESTIMONY

Q. If there is anything you would like to add in regard to Queenstown, we will be glad to hear you. We asked Lord Mayor O'Callaghan in regard to Queenstown, and you have heard the testimony of this sailor from the West Cannon. A. Yes, and I would like to corroborate that. I saw Pezolt when he came on board the ship—at least when I came on board the ship. I was on three days before anybody saw me, and when I came up I saw Pezolt, and I got talking to him. He had a big scar right along here, and he told me how it happened, that he got beaten and robbed. And, in fact,

I was responsible for having him here. I thought that he would be a very good witness to get here. He showed me his papers of which he was robbed—a copy of his papers, and a letter from Mr. Mason Mitchell to the Commander of the Forces in Cork, demanding an explanation, demanding his passport and seaman's certificate. This man was robbed of all his money and his papers. I saw those papers on the ship, and I thought it would be a very good thing for him as an American citizen, a man who never had seen Ireland before, born in San Francisco, who had never been in the country before, to come here and give some first-hand information of what was going on over there.

Of course, as to the lorries and all that, I did not think it was necessary for me to come up here and repeat what had been said, as I told Mr. Frank Walsh this morning, that that has been already said.

Q. You did hear what has been said, and you can corroborate it?

A. Exactly.

UNIFORMED CAPTAIN OF AMERICAN SHIP SUBJECTED TO INDIGNITIES

Q. The statements are all very accurate? A. Very accurate. The captain of the West Cannon told me himself that he was going around the streets of Cork, and as he described it, every ten minutes he was like this (indicating), a gun at his stomach. He would go along two blocks further, and he would be like this again (indicating), with his hands up all the time, and he had no peace. The fact that he was an American citizen in uniform did not scare them, and he was subjected to every indignity possible.

Q. Senator Norris: How long were you there. A. I was in Cork about two months. I was about three weeks in London before I went there.

PUBLIC MEN "ON THE RUN" TO PROTECT LIVES

Q. What effect, if any, has this treatment that has been going on there had on the people themselves? A. The treatment that the people have been subjected to has only strengthened their determination to continue the fight.

Q. Yes, I can see how that would be. But I am trying to find out whether the women, for instance, and I think the men, too, and the children—what is their nervous condition? A. Well, it is like this. People going to bed at night are never sure whether they will be alive in the morning or not. Any public man, any man holding public office—and of course everybody in office in Ireland today is a Republican because the government of Ireland is a Republican government, and it is functioning—and every public man cannot sleep

in his own home, you see. He runs into the city during the day to attend to his official duties, but at night he has always got to find a place to sleep.

Q. He must find a secret place, as I understand it? A. Yes.

Q. He must not let anybody know where he is? A. No. He cannot sleep twice, probably, in the same bed. He has got to find a different house every night.

Q. Chairman Wood: Were you on the run all the time you were in Ireland? A. No, I walked about the city.

UNABLE TO SLEEP IN OWN HOME

Q. How about sleeping? A. I will tell you about that. My sisters were very nervous, you see, about my sleeping in the house. There was a time when a man used to be a protection in the house, but now it seems——

Q. He has turned from an asset into a liability? A. A man in the house now is a danger, because the military go around looking for the men to shoot them, the volunteers especially. But, I being an American citizen, felt at perfect ease. Of course, I was held up in the usual way several times and searched, but I was not robbed—nothing like that. But at night time, in order to satisfy my sisters—they told me that it would be absolutely dangerous for me to sleep at home; that they could not sleep if I was in the house. Of course, I had plenty of houses to go to. There were all kinds of invitations everywhere to sleep in safe places. My sisters said that if they let me sleep at home I would—O, they said it was absolutely dangerous, and they knew better than I. The military go around all the time looking for the men to shoot them. Of course I, coming over, and going through that horrible business which you probably have heard about, being beaten up there by the military, they said that I should take no chances.

Q. Now, Mr. MacSwiney, when you say your sisters told you there were plenty of safe places to sleep, what is a safe place?

Mr. Manly: He said plenty of other places.

Chairman Wood: I thought he said a safe place. I did not know there was a safe place to sleep in Ireland.

A. The witness: A safe place is the house of somebody who is not connected with the movement.

REPUBLICAN HOMES PICKED OUT FOR RAIDING

Q. Chairman Wood: Then they do single out those who are known to be active Republican people, to search the houses? A. All the time—anybody at all connected with the movement, all the time. In fact, every week there is a raid.

Q. But non-politicals are more or less safe? A. O, no. No one is safe at all.

Q. But there is a better chance if you can find a non-political house? A. Yes. A man named Coleman, who was never identified with the movement, was shot while I was there, and he was never connected in any way at all with office or with individuals. He was attacked one night and shot dead.

The Chairman: Yes, we have had testimony about that.¹

Q. Mr. Manly: One of those unfortunate mistakes? A. Yes.

Q. Chairman Wood: Yes, shoot first and learn afterwards. A. He was the owner of a saloon. Some of the Black-and-Tans who had been in there one night had used foul language, and he refused to serve them the following evening when they came in. And the next night he was called out and shot.

SOLDIERS WANTONLY SHOOT AT NATIONAL MONUMENT

Q. Mr. Manly: About what date did this shooting at the National Monument take place? A. I could not tell you the exact date.

Q. Approximately? A. It would be approximately about a week after I landed in Cork, probably the second week of November.

Q. Probably the second week in November? A. Yes, some time around there.

Q. This was wanton shooting? A. Wanton shooting, yes; and I saw it with my own eyes, coming along. They seemed to be drunken soldiers.

Q. They were in a lorry? A. Yes.

Q. Are there any further points, Mr. MacSwiney, that you want to speak of? A. I do not think so.

Q. Chairman Wood: Is there anything you want to say to us in particular? A. No, only to thank you for your kindness.

Chairman Wood: Thank you very much for coming before us, Mr. MacSwiney.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

Chairman Wood: The next meeting will be on Wednesday of next week at ten o'clock in this room. At that time we expect to have with us Mr. Dempsey, the Lord Mayor of Mallow, Miss Louise Bennett and a friend of hers, members of the Women's International League, from Dublin or Cork, I don't remember which.

Mr. Manley: Miss Bennett is an English woman, is she not?

Chairman Wood: I think that she was born in Ireland. Mr. Fawcitt also expects to come before us, and possibly some other witnesses. The Commission will adjourn, then, until 10 o'clock next Wednesday morning.

(Adjourned 4:40 p. m.)

¹ See testimony of Lord Mayor O'Callaghan.

SIXTH HEARINGS ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Session One

Before the Commission, sitting in the Hotel LaFayette, Washington, D. C., Wednesday, January 19, 1921.

Chairman Wood: The Commission will come to order, and we will proceed with the testimony of the Lord Mayor of Mallow.

Mr. Dempsey: Not Lord Mayor, but Mayor.

Chairman Wood: O, yes, there are only three Lord Mayors in Ireland.

(The witness takes the stand.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. FRANK DEMPSEY

Q. Chairman Wood: Will you give your name? A. My name is Frank Dempsey.

Q. What is your position in the town of Mallow?

ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF MALLOW URBAN COUNCIL

A. Well, I am chairman of the council, or mayor, as you like. Chairman of the council stands in the same position as mayor of a town.

Q. The official title of the council is the Urban Council of Mallow? A. Exactly.

Q. You were born in Mallow, were you? A. No, I was born in Tipperary, in Thurles.

Q. About how large a town is Mallow? A. About 4,500 the last census.

Q. Where is Mallow? A. It is in the County of Cork, about 21 miles from the city of Cork.

Q. South of Cork? A. No, it is north of Cork.

Q. Mr. Basil M. Manly: When were you elected to the Urban Council, Mr. Dempsey? A. Well, there was no election during the war. I was co-opted to the council. Any vacancy that takes place in the council between, say, the death of a councillor and the

election of a new council, they do not elect a member—they co-op them; the members of the council co-op some man from the town. And I was co-opted first in 1917.

Q. And then you were elected in the election of 1918? A. Yes, I was elected from my own ward.

Q. And what ticket, as we say in America, were you running on? A. Republican.

MAJORITY OF COUNCIL REPUBLICAN

Q. What is the composition as regards party of the Urban Council of Mallow? How many Republicans and how many Unionists? A. On the council there are 21 members. At the last election there were 12 of these returned on the Republican ticket. There were 7 of what were called independent members, and two Unionists.

Q. About the independent members: will you explain their political position? A. Well, at the time they ran they were in the main followers of the Constitutional movement. That is the movement which the late Mr. Redmond was the head of. I would say that since then, owing to the terrors that are going on in the country, all seven have come over to the Republican side.

Q. Commissioner Howe: It is 19 to 2 now? A. Yes, on any question of Republican interest it would be 19 to 2. As a proof of that, when we, early in 1920—in February, when we pledged our allegiance to the Republic, the voting was 19 to 2. The only members who voted against it were the two Unionists.

Q. Chairman Wood: How did they come to be on the council—by proportional representation? A. Yes, they were elected. The election was carried on under proportional representation. Of course, proportional representation is a perfectly fair manner of election, because it gives representation to practically all the people.

Q. Senator Norris: It gives representation to the minority, and these two represented the minority. A. Exactly.

Q. Mr. Manly: But without proportional representation you would have had a Republican council from the last election? A. From the beginning, under the old system of election, all twenty-one seats would have been filled by Republicans.

REFUSAL OF IRISH RAILWAYMEN TO TRANSPORT MUNITIONS OR ARMED TROOPS

Q. What is your occupation, Mr. Dempsey? A. A locomotive engineer.

Q. On what line are you employed? A. The Great Southern & Western Railway, a line which runs throughout the south and west of Ireland.

Q. You are a member of the engineers' union, the drivers' union, are you not? A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell the Commission at this point what the policy of the organized railwaymen of Ireland has been, and the general developments that have taken place in that policy towards the handling of munitions? A. The railwaymen as a whole, I would say, with the rest of the population of Ireland, in our part of Ireland at any rate, they are practically all Republicans. The stand they took with regard to the carrying of munitions was this: in England the railwaymen's union, headed by Mr. Thomas, said that they would not carry in England munitions for Poland to be used against the Russian Government. We in Ireland had meetings, and we said that if it was fair for the English railway workers to refuse to carry munitions to help the Poles to fight Russia, it was also fair for us to say that we would not carry munitions in Ireland to shoot down our own countrymen. That was the standpoint the railwaymen took it from. We held meetings in different portions of the country, and these resolutions were carried, and carried out.

Q. Chairman Wood: About what date did this happen? A. About seven months ago.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Is this position still held by the railway union men? A. That position held on for about six months, I should say. The Irish railroads are practically under Government control, and have been since the war. The Government took steps that every man who refused to carry troops or munitions of war was automatically dismissed. That went on for so long that there were very few railwaymen left. They had closed quite a lot of branch lines in the country, and they threatened to close and would have closed all the main lines in the country, which would mean, and which meant in fact that a number of our people, the vast majority of our people, would go hungry through want of proper transportation. We have not the means in Ireland that you people have in America for transportation. Our means of transportation is the railway, and the railway alone.

Q. Mr. Manly: Will you give more clearly to the Commission exactly what the orders and resolutions of the railwaymen included with reference to handling soldiers and troops which were not armed, and handling supplies that were not munitions of war? A. The railway men at their meetings agreed that they would carry any troops that were unarmed, troops going round from military barracks to barracks, or going on leave; provided they were not armed, we would carry any amount of them—we would not make an exception to one or a hundred. The only class of munitions we objected to was killing material. We would carry food and clothing. Killing material would be guns of any sort, arms, or ammunition.

RAILWAYMEN RESCIND EMBARGO ON ARMS TO SAVE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC LIFE

Q. Commissioner Thomas: I understand, then, following the question, that at the end of six months the unions receded from their position. A. Well, the railwaymen found out—we found out ourselves, that if we carried on to the end we were killing the economic life of our country, and our own people were suffering rather than the people we wanted to hit.

Q. The British Government brought over lorries, I suppose. A. Yes, they brought over lorries in great numbers, and we could not help that, of course.

Q. What help did you get from the English Railwaymen, from Mr. J. H. Thomas? A. Well, we got all the sympathy in the world, but that was all we got.

Q. What was Mr. Thomas' attitude towards your position? A. He said it was an Irish question. His union would not interfere with the Irish Railway Workers. It was a question for the Irish railwaymen alone. In other words, he gave us all kinds of sympathy, but no kind of help.

Q. Chairman Wood: What is the connection between the Irish railwaymen's union and the English union? A. Well, it is all one union in England, Ireland, and Scotland. We have our own headquarters, but there is a joint agreement between the unions.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Do you include in this union the railwaymen in Ulster? A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Manly: What was the attitude of the railwaymen in Ulster? A. In and around Belfast they did not take much notice of what we were doing, but in other parts of Ulster, in Donegal and Derry; and with the exception of two countries—in fact, the first railway to close in Ireland was an Ulster railway, the Donegal & Lough Swilly Railway, I believe; they closed down because they had no men to drive their trains; the drivers were practically all dismissed.

Q. Will you make, in this connection, a distinction between the driver and the guard—what we call here the conductor, and the other members of the train crew? A. Well, when the military came on the platform, the conductor of the train saw them, whether they were armed or were not. We were not supposed to search for arms, but if he could see that they had arms in their hands, the conductor came and told us at once. When they got on the train the conductor went to the officer in charge of the troops, or to the person in charge, whoever he happened to be, and told him he was sorry we could not carry them on account of the fact that they had arms on them. At the start of it the troops kept on board the train and would not get off, with the result that the people could not go anywhere. The train was automatically cancelled. The Government changed

their attitude after about a month of that, and what they did was that they usually got off the train after a quarter of an hour or so and allowed the train to proceed. But when the driver and the guard who had refused to carry the troops got to their destination, they were dismissed for refusing to carry the troops.

Q. The whole situation centered on the driver and the guard?

A. Yes, exactly. The rest of them were not connected with it. The driver and the guard were the main ones. The troops would have got on the train without anybody else touching them.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: If I remember clearly, from certain English authorities there came news that the change in attitude of the railwaymen was a great victory for Dublin Castle, and showed the weakness of the railwaymen. But do I understand from you that it was not a weakness on the part of the men, but a change in policy because they did not desire to make their countrymen suffer?

A. Exactly. The reason we receded from our position was that we realized we were ruining the economic life of our country. And for that reason we saw we had made a mistake, and receded from our position.

Q. You mean there was no other reason for the change in tactics? A. No, none.

Q. Mr. Manly: But during that time the British Government used lorries to carry their armed troops? A. Exactly. Of course they had lorries before that going around throughout the country which the railwaymen did not touch. But when the railwaymen refused to carry armed troops, they brought over shiploads of lorries and carried their troops in these lorries all over the country.

NO HELP FROM BRITISH LABOR

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Has there ever been a suggestion in England that the workers should put the same sort of embargo on the carrying of supplies for the war in Ireland that they have put on the carrying of arms for war against Russia? A. Well, in a couple of sections there was some discussion of it, but they took no action as a whole. We get all of their volumes, and we see that in some of their meetings there were suggestions made by members that they help their brothers in Ireland, but nothing was done about it.

COST AND NUMBER OF CROWN FORCES IN IRELAND

Q. Senator Norris: Do you know how much England has spent since the armistice to carry on war in Ireland? A. Well, I don't know, but I know it is an enormous amount of money.

Q. Could you say whether, if she had saved this sum, she would

be able to pay the interest she owes us on her war borrowings? A. I could not say, but you understand as well as I do that an army costs a great deal to maintain, and I saw in your press that you are cutting down your army because it costs so much to keep it up.

Senator Norris: Yes, but we do not have any place to borrow money from as England does.

Q. Commissioner Howe: What is the size of the army of occupation that England has in Ireland now? A. Well, they have never given the real figures, but I should think it would be about 100,000 altogether.

Q. That includes the Royal Irish Constabulary? A. The Royal Irish Constabulary and the Black-and-Tans and all told. Of course they say they have about 60,000, but we know the figures are more than that.

MILITARY OCCUPATION AND DESTRUCTION THROUGHOUT IRELAND

Q. And what part of Ireland is under military or Black-and-Tan occupation? A. Well, some parts of Ireland are occupied more than others. Now, for instance, the more disturbed the area is—the disturbance is caused by themselves—but the more disturbed the area is, the more troops there are, the more Black-and-Tans there are. In Ulster, I am told (I have not been in Ulster much), but in Ulster I am told there are also many. Through the south and west of Ireland, however, there are more than in other parts of Ireland.

Q. Are lorries running about through all Ireland, or just the southern part of the country? A. O, yes, throughout all of Ireland.

Q. Are there burnings in all of Ireland, or are they limited? A. I should say yes. Because even in Ulster, in the most Unionist part of Ulster, there are Republicans too. And although I have not the figures, I know that there have been burnings in Ulster.

Q. Chairman Wood: How recently have you traveled about Ireland, aside from your own district of Mallow? The information you give about other districts is what you read in the press—you have not been an eye-witness? A. Well, I have not been an eye-witness to them, but I have seen the places after they have been burned. My occupation takes me all through Kerry, and I have seen burned houses in other counties, in Kilkenny and Tipperary.

Q. How far do the burnings go in the northwest? A. All through the northwest—Donegal, Leitrim, and Roscommon.

Q. Why I asked is that we have a map here showing destructions and burnings of towns in different parts of Ireland. But what I wanted to know is how extensive that is. A. Well, they are general throughout Ireland, but they are worse in the south of Ireland.

RAIDS AND BURNINGS IN ULSTER

Mr. Manly (showing map): I would like to call attention to the fact that this map is not complete. You see the dots here and here (indicating) show where places have been burned and sacked. We have had testimony from Miss Wilkinson and others here stating that Lisburn and other places in the north have been destroyed. I understand that the chart from which this map was made was made last September, and does not show many of the most serious burnings that have taken place since that time.

The Witness: Of course, I was not an eye-witness, but I have seen a village, Camlough, in the County of Antrim, the most Unionist county in Ireland, and Camlough was burned the other day.

Mr. Manly: I would like to call your attention—it was in our press dispatches—to a drive that took place in Armagh, one of the Ulster counties just south of Antrim. It is said to be one of the biggest drives that have taken place in Ireland: 300 persons arrested and held for some time, and then all released September 13th.

Commissioner Howe: That sounds like A. Mitchell Palmer's raids.

Mr. Manly: Well, he has not had the experience that the British have. He has only had four years, but this has been going on for more than four centuries.

WITNESS' OCCUPATION IN SOUTH AND WEST IRELAND

Q. Commissioner Howe: What was your run as an engineer?
A. Well, we changed about.

Q. Did you cover a good part of Ireland in your runs? A. Well, an area of about one hundred miles. It would be about a hundred miles. I went from Mallow to Cork, and from Cork to Tralee; and the following week you would change about, and we would go to Fermoy.

Q. So you saw a good deal of Ireland? A. No, the men on the main lines run the lines between them. I was off the main lines. There is a branch between Mallow and Tralee and Waterford. The south and west of Ireland was my run. The men living in Cork and Dublin have their own runs on the main line.

Q. Mr. Manly: But your runs were practically confined to the south and west of Ireland, radiating out of Cork. A. Yes, exactly.

REPEATED RAIDS ON HOME

Q. Let me ask you what is the size of your family. A. Well, my wife is dead, but I have four little children. The youngest child was two months old when her mother died.

Q. Senator Norris: When did she die? A. In 1915. At the end of 1915.

Q. Mr. Manly: Are there any others living in the family with you? A. Yes, my father-in-law and mother-in-law are living with me.

Q. So that there are seven in the family? A. Yes.

Q. Have there been any raids on your home? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you tell us about them? A. Well, the first raid on my house was in 1916, but that was nothing exceptional. After the rebellion they raided practically every house in the country to search for arms and seditious literature.

Q. Senator Norris: When did they raid it, in the night or day? A. In the daytime in 1916.

Q. What did they do? A. They just came into the house and searched it. They did no damage whatever.

Q. Chairman Wood: That was carried out by the Royal Irish Constabulary, was it? A. Yes, in 1916.

Q. Mr. Manly: After that, when was the next raid? A. The next raid would be about the first week in October of this year.

Q. Senator Norris: No, last year, you mean. A. Yes, last year—1920.

Q. Mr. Manly: What was the apparent purpose of that raid?

RAIDED AND CORRESPONDENCE SEIZED FOLLOWING COMMISSION'S INVITATION TO TESTIFY

A. Well, I wasn't there at the time they came, but the officer in charge told my mother-in-law that he had come to search the house for concealed arms and seditious literature. They came about eleven o'clock at night, and searched the house from top to bottom. They took away quite a lot of private correspondence and public correspondence that I had, and took it away to the military barracks.

Q. Had you prior to this time received the invitation of this Commission to come here and testify? A. Yes, about three or four days prior to the second raid on my house.

Q. The first raid was in 1916? A. Yes, the first raid on my house was in 1916, and the next raid was about three days after I got the invitation of this Commission to come here and testify about the condition of Mallow.

Q. Senator Norris: The people had all gone to bed, and they came and raided the house and compelled them to get up? A. Yes. I happened to be home, but this time I was in Tralee. They came I happened to be home, but this time I was in Tralee. They came and knocked at the door—they do not knock at the door very gently

in Ireland; they use the butt of their rifles. My mother-in-law got up, and this officer and an old officer of the R. I. C. (we are particularly lucky in Mallow; we haven't as many Black-and-Tans there yet as in some other places, because there are still some of the old R. I. C.). And they came in and searched all my papers.

Q. Did they tear up anything—any furniture, or break up anything? A. No. They made a very thorough search of the house, but they did not materially damage the property. They pulled down beds and pictures and loose things to search, but they did not destroy anything.

Q. When was the next raid? A. About a week after that.

Q. That was a third raid? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: And that was similar to the second raid you have described? A. Yes, exactly.

Q. Senator Norris: Did they take anything else away with them? A. They took away some papers that they overlooked the first time.

Q. What time was that? A. Between eleven and twelve at night.

Q. Mr. Manly: And when was the next raid? A. Shortly after that. It was in the daytime.

Q. What was the character of that raid? A. Well, they just came in and asked for me, and looked around the house.

Q. They were looking for papers? A. Yes, exactly.

ARMED RAIDER PROFFERS RETURN OF CORRESPONDENCE

Q. Was there another raid following that? A. Yes, there was a raid on Sunday night.

Q. Will you tell about the general circumstances of that raid? A. Well, they had come three times to my house within a fortnight. I need not tell you that we in Ireland are not very anxious to meet these gentlemen when they do come to our homes. It was Sunday night, and I happened to be at my own door about a quarter to nine. We have a curfew in Mallow at nine o'clock. Everybody has to be in their house between the hours of nine and three in the morning. At about quarter to nine I happened to be at home, and I was turning over in my own mind whether I should stay at home or go out. And one of my little girls came to me and asked, "Daddy, will you sleep at home tonight?" I took her advice and said I would. So I went inside and sat down in the kitchen, reading from nine o'clock to about quarter to ten. My father-in-law was out walking,—he is also a railroad man. There was nobody up but my second child and my mother-in-law.

Q. What is her name? A. May, May Dempsey. About quarter to ten a violent knocking came to the door, and I said to myself,

it just serves me right for stopping in. I knew at once by the knock it was the military. My mother-in-law went to the door and asked who was there; and the officer in charge said, "Military. Open!" He asked if I was inside. And she said I was inside with my child. Of course the house had been surrounded by this time by the military, and it would have been only madness to try to get away. You cannot get away after they surround the house like that. He came in with a revolver in his hand, and this second girl of mine is very fond of me, and when she saw the revolver in the officer's hand she thought he was going to shoot me, and she threw herself in front of me and shouted out, "Oh, Daddy, you are going to be shot!" I said to the officer, "There is no occasion for that sort of thing. There is a child here." And he said, "Oh, that is right." And he put the revolver in his pocket. He was more courteous than some of them you meet. He said, "Mr. Dempsey, I have quite a lot of correspondence of yours in the military barracks, and you can get that correspondence any time you call for it." I said, "I don't know what correspondence you have from me, because you took the correspondence away in my absence." I said, "Don't you think, since you took it away, that you ought to bring it back?" He said, "I don't see what there is wrong about asking you to come to the barracks for it." I said, "No, but considering the fact that you took it away, you might bring it back." He said, "Well, then, I will send it back." And then he went away.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did he give any other reason for coming to see you after curfew with a revolver in his hand except that to tell you that if you called for your correspondence you could have it? A. No, none at all. My belief is that he had come to the house four times previously, and on these occasions I was not there. This was on a Sunday night, and on Sunday nights very few of the railway men work. On the other occasions when he came, I was not there; and he made it his business to find out that I was off duty when he came. My opinion,—of course I could not swear to it, but my candid opinion is that he came to see if I was on the run. That made me very plucky when he did not arrest me; because if he had had any definite charge against me which he could prove, he would have arrested me.

Q. Did he send back your papers? A. No, he didn't send back my papers.

RECEIVES PASSPORT FOLLOWING RAIDS

Meantime I had looked for the passport. I had applied for it a couple of days after getting the invitation from this Commission. It usually takes from ten days to a fortnight to have a passport issued. But my passport was between six and seven weeks, and I

had no answer to it. I had asked the clerk of the Crown police, who is the man who puts your application through; and he told me that he had no news of it. I was turning over the fact in my mind to know why it was that they were not giving me the passport, and I said to myself that the reason for so many raids in such a short time in my house was the fact that they didn't want to give me the passport; they wanted to find out if they could sustain a charge against me, and so refuse the passport. Because about two days after the last raid on my house, the passport was issued to me.

Q. What was the date of the last raid on your house? A. It would be about the 21st of December, I think. I am not exactly sure of that, but it would be a few days before Christmas, at any rate, because I postponed the visit to your Commission myself, as Christmas was so near. I said I would not come until after Christmas. And I sailed on the first boat after Christmas.

MALLOW QUIET AND PROSPEROUS BEFORE BURNING

Q. What was the date of the burning of Mallow? A. The twenty-seventh of September last.

Q. What had been the general conditions in Mallow prior to that time? A. Well, I am not a native of Mallow, but I have been living in Mallow for a long time.

Q. Chairman Wood: How long a time, Mr. Dempsey,—ten years? A. I am living in Mallow about fourteen years. And a quieter town or a more prosperous town there was not in all Ireland.

Q. What business have they there? A. Well, they have the usual business of Ireland. The country around Mallow is very agricultural, and the people brought in their agricultural products into the town and sold them. They have their fairs and markets. But the principal business was a large condensed milk factory which employed five to six hundred hands.

Q. Mr. Manly: Who is that owned by? A. By a Mr. Cleeves of Limerick. He has large condensed milk factories all over Ireland.

Q. How does that rank in size? A. That is the second largest in Ireland. Limerick has the largest.

Q. What troops were stationed in Mallow prior to the burning? A. Well, in the military barrack there was a troop of lancers.

Q. Chairman Wood: Lancers is a cavalry regiment? A. Yes, the Seventeenth Lancers. And in the police barrack there were a number of police and Black-and-Tans.

Q. Senator Norris: How large a town is Mallow? A. About 4,500, sir.

Q. Mr. Manly: What are the conditions in Mallow? A. What do you mean?

MALLOW A CRIMELESS TOWN

Q. About crime. Have there been any serious crimes in Mallow? A. No, never.

Q. Have there been any cases of murder there, or arson? A. No, never. It was a model town from the crime point of view. We have had no crime there like you sometimes see in Ireland. A man gets drunk sometimes. The usual charge before a court up to the war was a man having his cow out on the road, or his donkey astray. That was the only crime that we had, if you call that crime. We are a very quiet, peaceful people.

Q. Commissioner Howe: No hold-ups? A. No hold-ups.

Q. Major Newman: No robbery of houses? A. Well, I would not say that there never had been any robbery there. I do not know. Even in a model town there might be a robbery in fourteen years.

Q. Mr. Manly: Is there a custom of giving British magistrates a pair of white gloves when there is no crime brought before the magistrate? A. Yes, when there are no cases brought before the court.

Q. Do you know whether at any time in this fourteen years a magistrate has received a pair of white gloves? A. Yes, he did; almost every time he got a pair of white gloves. He must have a whole store of white gloves.

Q. Commissioner Howe: How often would he come,—every six months? A. They were the quarter sessions. You see, the petty court sits every week. And then about every three months the recorder comes to Mallow. I am talking of Mallow now prior to 1916. Of course, since 1916 and 1917 and 1918 and now the courts of Mallow are doing nothing.

Q. Major Newman: To get back to this custom of giving white gloves. Just what is this custom? A. If there are no serious crimes brought before the grand jury, the jury presents the recorder with a pair of white gloves.

Q. And that happened frequently prior to 1916? A. Yes, frequently.

Q. Commissioner Howe: What is the salary of these recorders? A. I don't know exactly. I should say about £1500. It would be quite close to it.

Q. Are they Irishmen? A. Yes, some of them are. They are practitioners of the law.

Q. But they are not sent over from England? A. No, they are not.

MAGISTRATES RESIGN IN PROTEST AGAINST BRITISH POLICY

Q. Mr. Manly: Do you know how many of them have resigned during the past year? A. Well, I would not say that any of the recorders have resigned.

Q. But the magistrates? The magistrates who try petty cases? A. About 95 per cent. of them have resigned, with the exception of the resident magistrates, who are paid officials. The ordinary magistrates are not paid officials. They are called "the great army of the unpaid." They get the honor of putting J. P. after their names, and they do their work for nothing. Of course they are honorable men.

Q. But the resignations which have occurred are of men holding very prominent positions in Ireland? A. Oh, yes; they are doctors and business men and others of influence and position.

Q. Do you recall whether Sir Thomas Stafford, the British Privy Counsellor in Ireland, resigned? A. Well, I saw it in the papers that he did.

Q. Do you recall whether this is a quotation from his letter of resignation at that time? (Reading): "My remaining any longer a member of a Council which is not consulted places me in the invidious position of seeming to approve of a policy with regard to the government of Ireland with which I have no sympathy." A. Yes, I remember the letter, which was published.

Q. And about the same time Sir H. Grattan Bellew also resigned his Deputy Lieutenancy and Commission of the Peace, on August 11th? A. Yes, I remember that.

Q. And a large number of magistrates have resigned? A. Ninety-five per cent., I should say.

REPRESSION, RAIDS AND ARRESTS IN MALLOW PRIOR TO BURNING

Q. Now, from 1916 to the burning of Mallow, what had been the general conditions in the town? Had there been altercations between the police and the civilians? A. Well, there was only one that I remember, in the year 1917. We were having a celebration of the anniversary of 1916.

Q. Chairman Wood: Of the uprising in 1916, you mean? A. Yes. And we paraded the town, and a number of townspeople and the people from the surrounding districts had a sort of mournful parade.

Q. This was in Easter Week, was it? A. Yes, Easter Week of 1917. And the local police force broke up that procession, with

the result that a few men of the town got broken heads from the policemen's sticks.

Q. Were any of the policemen shot on that occasion? A. No.

Q. Had raids been taking place pretty generally in Mallow from 1916? A. Well, not generally; but Mallow had its own share of the raids after 1916. You see, there were raids taking place all over Ireland in 1916. And we had comparative quiet in 1917. But in 1918 and 1919 we have had raids in Mallow almost continuously.

Q. Any policemen shot in Mallow while these raids were taking place? A. No, no.

Q. Were there any of the Republicans arrested? A. Yes, there were a number of Republicans arrested.

Q. About how many? A. Well, from Mallow I should say there would be about ten or a dozen.

Q. About ten out of this town of forty-five hundred? A. Yes.

REPUBLICAN ARMY RAIDS MALLOW BARRACKS

Q. What were the circumstances preceding the burning of Mallow? A. Well, on September 27th last, about ten o'clock—

Q. Senator Norris: This was 1920? A. Yes, 1920. The military barracks are situated at the end of a street called Emmet Street. It is at the western end of the town, and it is surrounded at one side by a number of small houses, and to the other there is a public park at the back of the barrack. On this particular morning, about ten o'clock, a number of men attacked the barracks,—the military barracks.

Q. Mr. Manly: Who were the attackers,—Irish Volunteers? A. They were Republicans.

Q. Members of the Irish Republican Army? A. Yes.

Q. Were they citizens of Mallow? A. No, they were men from the country.

Q. But to your personal knowledge, they were not residents of the town of Mallow? A. To my personal knowledge, no. There may have been one or two Mallow men in the actual raid. But to my knowledge in the actual raid on the barracks there was no person from Mallow, with the possible exception of one or two.

Q. Chairman Wood: Were they in uniform? A. No, the Republican forces haven't any uniform.

Q. Mr. Manly: What is the penalty for having a uniform? A. Well, if you have a uniform, you get anything from two years to five.

Q. Chairman Wood: This was not always the case, was it? A. Oh, no.

Q. From what date was the uniform proscribed? They used to parade in uniform, did they not? A. Yes, up to 1916.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Did you witness this raid on the barracks? A. No, I did not see it.

Q. But you were in the town at the time? A. Yes.

Q. About how many participated in the raid? A. About 30.

Q. Just how was this raid carried on? A. Well, they got into the barrack yard on a subterfuge, and they opened the barrack doors and held up the barrack.

Q. Mr. Manly: How was this raid carried out? A. Well, about 25 of them held up the barracks, and about 5 more kept a lookout and waited for them in automobiles. They did this while a number of the men were out with their horses exercising them outside of the town. So the raiding party surprised them and held them up and compelled them to hold up their hands, with the exception of five or six,—they were not in the barrack square at the time. These five or six ran out with rifles and revolvers and began firing, with the result that in the *mêlée* the sergeant-major, who wasn't in the barracks and who was out with the other men, he was shot, unfortunately.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was he shot dead? A. No, he lived for about three or four hours.

PURPOSE OF ATTACK TO GET ARMS

Q. Commissioner Howe: The attacking forces had arms, did they? A. Well, they had rifles and revolvers.

Q. Is this the way most of these attacks on barracks have been carried out,—they make their entrance quietly, and then they overpower the officers and make them hold up their hands, and they take away their arms? A. Well, I have no definite knowledge of other cases, but I believe it is.

Q. And in cases of attacks on barracks, there are very few people killed? A. Very seldom anybody killed.

Q. Why is that? A. Well, they carry out the thing so quickly that they have them overpowered before they have a chance to resist.

Q. Senator Norris: Well, what did they do with these men they captured? A. Well, they took all the arms they had on them, and all the arms in the barrack, and they sent out for a doctor and a priest for this man who was injured.

Q. They did not take them prisoner, then,—just held them up and took their arms away from them? A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: In other words, the whole purpose of the raid is to get arms and munitions for the Republican forces? A. Yes.

Q. Chairman Wood: Did they burn down the barrack? A. No.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was this sergeant-major firing on the attacking party? A. I could not say as to that, but I know the sergeant-

major did come out with a revolver in his hand, and he was shot down.

Q. So it was just a case of who shot first? A. Yes.

BARRACKS HEAVILY FORTIFIED

Q. Commissioner Howe: I would like to get a picture of these barracks. A. Well, they have sand-bags and barbed wire around them.

Q. Mr. Manly: Is it a stone building? A. Yes, it is a large stone building, all boarded up.

Q. Fortified? A. Yes, all the barracks in Ireland are heavily fortified.

POLICE MAKE THREATS AGAINST TOWN

Q. What were the results following the attack on this barrack? A. Well, when the Republican forces had got away, the doctor and the police came immediately to the barrack and took charge of the wounded man. And one of the men got a horse, and he galloped out at once for the rest, who had been out exercising their horses for the morning. And they galloped back to the town, and when they heard that their comrade had been shot, and their arms taken, they came riding up making threats to the town, with the result that the people of the town got very nervous.

Q. Did they do any shooting in the heat of anger when they knew their comrade had been shot? A. No, they did not.

Q. They did not shoot any in the town at that time? A. No, they did not. But everybody knew what was coming, from what had happened to other towns. So they took steps to board up their premises, and they took that zinc, as we call it in Ireland,—I don't know what you call it here.

Q. Galvanized iron? Corrugated iron?

COLONEL PLEDGES PROTECTION TO TOWN

A. Yes. They took corrugated iron and boarded up their premises, and a good deal of people left the town. But during the day, after it happened, the town got into a state of excitement; so much so that some of the men in the town went to the parish priest, who is an old man, the Canon Corbett. And he called on the Protestant rector of the town, who is a Canon Harmon. And they also called into consultation the Presbyterian minister in the town, a Reverend Mr. Baker, I believe. And the three of them went to the officer in command of the troops. Mallow is incorporated with the military district of Buttevant. Buttevant is about seven miles north of Mallow. The senior officer at Buttevant is in charge of the district

that Mallow is in. He and some officers came to Mallow by motor immediately to see what had happened. The three ministers of the town waited on this colonel, and they asked for protection of the town from any reprisals. The officer in charge of the troops gave a guarantee that no reprisals would take place.

Q. Major Newman: Do you know that officer's name? A. No, I don't know his name.

Q. But he was in command of that district? A. He was the colonel in charge of the troops in the district on the 27th of September last. He gave a guarantee to the Roman Catholic priest, to the Protestant rector, Canon Harmon, and to the Presbyterian minister, Reverend Mr. Baker, that no reprisals would take place. But he asked the clergymen to see that the people were off the streets by nine o'clock. The Canon,—Canon Corbett, who is my parish priest,—called me into consultation. I came from work about six o'clock that night,—I went to work about eleven and I came back about six. We patrolled the town together, and we got the people off the streets, and told them to confine themselves in their houses. I forgot to mention that the clergymen in consultation had also wired General MacReady, who was the commander of the forces in Ireland at the time, and who, I believe, is commander still.

Q. Mr. Manly: He is in Dublin, I believe. A. Yes. They wired him for protection to the town, but I understand they got no answer to their message.

THE SECRET AEROPLANE COMMUNICATION

Q. What else happened during the day that seemed to have connection with this matter? A. About four o'clock in the afternoon an aeroplane came from Fermoy. Fermoy is the second largest military station in Ireland. It is a town about sixteen miles east of Mallow.

Q. About the same distance from Mallow that Buttevant is? A. No, Buttevant is only seven miles. The other town is sixteen miles east. About four o'clock in the evening an aeroplane came from Fermoy to Mallow and dropped a communication into the barrack yard. After that it flew to Buttevant and dropped a communication there also, and then flew back to Fermoy. That is a thing that very seldom happens. We concluded in the town that it was some sort of agreement between the different forces.

Q. The military officer in command at Fermoy would be the superior of the officer at Buttevant? A. Oh, yes, he is, undoubtedly. The military officer in command at Fermoy would be a general. The military officer in command at Buttevant is only a colonel, a senior colonel.

Q. Then the officer at Fermoy would be in command of the

officer in Buttevant? A. Yes. Of course I cannot say what the communication was. The aeroplane simply came from Fermoy and dropped the communication at Mallow, and then dropped another one at Buttevant, and then flew back to Fermoy. But the coincidence is that about half-past ten a lorry of troops arrived in Mallow from Buttevant, and about five minutes after two motor lorries arrived with troops from Fermoy. Well, Fermoy is about sixteen miles east of Mallow, and Buttevant about seven miles north. And my reasoning is that they must have had some understanding to come so near together from those distances. At about the same time the troops in Mallow came out; not all of them came out, because the troops there had had some communication with the people, and their relationships, while I would not say were friendly, they were not enemies, either. About ten or twelve,—I should say a dozen of the fifty troops there came out.

LOOTING FOR LIQUOR BEGINS NIGHT OF TERROR

Q. Commissioner Thomas: You said awhile ago that two lorries of troops came from Fermoy and one from Buttevant. How many in these lorries? A. Well, I could not say exactly. About 25, I should say. The first thing they did was to fire revolver and rifle shots and scream and fire around the town. The first thing after that they did was to raid some of the public houses and loot them and get drink. And then they marched to the town hall, the seat of the town council.

TOWN HALL BURNED FIRST

Q. Mr. Manly: Will you describe the town hall? A. It was a very fine old building. The ground floor was let to a club, which was called the Social Club, and it paid a rent of about thirty pounds a year, I understand, to the council, for the use of the ground floor. This rent went to the reduction of the rates. The top floor was occupied by a caretaker. The middle floor was occupied by the council and the council offices. But about half of the middle floor was occupied by the county secretary, who would be a member of the county council, and who paid rent to the urban council. Well, this hall was attacked first. They attacked it by breaking in the main entrance. In the back of the hall, I should mention, there was a large public hall for entertainment.

Q. Mr. Manly: The town hall was a social center at which all the social activities of the town were carried on? A. Yes, dances were held there, and pictures, and dramatic companies held a show there. It was the only hall in the town that anything could be held in. It was a very large hall. It would hold about one thousand

people; a very large hall for the town of Mallow. It was a very big hall back of the town hall.

Q. Chairman Wood: This town hall was built of stone, was it?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. And about how old a building? A. About 150 years old, I should say,—a fine building built in a very substantial manner, and a distinct ornament to the town. The stairways of the hall and the doors and the ceilings, of course, were all timber. They were sprinkled all over with petrol, and some incendiary bombs thrown into it, and it was all set afire.

MILITARY SHOOT AT VOLUNTEER FIREMAN

Q. Any effort made to put out the fire? A. Some of us came down to try to put out the fire and get out the fire brigade, and they fired at us. I do not say they fired at us to kill us, but at least to frighten us out.

Q. Major Newman: Did you have a fire department in Mallow? A. No, not in our town. The firemen were all volunteers.

Q. And they were not permitted to put it out? A. No, they fired at us.

TEN PRIVATE HOUSES BURNED

And then after the town hall was afire, they set fire to ten private houses. One of the houses they attacked was kept by a man named Forde. They broke into his house first. And he had a clerk by the name of Corbett. And this young chap the military believed or had heard that he had made himself very prominent in Volunteer circles. They went up through the rooms before burning the house, and they drove their bayonets through all the beds in the house. Of course, the occupants of the house had gone out of it. The owner of the house, Mr. Forde, gave me a little tobacco box, which the morning before had been given to his child by a commercial traveller to play with. The child was playing in the bed with the box the night before. But the mother of the child and the child itself and the owner of the house and all his clerks had left the house. But the little box was in the bed the child was in. And after the fire that box was got; and the mark shows that the bayonet which went through this little child's bed went right through the tobacco box.

Q. Mr. Manly: Have you that box? A. I have it, and will bring it to the Commission this afternoon.

Q. Have you there the picture of the family and the statement of the father? A. Yes, I have.

Senator Norris: Suppose he goes on and gives the details of the fire.

Q. Mr. Manly: Well, this is the statement that deals with this particular instance. We can come back to it later. Just go ahead and tell about the fire, Mr. Dempsey, and we will come back to this again.

"LIKE DEMONS IN THE TOWN"

A. Well, they carried on and burned nine other houses in the same way in the town. And they frightened everybody out of their wits in the town. They carried on like demons in the town. Those of us who remained in the town did not think that human nature could descend to the depths that they did that night,—their wild yells and cries and the shooting and burning.

Q. Were these soldiers or Black-and-Tans? A. They were soldiers.

Q. Can you identify the regiment they belonged to? A. They belonged to the Seventeenth Lancers from Buttevant; we could not identify the men who came from Fermoy, because they had overcoats on. The only way we could identify those from Buttevant was that they have a distinct uniform, and they are the only cavalry regiment around Mallow.

Q. Chairman Wood: These were a cavalry regiment, then? A. Yes, a cavalry regiment.

Q. Did they have any officer with them? A. I could not say.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was there anybody in charge? A. Yes, there was somebody in charge, but I could not say whom.

Q. Senator Norris: What did they do in the town then? A. Well, they shot through practically every window in the town or broke it with their trench tools. They broke all the glass in the main street of the town. They broke in the shutters of the houses and destroyed them. In fact, it was the houses that were boarded up that they attacked first.

Q. And all those that were burned had been protected? A. Yes, with one exception.

ARSON CONVERTS UNIONIST TO REPUBLICANISM

Q. Could you tell us whether the houses that were burned were selected or taken indiscriminately? A. Well, I think they were taken indiscriminately, because one of the houses burned was the house of a Protestant and a Unionist.

Q. What was his name? A. Quaile. He is a Protestant and a Unionist, and a large business man.

Q. Chairman Wood: Did it convert him to Republicanism? A. Yes. I have a statement of it from him that I can read here.

Chairman Wood: We would like to hear about it.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Did they burn your house? A.

Well, I heard them calling from the street to know where the house of the Sinn Fein chairman of the council was. But fortunately they did not find out, although I was about thirty yards away from them at the time.

Q. You did not give them your address?

CONDENSED MILK FACTORY WANTONLY BURNED

A. No. And when they got through with the town, they proceeded to burn the condensed milk factory, which was about a quarter of a mile away.

Q. Chairman Wood: Why did not the R. I. C., who had lived in the town with you and knew where you lived and the rest of the people lived, tip them off? A. Well, I will come to that later. The condensed milk factory is about a quarter of a mile outside of the town. This condensed milk factory is the second largest in the country, and it employed five to six hundred people.

Q. Residents of Mallow, were they? A. All residents of Mallow. And I need not tell you gentlemen that in a town of the size of Mallow, any factory that employs five or six hundred people is the principal source of employment and the principal source of revenue in that town. The people actually lived on it. The men who worked there were heads of families, and all the wages from that factory were spent in that town. And so it was a great loss to the town.

When the soldiers proceeded to that factory, I and some of the other men of the town went through the town and called up any of the citizens who remained in the town, and called out the fire brigade, and tried as best we could to put out the fires.

Q. Chairman Wood: There were ten fires burning at once? A. Ten fires, yes, sir.

Q. Major Newman: That was when the soldiers had gone to the factory? A. They had gone to the factory by then, but they had not left the town. When some of the people saw us trying to put out the fire, they came out of their houses and tried to help us. We organized fire brigades and bucket brigades, and we broke connection between those houses that were burning and others that were not burning. And we were very fortunate, because none of the houses besides those that were burning were lost.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did they interfere with you in any way in putting out the fire? A. When they came back from the factory the men from Buttevant and Fermoy went back in their lorries, but the men from the town came on back very drunk, yelling and firing, and one of the men who was working to put out the fire was injured. Of course, there were so many shots fired that somebody was bound to get hit. I don't think they fired to kill us, but to frighten us away.

Q. Did they succeed? A. Well, some of the people went away, but not many of them.

Q. Were there any threats made? A. Yes. I myself happened to be holding a hose between Mr. Thompson's garage and another house. There was a house burning between, and we were trying to save the house that intervened. Myself and a chap named Baker in the town had hold of the nozzle of the hose, and were trying to put out the fire. One of these soldiers came over to us,—he was very drunk,—and he put a bayonet up to my chest and said he would drive it through me. But another soldier came up and pulled him away. I was very excited, and did not feel the danger I was in, and I told him to get on away, and turned the nozzle towards him. The other soldier said, "Leave him alone. He is only trying to put out the fire." He said, "But he would get me if he could." But they went away.

OFFICER TAKES DRUNKEN SOLDIERS TO BARRACKS

I forgot to say that the officer in charge of the Lancers came from the barracks after they went away, and told me he would give me all the assistance that he could. In fact, he did send for the military hose and the military screws, but owing to the difference between our screws and their screws, they did not fit. And he also gave me the guarantee that the military under his control would not hinder us in putting out the fires. After this threatening by this soldier, I called the attention of the officer to it, and told him, "I thought you said your men would not interfere with us. Some of our men have had narrow escapes from firing, and one of your men has threatened to drive his bayonet through me." He seemed to be very excited, but he practically said he had lost control over his men. "Damn it," he said, "they are all drunk." And I said, "Well, can you take your men out of here? We don't need any protection. We can take care of it ourselves." And so he did take his men away. He called them to form up and march to the barracks. And although it was a tragic affair, I had to laugh at the way they would form up. They were all very drunk, and they fell all over one another in their effort to line up. And on the way to the barracks they fired their revolvers in the air.

Q. Had this officer interfered while the attack on the town was taking place? A. No. I did not see him out, and nobody in Mallow saw him out until the factory was being attacked, when he came out to bring back his own men. But he did not interfere in any way with the troops from the other towns.

Q. Major Newman: Were these troops from the other towns also drunk? A. Well, some of them were, and some of them were absolutely sober.

FACTORY DESTROYED WITH GASOLINE AND BOMBS

Q. Senator Norris: What happened at the factory? A. Well, the factory was burned to the ground, so much so that about 400 people of the town were thrown out of employment at once.

Q. Mr. Manly: Do you know whether petrol was used in setting fire to the factory? A. Oh, yes. They used—what do you call them—pumps?

Q. Sprays? A. Yes, sprays. And they sprayed petrol on the factory and set fire to it. I forgot to mention that in the factory there were a couple of watchmen, and when they saw them coming (they uttered shouts and yells about Sinn Fein and Ireland, and were firing rifles and Mills bombs, and shooting into the air), well, of course, these two men did not stay in the factory. They skipped. But they stayed close enough to see what was taking place in the factory. A large amount of the factory is glass; and through the glass they saw them, under the electric lights, going through the factory spraying this petrol around.

Q. How did they set the factory afire,—did they use incendiary bombs? A. Oh, they used incendiary bombs on practically every house in town. They used incendiary bombs in the factory, too. They were very powerful, because they blew some of the machinery out.

INSURANCE COMPANIES REFUSE TO PAY FOR LOSSES

Q. Has any attempt been made to repair the factory? A. None.

Q. Has any compensation been paid for the loss of the factory? A. None. All the insurance companies say their policies do not cover such losses. The policies were ordinary insurance policies. The companies contended they did not include riot.

Q. Chairman Wood: Has that been taken into the courts yet, do you know? A. Well, I heard it was to be taken into the courts, but up to the present I know that none of the towns that have been burned have got any insurance.

ONLY OBJECT IN BURNING FACTORY TO DEPRIVE PEOPLE OF EMPLOYMENT

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Was the owner of this condensing factory a Republican? A. No.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was he identified in any way with politics, as far as you know? A. As far as I know he had the name of being a Unionist, but I do not know. He was a Protestant and a large employer of labor. And I might say that from the workers' point

of view and from the trade unions' point of view he is one of the most respected men in Ireland. He is the sort of man we want to live in Ireland. He lives in Ireland and gives work in Ireland and spends all his money in Ireland. He gives more employment in the south and west of Ireland than anybody else I know.

Q. Major Newman: He owns other factories in Ireland? A. Yes, all over the south and west of Ireland.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: He is on good terms with labor? A. Yes. There have been only very small disturbances in his factories. He was one of the first men to set up arbitration courts. The firm is the Cleeves Brothers. Practically all of their employees are very satisfied with their conditions.

Q. Senator Norris: Then the only object the soldiers could have in destroying that factory was to throw people out of employment? A. Yes, that was it.

Q. Mr. Manly: Do you know whether the owner of that factory has been knighted? A. Yes, one of the members of the firm is knighted,—Sir Thomas Cleeves.

COLONEL'S PLEDGE TO PROTECT TOWN OVER- RULED BY SUPERIOR AUTHORITIES

Q. What happened to the women and children while this was taking place? A. Well, some of them had left the town during the day. The shop-keeping class had left town and had gone to the country to friends of theirs. But the majority of the workers' wives and the workers' children stopped in the town. In fact, the Canon of the parish and the Protestant clergymen of the parish,—the Protestant rector and the Presbyterian minister and the prominent men in the town,—believed what the colonel had told them, that no reprisals would take place. And so we did our best to keep the people in the town. We believed that the officers would keep their promise; as gentlemen themselves we believed they would do it.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Did the clergymen interview this colonel after this event? A. They were in the inquiry that took place afterwards. Nobody would be let into that inquiry except the clergy and the people who actually had their houses burned, and one military officer who happened to be stopping in one of the local hotels. Any ordinary people could not get in. I myself, although I was chairman of the council and had been out all that night, and knew exactly what took place, I was not allowed in.

Q. Chairman Wood: This was a military hearing? A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Do you know whether the clergymen asked the military commander about what took place that night? A. Well, Canon Corbett, who is my parish priest, told me he did ask him, and he told him that it took place without his consent.

Q. Senator Norris: I suppose this order came from superior officers, and they had nothing to do but obey? A. Well, I could not say of my own knowledge, but that is the presumption.

Q. Mr. Manly: But three military lorry loads of soldiers, with petrol and sprays and bombs, could not come without orders from above, could they, and arrive at the same time from sixteen and seven miles distant? A. No.

MILITARY INQUIRY MAKES PUBLIC NO REPORT

Q. Senator Norris: What report did this inquiry make? A. None. It was a military inquiry.

Q. What report came from the authorities in England on this occasion? A. None whatever.

Q. What explanation did they make for the burning of this creamery? A. None.

Q. Chairman Wood: This is not a creamery in the ordinary sense,—it is a condensed milk factory? A. Yes.

TWO WOMEN DIE, OTHERS HYSTERICAL, FROM SHOCK OF TERROR AND EXPOSURE

Q. Mr. Manly: Where did the people go whose houses had been burned? A. Well, their friends in the town took them in. Those who were in the town when the military came into the town and started roaring and started firing and started throwing bombs,—you can understand the condition of the women and children in the town. They ran out of their houses in panic. They ran to the churches. They ran to the convent. Some of them, indeed, ran to the police barracks. And the R. I. C. men in the barracks actually did take in some of these women and children for shelter that night. Some of them in the immediate neighborhood of the fires ran into the cemeteries that are behind their houses.

Q. Did some of them spend the night in the graveyard? A. Yes. There is a graveyard immediately behind the Roman Catholic Church and behind the Protestant Church, and quite a number of women and children spent the night sitting on the grave stones—on the tombstones.

Q. Were there any injuries resulting from this exposure? A. Well, one woman, Mrs. Connolly, who had a baby about three days previous to this,—she had to get up out of bed with her baby, of course. She got up, with nervousness and shock, and took her baby and remained out in the graveyard with her baby all night, with the result that she got pneumonia and died two or three days after this. The baby is alive yet. Another old woman who went to the graveyard—

Q. What was her name? A. Mrs. Quirk. She got sick and lost her head, and died about a month afterwards. Another lady, one I know, had a baby about five days old. She went away from her own house, and went to a neighbor in another part of town where the fires were not burning; and providentially nothing happened to her, although she suffered from nervous shock for a long time afterwards.

Q. Did many of the people suffer from nervous shock after this? A. Oh, the women,—practically all the women. The next day most of the women in town were in hysterics and crying, all the next day. The state of the children was something fearful from this night of terror.

LOCAL COMMITTEE SEEKS TO RELIEVE SUFFERING FROM DESTITUTION CAUSED BY FIRE

Q. Commissioner Thomas: What conditions prevail in the town now? What do the people do with their surplus milk? What are the conditions of employment? A. Well, the conditions in the town are: there were, besides the men, a number of girls employed in this factory. There were about 200 men employed there. All the girls were let out at once, and about fifty men have been kept on to square up the debris and straighten out everything that would be of some use. A lot of these have been thrown out of employment since, because Mr. Cleeves could not start rebuilding unless he got some assurance from the insurance companies that he would get some compensation in case the place were burned. Because if a place is burned out once, it is very liable, if it is rebuilt, to be burned again.

Q. Chairman Wood: Has there been any suffering in Mallow? A. Yes; we did the best we could. We took up a collection to relieve the suffering in the town. It was about twelve hundred pounds when I went away. I happened to be on the committee through my position as chairman of the council. Some of the men, and women too, came under the insurance act. The men would get fifteen shillings a week and the women would get eleven shillings a week.

Q. That is war insurance? A. No, unemployment insurance.

Q. Commissioner Howe: That is being paid now? A. It will be paid for three months afterwards.

Q. By the British Government? A. Yes.

Q. Major Newman: They have an insurance policy? A. Yes, it is the insurance act of Lloyd George, where the employer pays a certain amount and the employee pays a certain amount, and the government pays a certain amount.

Q. Senator Norris: Then they are only getting what they have

paid for? A. Yes, they have paid for it. Well, we took up a collection of twelve hundred pounds, and we had a committee of twelve, of whom four were picked out as distributors, who distributed to the neediest families the amounts the committee could afford to give every week. According to the size of the family of the man, we gave a certain amount. Those who had small families got a small amount, and those who had large families got larger amounts to supplement the insurance. There were four men of the committee picked out who know the town. Two of them were the Catholic curates, Father Roach and Father Kelley. And we divided the town into four different wards or districts, and each of us took a district and went around the town every Saturday, either in the morning or in the evening, and gave those people what we could. I can tell the Commission that when we started to distribute what we could every Saturday, practically all these houses,—at least 95 per cent. of the houses that we went into in my portion of the town, they were nice, bright little homes; it would have done you good to go into them. Everyone seemed to take a pride in keeping their places as bright and nice as they could. Well, in six or eight weeks I have seen those homes destitute, and denuded of every bit of their furniture in order that they can give their children something to eat.

Q. Chairman Wood: Selling their furniture in order to live? A. Yes, selling their furniture in order to live; selling it below cost price.

Q. Selling it when they could get no market for it? A. Yes. Our own trades union, the members are paying five shillings a week for the town; and the farmers and the district around there are giving what they can. But because of the factory being burned, the people cannot afford to give. Every shopkeeper in the town and every merchant has lost the fifteen or sixteen hundred pounds wages paid out by the factory every week. That money is stopped, and the merchants are suffering too.

TERRORISM INTENSIFIES DETERMINATION FOR REPUBLIC

Q. Commissioner Addams: How do these people feel towards the Volunteers who picked out the barracks of Mallow for raiding? Do they ever reproach them for taking their town for a raid on the barracks instead of some other barracks for a thing of that sort?

A. Well, I will tell you. These people who have suffered, as well as other people whom I know, they do not love England, and never did; but since their homes have been destroyed and their places raided and their furniture has been broken and their place of em-

ployment has been burned up, that has intensified the hatred of England in their hearts more than anything else.

Q. Yes, but how do they feel towards the Irish Volunteers, who started things? A. Well, the majority of the people are Republican. And even though this reign of terror is going on in Ireland, the majority of the people are confirmed Republican, and they believe and they say it that the people must suffer. No country ever got her liberty without a certain amount of suffering. And we as Republicans,—the majority of the people in Ireland,—90 per cent. of the people in Ireland, I should say, will go on to the end, through any amount of suffering, until we get what you people here in America have got,—your liberty.

Q. Chairman Wood: That does not quite answer Miss Addams' question. Is there no murmuring against the Volunteers for having picked on Mallow?

Q. Commissioner Addams: Instead of Fermoy, for instance? A. Well, I could not justify myself here if I said there was no murmuring against it. You will get isolated cases where people will say, "Well, it isn't worth it." It would be ridiculous for me to say that there is absolutely no murmuring. But I would say that the vast majority of those people who have suffered—

Q. Senator Norris: Are willing to suffer more? A. They are willing to suffer more. They are willing to carry on.

Q. Chairman Wood: They regard this as an incident of war,—that they are taken, and some other village will be taken next? A. Yes, yes.

Q. Commissioner Addams: That the Republicans must have arms in some way? A. Yes, exactly.

Q. Mr. Manly: Are there more Republicans now in Mallow than before this took place? A. Yes, because at the time of the election we had only twelve men on our ticket. Seven of them were Nationalists. But practically every person in town is Republican now. The reign of terror, instead of breaking the spirit of the people, has intensified it.

RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION UNKNOWN IN MALLOW

Q. Chairman Wood: And that regardless of religion? A. Absolutely regardless of religion.

Q. Major Newman: Do the Protestant clergymen help you, Mr. Dempsey, in this relief work? A. Yes, indeed. We have got a large amount of money from Protestant people.

Q. Do the Protestant people help you in looking after those who need relief? A. Yes, they do. But of course the Protestant population in Mallow is very small, and there are no poor Protes-

tants in Mallow,—none who need relief. So the Protestant ministers left the distribution to us. But they have contributed money and helped us.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Do the Protestants and Catholics meet together and trade together in Mallow? A. Yes, indeed.

Q. Are there any discriminations at all? A. Oh, no. Some of our largest merchants in Mallow are Protestants. The man I was just telling you about, Mr. Quaile, the largest tailor in the town, is a Protestant. And the largest hardware store in Mallow is owned by a Mr. Burris, a Protestant. The Protestants are the largest business people in Mallow. This Mr. Burris, in fact, is the largest business man, and I should say undoubtedly the largest trader and richest man in Mallow. He has a lumber business there also.

Q. Commissioner Howe: There is no religious trouble in Mallow? A. None whatever.

Q. Mr. Manly: Has there ever been any religious trouble in Mallow? A. None whatever.

Q. Major Newman: Are these men Republicans now? A. Well, I would not say they were all Republicans, but I know that this Mr. Quaile is.

Q. Who? A. This Mr. Quaile, whose place was burned out. He is a Republican now. But this Mr. Burris has never taken much part in politics. He is a business man pure and simple.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: If Ireland were a Republic, this Mr. Burris would not be offended? A. No, not at all.

PEOPLE PAY FOR DAMAGE DONE BY TROOPS

Q. Mr. Manly: What was the damage done in Mallow by these raids? A. Over two hundred ninety-six thousand pounds. (Reading from paper): £296,273: 5: 0. Nearly £300,000.

Q. Can you just take the largest claims in that and tell us about them? A. Well, the Condensed Milk Company of Ireland is £150,000.

Q. Senator Norris: How have these claims been filed? A. They have been filed in the courts.

Q. How do the people expect to get paid? A. From the British Government, of course.

Q. Will the British Government pay these claims? A. I don't believe they will. They have not paid any of them yet.

Q. Well, is there a law by which such claims can be filed? A. There is, but the country is under martial law at present, and it would not do much good.

Q. Chairman Wood: But would not the damage be put on the rates any way? A. Yes, it would,

Q. So that your own community would have to pay for the damage done by the British troops? A. Yes, that is so, ordinarily.

Q. Mr. Manly: That comes under the Malicious Injuries Act?

A. Yes, any damage done, any malicious damage done in the town, has to be paid by the rates.

Q. Senator Norris: Those people have to pay for the damage done by the British troops? A. Yes.

Q. Chairman Wood: So that the Cleeves Brothers would have to pay for the loss of their own factory, since they are the largest taxpayers in the town? A. Yes, as the largest taxpayers in the town, they would.

FARCICAL DISCIPLINE

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Have you any reason to believe that there was any discipline whatever for any act on that night of terror?

A. I do not get your question, sir.

Q. Have the British Government disciplined any of the soldiers who took part in the destruction of property on that night of terror in Mallow? A. Well, I believe that after the inquiry into it, they gave some slight sentence to the man who drove the lorries, and they gave some slight sentence to the man who brought out the lorries without the consent of the officer in charge. But they said they could not prove that these men were engaged in any of the damage done.

Q. Chairman Wood: Where were these inquiries held? A. In Buttevant and Fermoy. And the only punishment given was that the men in charge of these lorries were given a few days' confinement to barracks for letting these lorries out without the permission of the officer in charge.

Q. Do I understand that any government would give this excuse for acts committed on such a scale by armed bodies of its own soldiers? A. I understand that that was the answer given in the House of Commons to a question about this raid.

Q. Major Newman: Was there any officer in charge of the troops? A. There seemed to be.

Q. Chairman Wood: There was some man in direction of the operations? A. Yes, there was—a big, tall man in a long overcoat, who seemed to be in charge. He would say, "Come on, boys. We will take this one now."

Q. Major Newman: Was he in an officer's uniform? A. Well, he had a long military overcoat over him.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT N. QUAILE

Q. Mr. Manly: Now, to come back to these statements in the two cases—those of Mr. Quaile and Mr. Forde.

A. The Witness (Reading): "Late Bank Place, Mallow." Bank

Place is one of the main streets of Mallow. Bank Place and Main Street were the two streets raided.

Q. Senator Norris: But I understood you to say that practically all the houses in town were raided. A. Well, practically the whole town is on one street—this long main street. And when the houses on that street were smashed, practically the whole town was wrecked.

Q. Chairman Wood: Was your house destroyed? A. No, I am out on the west end of the town. The people up around my house are mainly Unionists, and my house did not happen to be destroyed.

Q. There was some indication, then, that they were looking for Republicans? A. Well, they do not usually touch people who are in very respectable parts in Ireland; I mean to say people who live in large houses. Because the military believe that the people who live in large houses are mainly Unionists. That is not to say that they are right in that belief. But they do not touch large houses, fearing that they may burn out a Unionist.

Q. And when they do burn out a Unionist, it is a mistake, is it? A. Yes.

Chairman Wood: That is a poor joke.

The Witness (reading): "Late Bank Place, Mallow, 27th December, 1920."

Q. Late Bank Place? A. Yes, it was Bank Place, and it was destroyed. (Continues reading):

"In accordance with your request, I have pleasure in sending you herewith particulars of the damage suffered in my own case as a consequence of the reprisal raid made by the military on Mallow during the night of the 28th September last.

"That the raid was made by the military is, I think, beyond all dispute, as I was within a few yards of the incendiaries when my neighbor's house was fired, and also my own. A plentiful supply of petrol was used in each case; and immediately previous to being set on fire, revolver shots were fired through the windows of both houses. The men were dressed in khaki uniform and wore military caps.

"My whole premises were utterly demolished, and absolutely nothing could be saved from the dwelling house, which was situated over the shop, owing to the firing carried on in the street, which prevented any egress in that direction.

"Yours faithfully,
(Signed) "ROBERT N. QUAILLE."

The Witness: Then he follows by giving particulars:

"Estimated cost of rebuilding house.....	£3,500.
"Stock, fixtures, and shop fittings.....	2,485.
"Furniture and personal property.....	1,665.
"Consequential damage, including loss of business, and erection of temporary premises.....	500.
	<hr/>
	£8,150.

Q. Mr. Manly: This is all pounds? A. Yes, pounds sterling That is Mr. Quaille's. He was a Unionist and a Protestant, one of

the Protestant traders of Mallow. The Condensed Milk Company of Ireland looked for £150,000 of damages; Mr. Cornelius Forde, £10,000; Mrs. Ring, £2,000.

STORES LOOTED

Q. What was Mrs. Ring's? Was that a residence? A. About Mrs. Ring now. Her house was attacked. It was one of the last houses that was attacked before the factory was burned. As the soldiers went to the factory I and a few more young men from the back part of the town, we came to that house first, and we saved it before it was all burned. We saved quite a lot of stuff. Some stuff was looted by the military, by the way.

Q. Senator Norris: What kind of a store was it? A. A dry goods store. They looted it and took away some tweed and other stuff. While I am telling you about that, I must tell you about the jeweler's store. We have only one jeweler in Mallow. His store was also looted, but not burned. His windows and his doors were broken open by the butt ends of rifles. I have his statement here. About £700 of stuff taken. He was fortunate in that he took away most of his stock during the day; but there was about £700 of stuff taken as it was.

STATEMENT OF JOHN GEORGE WEEDLE

Q. Mr. Manly: Will you read his statement, please? A. The Witness (Reading):

"143 Bank Place, Mallow.

"On the night of the 27th September, 1920, my shop was entered by armed soldiers about 11:30 P. M. who, forcing the shutters with iron bars, smashed the plate-glass windows, shelves, mirrors, etc., and stock. Shortly after 12 another soldier entered and smashed the counter glass cases, and striking matches, put his hand into the case and took some goods. The shop was again entered about an hour later, also by military, and the remaining glass wall cases were smashed and goods damaged. This time they used a flash lamp, and going around the shop, took some more goods.

"The total loss amounts to £700, which includes £192 for goods missing. In clearing up the broken glass in window, I found a button belonging to the Lancer Regiment.

(Signed) "JOHN GEORGE WEEDLE."

The Witness: That is for goods actually missing. Of course, they broke all his shop fittings and the glass inside.

Q. Chairman Wood: Does this jeweler, do you know, show up in the community as opposed to the British Government? Why should they come three times to his store? A. No, he doesn't take any prominent part in politics. They simply wanted to loot his shop.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Is this same regiment still in Mallow?

A. No. This regiment was taken out of Mallow soon afterwards. I understand that they were sent to India.

Commissioner Thomas: There have been troubles in India recently. Perhaps their arrival there may account for it.

TOWN SAVED FROM DESTRUCTION BY FIRE BRIGADE

Q. Mr. Manly: Were these houses destroyed all in one row, or were they in different parts of the town? A. No, they were in different parts of the town.

Q. So that under ordinary circumstances the fire would have spread and destroyed the whole town? A. Yes, it would. If we had not gone out and put out the fire, the town would have been wiped out. In fact, we rather took pride in what we had done.

Chairman Wood: I well think you might be proud of it.

The Witness: You see, ours is only a volunteer brigade, and we took pride in the fact that we had done as well as we did.

Q. Chairman Wood: Have you another statement there from Mr. Forde?

Mr. Manly: We can let that go until after lunch, if you wish, and then he can bring that match box through which the bayonet was thrust.

Chairman Wood: Very well.

HELPED BY LOCAL POLICE AND BLACK-AND-TANS

Q. Commissioner Howe: I wanted to ask Mr. Dempsey why the R. I. C. and the other troops who lived in the town did not give you away. A. Well, I forgot to tell you—I was just going to mention a short time ago, that the R. I. C. and the four Black-and-Tans who were stationed in the barracks in Mallow did their best to help us put out the fire. It was the military pure and simple.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Four Black-and-Tans? A. Yes. They were ex-soldiers who had served in the army all during the war, or in the navy. They were among the best of the Black-and-Tans.

Q. Then the Black-and-Tans are not all alike? A. Not at all. They were better than most of them.

Q. Senator Norris: Then some of them are very decent fellows? A. Yes, they are.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND RELIEF INADEQUATE FOR FAMILY NEEDS

Major Newman: Mr. Dempsey, I want to ask you about this insurance for the people who are out of employment. A. Well, the

men are receiving 15 shillings a week, and the women are receiving 11 shillings. I don't know what that would be at the rate of exchange.

Mr. Manly: Around \$2.75 to \$3 a week.

Q. That applies only to those who have policies? A. It would not include everybody in the factory, but it would include a good deal.

Q. It applied only to those who had paid on their policies? A. Yes, only to those.

Q. What I want to know is to what extent that exists in other parts of Ireland. A. It applies pretty generally in the factory towns, I should say.

Q. Senator Norris: How long does this last? A. Only for three months.

Q. Chairman Wood: If it only lasts for three months, it is over now. And how is it supported now? A. By volunteer contributions from the workers. The workers put a tax upon themselves.

Q. Well, the eighteen hundred pounds that you said you raised, is that exhausted? A. Well, it was not exhausted at the time I went away. We had a couple of hundred of pounds left. And some money is coming on all the time. But unless we get outside help, it cannot last.

Q. But the description you gave of the denuded premises show that the people are trying to help themselves, and are making every effort to supply their own needs. A. Yes, they are. I need not tell you that the cost of living in Ireland is very high. These people, some of them, are getting 15 shillings a week on their unemployment policies, and some of them are getting 10 shillings a week from us. That would be 25 shillings. To get 10 shillings from us they would have to have 4 children or over. And 25 shillings will not provide enough for a family of that size to live on.

FOOD AVAILABLE FOR THOSE WITH MONEY

Q. Chairman Wood: Is there food there for them to buy if they do have the money? A. Well, of course, in some places in Ireland much food has been destroyed; but we are lucky around Mallow. The food is there if they can buy it.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Can you give us an idea of the prices? A. Well, tea is 4 shillings a pound; sugar, ten pence a pound; and the price of meat would be about two-and-six-pence a pound.

Q. Mr. Manly: What kind of meat would that be? A. Ordinary meat—beef steaks and the like.

FARMERS MUST SELL CATTLE OR SHIP MILK

Q. What is the condition of the farmers around in that district who supplied milk to the condensery? A. Well, quite a lot of the farmers in the district have had to sell their cattle off, but there are a number of them who are taking their milk to the small creameries in the neighborhood. And Cleeves has sent a lorry around to get milk for a small creamery at Kanturk, which is a small town about 12 miles from Mallow.

Q. Chairman Wood: Is there enough milk produced near the town to supply the people there? A. Well, in the town there are dairy farms, and these people have always supplied the milk for the town. They have always supplied it, and do so now.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Do the people buy their bread, or do they bake it themselves? A. They bake it themselves.

Q. Do they bake it in stoves or ovens? A. They have little ovens, and they bake it in that.

Chairman Wood: The Commission will adjourn until after lunch. (12:25 p. m.)

2:10 P. M.

Chairman Wood: The Commission will convene again, please, and Mr. Dempsey is going to continue to tell us some more about the situation in Mallow.

STATEMENT OF CORNELIUS FORDE

Mr. Basil M. Manly: Shall we take up first the individual case of Mr. Forde and the box?

Chairman Wood: Oh, yes.

Q. Mr. Manly: Will you relate the incident, Mr. Dempsey? A. Mr. Forde had a very large dry goods store in the town of Mallow, and his place was the second place in Mallow that was attacked. The town hall was the first place.

Q. What was Mr. Forde's politics? A. Well, Mr. Forde did not interfere much in politics. He is what is called a sympathetic Sinn Feiner.

Q. Was he a member of any active political organization? A. No, he was not.

Q. Senator Norris: He was rather passive and peaceful? A. I beg your pardon.

Q. He rather leaned toward peace? A. Well, he was a Republican in this sense: he favored the Republic, but I have never known him to be an active member of or connected with any Republican organization. He was a business man pure and simple. If you like, I can give you his statement.

Chairman Wood: If you please.

The Witness (Reading):

"My house was broken into by armed forces in uniform on September 27th at 11:15 P. M. The door was broken in by the butts of rifles, and all the beds in the house, including the children's, were bayoneted. This was seen from the two adjoining houses. And we give you the further accompanying proof in the little tin tobacco box, which is perforated with a bayonet thrust. This box was given in bed to the child Sheila, aged 11 months, to play with while her mother dressed to leave the town; and we afterwards found the box in the debris. You will note where the clasp of the bayonet also left a dent in the box, establishing beyond question that it is a bayonet thrust.

"Established in business only six years, and having no other means of a livelihood, I am thrown absolutely penniless with my wife and two children. All we possessed was in our warehouse in goods.

"After searching my house, tins of gasoline were poured on the goods, and the place was set on fire. Local assistance got the fire under control, and when it looked as if the top part of the premises would be saved, the local fire brigade were fired on, with the result that the fire caught hold again, and everything myself and family had was lost,—absolutely nothing saved. (The Witness: That was the first time that we were fired upon, and had to clear out.)

"I hereby declare I was never connected with any political society and was not connected in any way with Sinn Fein or other societies. I do not know why I should be burned. There was nothing against me whatever.

(Signed) "CORNELIUS FORDE,
"65 Main Street, Mallow, Ireland,
"December 28, 1920."

The Witness: He employed 16 hands, and these are all now out of work except five, who got work in other places. This is a photograph of his wife and two children, and it says, "Thomas Forde, aged three and a half years, and Sheila Forde, aged eleven months." Sheila Forde was the little girl in whose bed the tobacco box was put for her to play with when her mother was dressing to leave town on the day of the raid.

Q. Mr. Manly (indicating box): That was the box that was given you by Mr. Forde? A. Yes. Just pass it around. (The exhibit is inspected by the Commission).

BEDS BAYONETED FOR SHEER VANDALISM

Q. Chairman Wood: Is it the idea that the bayoneting of the bed was to bayonet people, or to search the beds for arms? A. Well, I don't believe myself that they thought a child was in the bed. God knows they have sent enough people to death, but I don't think they would go that far. But I do think they bayoneted the bed to destroy everything they could.

Q. Well, of course, they might bayonet the bed if they were looking for revolvers. A. Well, I don't think they would be foolish enough to hunt for revolvers with bayonets. Revolvers are usually handled more careful than that.

Q. Mr. Manly: What time did that take place? Was it after dark? A. Yes, 11 o'clock.

Q. Do you know, from the accounts of the neighbors who saw

this, that the house was well lighted while this was going on? A. It was well lighted, because they were seen from other houses going through the house. Mr. Forde's house is on a very narrow street, and people saw them going through the house. In fact, a young chap named Sheehan did see them go through the house bayoneting different things.

RAIDERS IN UNIFORM OF ENGLISH FORCES

Q. Chairman Wood: I was interested by Mr. Forde's statement that they were in uniform. How much of the uniform could he see?

A. He could see that they were in the uniform of the English armed forces. He saw that much. I saw them myself.

Q. Senator Norris: Well, I suppose he was in the house when they came in. A. No, he was not. He was one of those who left the house and left the town with his wife and children. My own opinion is that some of the men who left the town had a right to stop in town.

Q. You mean that they ought not to have gone? A. I believe, of course, I may be wrong in my belief, but I believe that if anybody comes in to break up or blow up the town, that the men in the town should do their best to protect the town. Of course, I don't think that any man should go out and fight when he has no arms. But even at the risk of death, I do think a man should do the best he can to protect his own home and his own town.

Q. Chairman Wood: Any further questions that we want to ask Mr. Dempsey?

WILFUL MURDER OF DISABLED EX-SOLDIER

Q. Mr. Manly: Are there any matters that we have overlooked, Mr. Dempsey? Have there been any more recent occurrences?

A. Yes. About ten or eleven days afterwards. Of course, the day after the burning of the town and the shooting of the soldier and the attack on the barracks—and I might mention in regard to the attack on the barracks that it was not a mere raid—it was a perfectly legal act of war. Both sides took their chances, and they got the enemy at the weakest possible time there—they took their chances that any side in war would naturally take. Curfew was put on the town about two days after the attack on the barracks. After ten or eleven days—about the seventh or eighth of October, I believe, behind the military barracks in Mallow there is a public park. This public park was appropriated by the council of the town for the benefit of the townspeople as a sort of sports field and general walk for the townspeople. It is situated in a very nice position. It is just on the banks of the Black Water, which flows through the town of Mallow. The people walk there in the summer time. The river

there is very shallow, and the children play along the banks of the river. The town park was not put outside of military bounds in any way, and the people of the town used to walk down to this park every day. And it was a sort of short cut from the southern end of the town to the western end of the town. But this particular morning a man named Turner, who had served through five years of the war and who came out of it wounded—not badly wounded, but who had a pension from the British Government; he stopped in the eastern end of the town, and he was coming to the western end of the town where the town clerk lives.

Q. Senator Norris: Was he a soldier? A. No, he was out of the army.

Q. Pensioned? A. Yes; he was coming from his home to where the town clerk lives.

Q. He was a citizen of the town? A. Yes, he was. He was going up to the town clerk with some papers in connection with his discharge. As well as being the town clerk, the clerk has something to do in connection with the labor exchange and pensions, and his papers had to go through him. He was making a short cut through the park. It was in the morning, about ten o'clock. There was nobody else in the park except a railroad man, who happened to be having a walk along the river too. When they came in line with the barracks this morning, this man was shot at. The first shot missed him. He was about five hundred yards from the barracks at the time. The second shot hit him, and he fell. The railroad man, who was about 15 yards away from him, saw the man, and he heard the shots, and saw the sentry in the act of firing from the barracks walls about five hundred yards from where the man was shot. The railroad man himself got nervous, and the bank along the river—he was walking along the bank—was a bit high in this place. And he thought, when he saw this man fall, that the next thing they would do would be to fire at him. So he ducked down behind the bank, and he saw the sentry come down from the barracks, and come down as far as the man who had been shot. This sentry looked at him, and he called to the barracks,—he signaled to the barracks for assistance. They brought down a stretcher and they took the man back to the barracks. He was badly wounded—a bullet wound right through the stomach. And he died three days afterwards. This railroad man, when he saw them carrying him away, ran for a priest and a doctor.

WANTON FIRING ON UNARMED TOWNSPEOPLE

Before they carried him away, soldiers came down to look at him. While the soldiers were looking at him, he went for the priest and the doctor. And the priest and doctor had arrived in the park be-

fore the man was actually carried to the barracks by the military. But when the shots were heard, and the priest and doctor were seen running towards the park, quite a number of the townspeople gathered in the other end of the park to see what was wrong. The military came out, and they fired at the people in the park. I do not say they fired to kill them, because none of them were shot, but they fired as a matter of terrorism pure and simple. Meantime, they took him to the barracks, where the wounds were tended to, and then they took him to the Cork Military Hospital, where he died three days afterwards.

BROTHER'S ONLY SATISFACTION A THREAT

This man's brother, Turner, who had served all through the war, and who had distinguished himself in the battle of Jutland (how much the English forces distinguished themselves there, I don't know), but he distinguished himself in some way or other, and got a medal. And he went to the officer of the barracks and asked him why they fired on his brother, and the officer answered him, "It was a good job that you were not there, too, or you would have got something also." And the brother said, "It serves us right, my brother and me too, for fighting for England." That conversation I heard from the brother about ten minutes after it happened.

GOVERNMENT'S SOLE EXCUSE A FALSEHOOD

Q. Mr. Manly: Was any inquiry made—any explanation? A. They did. They held an inquiry into it. There was a question in the House of Commons, and the answer to the question was that the barracks was being attacked, and they fired in self-defense. Well, the barracks was being attacked by a man who had been coming through the park with his discharge papers, and he attacked the barracks by being fired at.

Q. Could you give the name of the railroad man? A. His name is Wright.

Chairman Wood: Unless there is some other question, we are very much obliged to you for coming to us, Mr. Dempsey, with this very interesting story that you have given us.

AN EYE-WITNESS OF EVENTS IN MALLOW

Q. Mr. Manly: Are there any further instances, Mr. Dempsey? A. Well, I don't know of any. If Miss Addams or any of the gentlemen would wish to ask me questions, I should be very happy to give you anything that I can give. I may state that all that I have given in evidence here I have been practically a witness of myself. I have been on the grounds myself in Mallow.

Q. Senator Norris: In all the instances in your testimony where you have not been a witness yourself, where what you have told has been given to you, if you have got it from somebody else, have you indicated each time the source of your information, like this last story that this soldier's brother told you? A. Yes, I have. That soldier's brother told me that himself. And the other things I have witnessed myself. I was there all through the burning. And when I was not there, my mother-in-law and my family were there. And every other answer I have given, I have given as I heard it from the people themselves.

WAR ON A DEFENSELESS TOWN

Q. Commissioner Maurer: I want to ask you a question. On the night that the town was wrecked and the town hall was burned, how many soldiers came in at that time? A. Approximately about 90.

Q. And the population of the town is what? A. About 4,500.

Q. It means that there would be about 1,000 or 2,000 men and boys in the town. A. There would be about 2,000, yes.

Q. It is very evident that you are not armed. A. Of course we are not.

Q. I should think you could beat such a mob up. A. Well, if the townspeople had been armed, they would not have allowed the town to be burned up.

Q. There you were, an unarmed people living peacefully in your own town, and an army of 90 armed men came in and made war on you. A. That is the situation, exactly. That is the situation as it was on the night of the 27th of September. I was there, and saw the whole thing myself.

Q. I suppose ten armed men could have done the same damage. A. Yes, they could, exactly.

Q. Ten armed men, who had the full power of the Government back of them to commit damage indiscriminately on a defenseless people, could have done the same thing. A. Ninety men, I might say, came in with all the modern utensils of war. And they had ten to fourteen from the barracks of Mallow. There was something more than a hundred of them.

Q. Senator Norris: When you say 90 men, you mean the men who came in these lorries? A. Yes, exactly. There are about 30 men to a lorry.

Q. How were they armed? A. Well, they were armed with rifles, bombs, revolvers, bayonets, petrol, and all the modern implements of war.

OUTRAGES EMBITTER PEOPLE AGAINST SOLDIERS

Q. Chairman Wood. Has there been any change in the relationships of the townspeople with the soldiers since this happened?

A. Of course there has been. Before this a lot of the people were friendly to them. A lot of them, until it came home to themselves, hardly believed the stories told about the soldiers in other towns. Then they saw what happened in Mallow. Some of the people who were burned out, their sympathies were all the other way. For instance, that Protestant and Unionist, Mr. Quaile, his sympathies were all against us. Well, his house and his whole place of business was burned out for nothing at all.

LOCAL POLICE DO NOT ATTACK TOWN

Q. You say that some of them behaved very well about aiding with the extinction of the fire, and with helping the women and children find shelter? A. Yes, the local police force did. A good deal of the women and children of the town ran to the barracks for shelter, and got it there. And some of the local police force came out with the Black-and-Tans who were there and helped us control the fire. We are very lucky in Mallow, because we have only four Black-and-Tans stationed in the town. That is due to the fact that we have got a military barrack in the district. It is only in towns and villages where there is a military barrack that they are not sending the auxiliaries and the Black-and-Tans. The four men that we got there, I believe, are different from the ordinary Black-and-Tans, for on that night they did all they could to help us save the town.

Q. Chairman Wood: They have some human characteristics, in other words? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Senator Norris: You say these men were drunk. Were they drunk when they came, or did they get drunk after they came? A. They got drunk after they came. They confiscated all the drink they could find in the town.

Senator Norris: Well, they wanted to destroy the liquor. They made themselves prohibition enforcement officers. What they could not drink they destroyed.

Q. Mr. Manly: But it is a fact that of the forty or fifty soldiers stationed there, only twelve or fourteen came out and took part? A. Yes.

Q. So it was not the people who were in the barrack when it was attacked who participated in the burning that night? A. Yes, the local lancers did not participate in the attack.

Q. In other words, the men who were attacked did not take part in the raids? A. That is right.

Q. Chairman Wood: This Lancer regiment has been sent off since then? A. Yes.

Q. And the same R. I. C.'s and Black-and-Tans are there now?

A. They have been increased since then.

MARAUDING BLACK-AND-TANS VICTIMIZE MALLOW MERCHANTS

Q. Has there been increased friction there since this occurrence?

A. Yes, there has been. Lorries loaded with Black-and-Tans have come into the town since then. I have seen two instances of it myself. I was coming home from work one evening, and outside of the police barracks were about 7 or 8 empty lorries. I learned that they had been full of Black-and-Tans, and they had gone into practically every shop in the town and had demanded food and drink, and got food and drink, and when they were going away they refused to pay for it and said, "Foot the bill to de Valera."

ALL FIREARMS ABSOLUTELY PROHIBITED

Q. Commissioner Howe: Do the hardware stores in towns like that carry guns and ammunition? A. They are not allowed to.

Q. No guns or ammunition of any kind? A. No, they are not allowed to sell guns or ammunition or anything like that.

Q. Mr. Manly: How long has that been true? A. Well, they were allowed to sell cartridges for shooting wild ducks and game of that sort up to about two years ago. But after that it has been done away with.

Q. So it is impossible for an Irishman to buy firearms of any sort now? A. No, sir.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: But how about an Irishman going over to England and buying them over there? They are allowed to sell them over there, are they not? A. You could, but you would be caught with them coming over, and they would be taken away from you. Under the present martial law regime, if you are caught with a rifle or a revolver you will be shot.

PEOPLE DISARMED, THEN WARRED UPON

Q. As I understand the situation in Ireland, the people of Ireland have been by decree of law disarmed, and after being without any means of protection, then an army of a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand men has been sent in there to make war on them. Is that the impression that you get? A. That is the condition in Mallow. That was the condition there on the night of September 27.

Q. Chairman Wood: Except that there are not a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, are there? ¹ A. No, there are about one hundred thousand there now, as nearly as we can judge.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Well, it doesn't require much courage to be a soldier under those conditions, does it? A. No, sir.

IRELAND READY TO GIVE EVIDENCE BEFORE WORLD

Before I finish, I would just like to thank you for your patient hearing. And I hope that the great people of America will deserve the blessing of Ireland. We are prepared to give our evidence straight before any court, any commission, or any people in the world. The facts are there. The facts of Mallow, as I gave them to you, are true. And the facts in other parts of Ireland are the same as I have given them to you. And we are not afraid to face any audience in the world with the evidence I have given you.

Q. Mr. Manly: Mr. Dempsey, will you leave the records with the Commission that you have read here? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Chairman Wood: Are those records filed with the council?
A. Yes, filed with the clerk of the council of which I am the chairman.

The Commission: Thank you very much, Mr. Dempsey.
(The witness was thereupon excused.)

* * * * *

TESTIMONY OF MR. J. L. FAWSITT

Chairman Wood: Mr. Fawsitt, will you take the stand, please, sir?
(Witness takes stand.)

Q. Chairman Wood: Mr. Fawsitt, it is very good of you to come down and talk to us. First of all, will you state your name and residence, and the official position you hold, for our record? A. Yes, sir. J. L. Fawsitt. I am from Cork City, Ireland. I am in this country as Consul-General, representing the interests of the Republican Government of Ireland.

Q. And your American residence? A. 119 Nassau Street, New York. In Ireland I occupied the position analogous to that of a secretary to one of your chambers of commerce. For the past seventeen years I have been associated with the work for the industrial development of Ireland. That has been my study and my sole occupation in that time.

Q. We should be very glad, sir, if you would give us something of the background and the economic conditions in Ireland, we will

¹ Mr. Arthur Griffith's estimate of the minimum number of British forces in Ireland is 150,000 men. See evidence, p. 148. The number lately has been largely increased.

say, prior to the recent development of your Government there. And then sketch for us, if you will, the outline of the Government as it has grown up.

CATTLE DISPLACE HUMAN BEINGS IN IRELAND

Commissioner Howe: Would you mind going back, in your beginning at least,—I don't mean to suggest that you should devote any more time to it than you want—but back to the time of the Hungry Forties? I am particularly interested in the economic changes in Ireland that came in prior to the Land Purchase Acts and other activities. A. The industrial position of Ireland in the period prior to the establishment of the Republican Government might be summed up as one of stagnation somewhat. We were a people who had fallen from over 8,000,000 to just slightly over 4,000,000, and that in a period of roughly seventy years. Those seventy years were years of peace, comparative peace in Europe. In those seventy years there was no war, as we understand war today, in Ireland. What I want to bring out is that, in a period of peace, the population of Ireland fell from more than 8,000,000 to slightly over 4,000,000. We lost in that seventy years as many people as we have in Ireland today. In that time every other subject nation in Europe increased in population. The general condition of the economic life of the country was this: agriculture was our main industry, yet we were abandoning tillage; we were growing less and less foodstuffs in the country; and we were coming to rely more and more on the harvests of foreign nations. Instead of producing food to sustain our own people, we were growing grass to raise live stock. Cattle displaced human beings. Small holdings gave way before large grass ranches. Where a hundred families found a means of sustenance, they were replaced by a herd and a dog.

CATTLE-RAISING IMPOVERISHES IRELAND FOR ENGLAND'S ENRICHMENT

That industry of cattle-raising was an uneconomic one. We did not finish our cattle in Ireland. We merely produced them to what is known as the store stage. We shipped in round numbers a million head of them every year out of Ireland in that unfinished state. I am talking of cattle. In addition, we had a large export of sheep and hogs. But every year we exported about a million head of cattle on the hoof to England. Those beasts were not fattened in Ireland. They were brought to a certain stage, and then they were shipped. They took with them the richness of the soil of Ireland. Only in the fattening stage do beasts return to the soil the richness which they consume in their growing state. In addition, they took with them valuable raw materials, all of which, if retained

in Ireland, would be profitable sources of employment and wealth for the Irish people. Every beast that left Ireland on the hoof was a loss to Ireland. That will be understandable when I say that the hide of the beasts is very valuable as the raw material for a large leather industry. And you can conceive what a very large and profitable leather industry we would have in Ireland if those hides were kept in Ireland. In addition, we lost the hoofs and horns. And then the cattle did not fetch as much in the English markets as they would if they had been finished and slaughtered in Ireland and their meats exported. More and more through the agricultural policy of the British Government, this particular traffic in unfinished cattle was fostered and increased. The Department of Agriculture under the British Crown in Ireland had a prize scheme. They brought certain breeding animals into Ireland, non-dairying strains, and they offered prizes for the best store cattle that could be raised from these, and in that way they fostered this particular trade. It suited English conditions, and that was why this particular industry was fostered in Ireland. The cattle raisers in England bought the Irish live stock, fattened and slaughtered the animals in the course of a few months, and put the meat on the market as prime English beef. The hides and hoofs were then available in England as valuable sources of employment for the British people.

ABSENTEE LANDLORD SYSTEM PROMOTED CATTLE-RAISING

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I interrupt, Mr. Consul, to ask how such an uneconomic condition was brought about? Were your absentee landlords responsible, or was it the British Government?

A. The absentee landlords were in a sense responsible, inasmuch as the tenant had to have the rent for the landlord on the gale day, and naturally he had to produce something that would give him a speedy return.

Q. Were there any cases in which landlords dispossessed small farmers in order to have their lands for grass production? A. That has been historically demonstrated, sir; particularly in the midlands of Ireland, where the large holdings were made into grass ranches, and tillage farms were broken up.

Q. Was there a change in the landlord policy after the famine, say, in '46 or '47? A. No, sir. The landlord as a class was not interested in what was produced. He was merely interested in getting his rents. And those rents, revenues from Ireland, were sent across to England or wherever the landlord happened to be. They did not come back to Ireland again. We are to this day exporting our revenue in another form. But I will come to that later.

Q. Chairman Wood: Of course that was a short-sighted policy. The tenant put his own labor back into the land. A. Yes, but his

position was this: If he increased the value of his holding, his rent was increased. And the more wretched his holding was, the less his annual rental would be.

ENGLAND'S DEMAND FOR CHEAP MEAT PREVENTS DEVELOPMENT OF TILLAGE IN IRELAND

Q. Senator Norris: What was to hinder the tenant, if he wanted to, to raise something else besides cattle, if the landlords would let him do it? A. There was this also, sir. Under free trade conditions were different in Ireland from what they were in England. We were a pastoral, an agricultural people, and they were an industrial people. They wanted cheap foods. They wanted to draw on Ireland and on this country and other countries for their food supplies. The shipping competition across the ocean and other factors brought freight rates down to the point where it was not financially profitable for the Irish farmer to maintain his holding in tillage.

Q. Would not that be true of cattle? A. No, sir. England has maintained a very high reputation for the health of her live stock, and Ireland was the only country that was permitted to ship live cattle into England.

Q. Well, I should think that would help Ireland. A. Yes, in a certain sense. We had almost a monopoly of the trade. But the cattle industry is profitable only in a certain stage of the industry, and our economic condition did not allow us to keep them that long.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: What prevented you from keeping cattle in Ireland? Did you not have the food? A. Partly that, and partly because we could not get the credit to enable us to hold and fatten them until they were more valuable.

Q. Did they have food for them in England? A. Yes, they imported the food.

Q. Senator Norris: Why did not you do that in Ireland? A. Perhaps it was due to lack of enterprise on our part. But we are dealing with a condition of 70 years back.

CHANGE FROM TILLAGE TO GRAZING CUTS POPULATION

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Do I understand that there is a close connection between your loss in population and the change from a tillage to a grazing country? A. There is. But it is not so close a connection as that between the decrease in our wealth and the loss of our population.

Q. Is it fair to say that that is a consequence rather than a cause? The country that loses so much of its population as did Ireland must be very weak from a biological standpoint. A. Yes, sir. And not only that, but we were living in Ireland under a penal

code. For instance, Catholics were debarred in Ireland from going into industrial pursuits.

IRISH RAILROADS BUILT FOR STRATEGIC PURPOSES AND NOT TO DEVELOP COUNTRY

Q. Mr. Consul, I take it that the period of which we are speaking is the period of railroad development in England. Who controlled the railroads in Ireland, and where did the capital come from? A. The railroads in Ireland, if you will look at that map before you, were laid out for purely strategic purposes. They were not laid out to develop the country. There were several main lines laid out from Dublin in the east, to Cork, to Galway, and to Belfast in the north. And it was not until the last few years that branch or link lines have been laid out.

Q. Were these railroads controlled by the English Government? A. The directors of the railroads before the war were largely Irish, and the stock was held largely in Ireland. But since and during the period of the war, the English Government took over the railroads, and is today holding them.

Q. Chairman Wood: But you say the capital of these railroads was largely Irish? A. Yes, it was and is held largely in Ireland. But the Great Northern and Great Western Railroads are tied up very largely with English railroad companies.

THROUGH RATE SYSTEM HAMPERS IRISH DEVELOPMENT

There was another feature that militated against industrial development in Ireland, and that was what was known as through rates, under which it would be cheaper to send goods from Cork to London or Glasgow than it would be to send goods from Cork to Derry. And that works today against the development of Ireland.

Q. Senator Norris: You could ship goods over to England, then, cheaper than you could from one place to another in Ireland? A. Yes. I am talking about railroad transportation, sir. It would be cheaper to send goods by rail and sea from Cork to London than it would be to ship by rail from Cork to Derry.

Q. Now, if you were shipping goods today over to England, would it be cheaper to ship them on the railroads or by boat? A. How do you mean, sir; from Cork or Dublin?

Q. Yes, Cork is a water town. A. Well, take an inland town, say, Athlone.

Q. Yes. Now, to ship it from Athlone to England through Dublin? A. Yes, sir. It would be cheaper to ship goods from Athlone straight through Dublin to London than it would be to forward goods from Athlone to Dublin.

Senator Norris: That is what I am getting at.

The Witness: That is the situation. You have some such situation here in this country, I understand.

ENGLAND MAINTAINS WAR-TIME RESTRICTIONS ON IRISH INDUSTRIES

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Was there any repressive legislation enacted during the war? A. During the war there were war-time measures passed by the English Parliament which were repressive to Irish industries. Certain of these laws remain in force to this day. For instance, it is not permitted to ship hides out of Ireland now except by special license. There were export restrictions on shipments from Ireland. Ireland had not a free market for her products, and control was maintained on selling prices and shipments.

Q. Chairman Wood: Who does that, the Food Controller? A. The Food Controller of the English Government.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Would it be true to say that before the war the hold of England was kept on Ireland by way of discriminatory legislation against certain of your industries, so that you could not obtain the capital you needed to develop your interests? A. That would be true, sir; but it would be more true to say that the presence of a foreign government and the absence of a national government really interested in the country is responsible for the lack of investment of capital in Ireland.

ULSTER NOT WEALTHIEST IRISH PROVINCE

Q. The reason I am asking these questions now, Mr. Consul, is that, you will remember, the Ulster delegation that visited this country a few months ago said that the decline in population was not because of the Act of Union, because immediately following the Act of Union the population increased. It was due to the famine, which in turn was due to the failure of the potato crop; and that, of course, was due to the Irish people, and not the British Government. They say that Ulster is the wealthiest province in Ireland, and there British influence is strongest. A. That is the argument, indeed. But it is not true to say that Ulster is the most prosperous province in Ireland. It is demonstrable that the Province of Ulster is far less wealthy from the material point of view than is the Province of Leinster. Ulster has lost proportionately as much of her population by emigration as any other province in Ireland. It is not true to say that all the wealth of Ireland is cornered up in the northeast of Ireland. Belfast—and we are all

proud of Belfast—is a very large industrial city with important industries, such as shipyards, rope works, linen mills, tobacco works. But if we will take any one of these industries alone and compare it with the industries in the south of Ireland, we will get a better comparative idea of the relative values of these industries than if we consider separately the industries in the north of Ireland. Let us take the shipbuilding industry. Last year the return made to the shipyard companies from the industry was about \$60,000,000. Let us take the egg and poultry industry of the south. That brought into Ireland about a hundred million dollars. Now, let us take the other side of the account. Those shipbuilders in Belfast had to import all their steel and practically everything that goes into the ship, with the exception of the labor that they employ in the yards. There was a contra-account to that \$60,000,000 which they made.

Q. Major Newman: The \$60,000,000 was gross, then? A. Yes, sir. Let us take the contra side of the poultry industry account. I would say that not 3 per cent. of what goes into feeding the poultry is imported. The shipbuilding industry in Ireland is an exotic industry; it depends on foreign nations for its materials. The poultry industry does not so depend; it is indigenous.

LAND ACTS NOT AN ENGLISH PHILANTHROPY

Q. Commissioner Thomas: That brings us to another Ulster argument. They say that unjust as the policy of the British Government towards Ireland might have been up to the passing of the Land Acts, since then it has been very generous; that Ireland owes her prosperity today,—take the poultry industry, for example,—very largely to the fact that England has furnished the capital very largely to develop the country, and that it is therefore very ungrateful for Ireland not to appreciate what England has done for her.

A. On that land question, to which you refer, I take it, as the reason for our indebtedness to England, I would say that the soil of Ireland belongs of right to the Irish people. The soil of Ireland was alienated from the Irish people. It is now passing back to them.

Q. To what extent? About how much, roughly, has now been acquired by the Irish people? A. I would say, roughly, about 13,000,000 acres. There remain about 6,000,000 acres. So that all the land has not yet passed back to the Irish people. England has passed certain land legislation for us. But England herself caused that problem, and it was up to her to solve it for us. But it was not solved at her own expense. Such money as she advanced under the Land Acts for the purchase by tenants of their holdings is money that we have had to pay back ourselves, and to pay back with interest. And that expenditure of hers, which some of her propa-

gandists mention, that expenditure is not put down as Imperial expenditure; it is put down as Irish expenditure, and as part of the budget of Ireland, which England presents for Ireland every year to the British Parliament. That money is being paid back by the Irish farmers.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: If an individual farmer cannot pay, who makes it up,—does the local Irish committee or the Exchequer?

A. If the individual farmer does not pay his annual payment, the county at large has to pay it. The county rates are responsible, sir.

LAND ACTS SECURED BY THREATS AND FORCE

Q. Do I understand that the various Land Acts came as the result of righteousness, or was there various kinds of pressure exerted,—land riots? A. Well, it has been our experience in Ireland that we have got very little for Ireland as the result of love; that what we have got largely followed the exercise of threats and force. The Land Acts were largely the result of agitation by the Irish people themselves.

WORKMEN'S COTTAGES PAID FOR BY IRISH

Q. Another argument I remember from the Ulster delegation was the matter of workmen's cottages in the congested districts. These, too, were set down by the Ulster delegation as one of the benefits shown Ireland and the Irish worker by the British Government. Can you explain that? A. There, too, what is done is paid for by the Irish people. It is put down by the British Government under the head of Irish expenditures. The occupiers have to pay the rentals and the rates to the councils.

LAND ACTS DID NOT CUT INTEREST RATE

Q. Chairman Wood: May I ask, in regard to these moneys and the rates of interest charged upon them,—as I remember, in the Land Purchase Acts the rate of interest is $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., is it not?

A. There are five or six Acts, and the rates differ in each case. The rate on the last was $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Q. At that time was $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest a very low interest? A. Not at that time.

Q. Of course, according to the argument advanced by those gentlemen, it looks like a very great gift to Ireland. But it was the usual rate at that time? A. It was the current rate, sir.

UNIONISTS WHO LAUD LAND ACTS OPPOSED THEM

Q. Commissioner Thomas: The Unionist delegation, to whose pamphlets I am referring,—did they favor these various Acts, or did they fight them while the fighting was good? A. To the bitter end.

Q. In other words, am I to understand that those gentlemen opposed these Acts as long as they could, and now hold them up before us as part of their benefactions? A. The Ulster delegation are as carrion crows. They have fattened off Ireland while doing their best to strangle her.

REVIVAL OF PROSPERITY DUE TO INCREASED TILLAGE

Q. To what source do you credit the revival of prosperity that has been coming to Ireland lately? A. From a life-long study of the subject, I credit it to Irish industry. I mentioned a while ago that prior to the war we were living under a free-trade regime. Early in the war England discovered that that system was a weakness in her armor. She discovered that even with her immense navy it was not the easy matter that she had thought it would be in war-time to sustain her 40,000,000 people on food supplies drawn from distant countries. She reversed her policy and offered certain enhanced prices for foodstuffs. War conditions necessarily brought about increased prices for foodstuffs. But she, in return for an extension of the area of tillage, guaranteed to pay increased prices for food stuffs grown at home. And Irish farmers early in the war started to break up grass lands. They reverted to tillage. They did that first as a precautionary measure to sustain the Irish people themselves, and because of the advice they were receiving from representative bodies in Ireland. And the result was that during the period of the war we increased our area under tillage close upon 1,000,000 acres, which is something more than any other country of Europe of which I know did during that same period. Agriculture and food production is our main industry in Ireland. When the farmer has a ready and profitable market for his food products, every other industry, every other endeavor in Ireland participates in the prosperity of the farmer. I will give you an instance. At the end of the harvest, when the farmer sells his crops he pays for the seeds and the implements and the household necessities which he bought from the local grocery store and the local merchants during the preceding months. If his crops fail or if there is not a market for them, then these others suffer as well as the farmer. But when he is prosperous, there is prosperity throughout the whole

nation. It is a notable fact that following the Land Purchase Acts those tenants who had bought their land,—and more especially during the war period, as a result of the increased demand for food-stuffs, the farmers have gone in for a policy of increased tillage, and that has brought them increased profits, and with that they paid off their debts, bought new machinery, refurnished their homes, and generally raised the standard of living and comfort. That state of affairs did not obtain prior to the war. It is now more or less the general rule. The merchant classes in Ireland have prospered with the farmer.

A STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO CIVILIZATIONS: CAPITALIST TRUSTS VERSUS COOPERATIVES

Q. Commissioner Thomas: What part has the cooperative movement, to which you have referred, played in this development of Irish agricultural interests? A. It has played a very notable part, sir. Agricultural cooperation is something that is traditional in Ireland. Prior to the coming of the English into Ireland, and in the early days of our history, we were more or less a communal people. The English came along and endeavored to impose their system on the Irish people. The battle which has gone on throughout the centuries is a battle of one civilization against another form of civilization. And the battle that is going on in Ireland today is the battle of one civilization against another civilization. And we are gradually reverting back to our national standards of life. And we have all over Ireland today some four thousand cooperative societies,—cooperative cheese factories, cooperative creameries, cooperative egg societies, cooperative banks and stores, and so on.

I have remarked that the fight is a fight between two civilizations. We are today, when we are fighting the English Government, fighting the English capitalist trust system. England before the war and during the war had become a country of trusts. The Black-and-Tans in Ireland, consciously or not, are doing the work of the trusts. They seem to have premeditatedly attacked cooperative institutions wherever they have come across them. I will put in later, sir, as an exhibit, a list of 42 creameries, cooperative concerns in Ireland, which have been burned down by the Black-and-Tans. Their machinery has been destroyed, and the stocks of food in them have also been destroyed. Those creameries represent an actual loss to Ireland of about \$5,000,000. Potentially they represent a loss to us of \$100,000,000. They represent a loss to us also of employment and of productive wealth. Those creameries were built by the farmers out of their savings. They were financed by the farmers out of their savings. And at one fell stroke all that property has been destroyed by the agents of those various trusts,

because the British Government itself is but the agent of the British trusts,—the agent of the capitalist class in England.

Q. Chairman Wood: When you say you are returning to the early system that prevailed in Ireland, you mean the Brehon laws?

A. Partly so. From the earliest time the Irish people lived under these laws; lived happily and prospered under them. They represent a whole code for social cooperation.

Q. Are there many creameries in Ireland owned by English concerns? A. There were at one time a number of them, but the farmers have acquired them, either by buying them out or by erecting cooperative creameries in competition with them.

Q. Commissioner Howe: They got them through competition?

A. By competition. The farmers refused to supply them with dairy products. They supplied their own creameries instead.

IRELAND EXPLOITED FOR IMPERIAL TAXES

Q. Commissioner Thomas: As I understand your argument, Mr. Consul, England has exploited Ireland and retarded her development, first, by excessive taxation; second, by control of financial institutions, banks, insurance companies, and the like, which control Ireland's credit; and third, either by discriminatory legislation or the failure to develop harbors and industries and those things. Taking up those points, the Ulster delegation charges that Ireland is peculiarly fortunate in regard to taxation; that it pays very much less to the Empire, even in proportion to population, than Scotland, for instance; that further, if you examine what Ireland appears to pay to the Empire, the total is made much less by reason of bread doles and other sums that come back to be spent in Ireland itself. It is further alleged,—I forget what year is commonly quoted,—that the amount actually spent in Ireland was greater than the amount raised by Irish revenue. On the other hand, I have seen a statement, I think it was by a British Commission, that since the Act of Union Ireland has been overtaxed by some hundreds of millions of pounds. Could you give us the facts of that case briefly?

A. Yes, I have some notes here to which I will refer. We have no exact data on British taxation. There is no exact data available. Ireland "contributes"—that is the expression used in the English newspapers,—Ireland's contributed revenue is not really known, and the figures which the British Treasury offices publish are arrived at by a system of guesswork. Also, when you are dealing with this system of taxation, one has to remember that England keeps the books. And it has been demonstrated by a number of commissions and a number of inquiries that she has never given Ireland the benefit of the doubt, and that she has always erred on her own side.

Q. Chairman Wood: When you say that *we* have no exact figures

for Ireland, does that mean that the British Government does not keep its books in a way that the figures are available, or does it refer to *we* who are on the outside? A. No, no. It refers to the situation between the English people and the Irish people. England abolished the separate customs, and because the separate customs are abolished, it is not possible to give exact data as to what Ireland contributes to England. The contributed revenue is largely, then, what the Treasury estimates show it to be; but the exact amount is not known. The revenue collected in Ireland can be accurately known. The Financial Relations Commission appointed in 1894 found that Ireland was paying one-eleventh of the revenues of the United Kingdom. Ireland's taxable capacity at that time was estimated at one-twentieth. Her "contributed" revenue then of £6,643,719 was found to be excessive by two and three-quarter million pounds annually.

NEITHER SOUND FINANCE NOR ECONOMICAL GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND

Now, as far as the actual system of taxation is concerned, there is neither sound finance nor economical government in Ireland. The most important feature in the financial arrangement in Ireland is the continual drift upwards in public expenditure. The gross income in Ireland, assessed by the Income Tax Commissioners, in 1908-1909 was only £39,737,023. The expense of government at that time was equal to 40 per cent. of the assessed income. Another fact to keep in mind is that expenditure in Ireland is not the same thing as Irish expenditure. I can illustrate that point later.

To be historically accurate, it is well to bear in mind that before the Act of Union no English act of Parliament had ever compelled the Irish people to pay a tax, and England had never used its legislative power to compel Ireland to provide any contribution to imperial expenditure. England is today taxing Ireland, and England is today compelling Ireland to contribute to imperial expenditure. And in connection with that question of imperial expenditure and Ireland's contribution thereto, it is well to bear in mind that no English colony contributes to imperial expenditure. They are very wise. They know that to export their revenue means to export their people. We have been exporting our revenue, and we have been exporting our people. Neither Canada nor Australia nor South Africa contributes to the imperial support at the present time.

BRITAIN EXTRACTING WAR COST FROM IRELAND

I suppose you have figures on Ireland's current payments to the British Treasury.

Q. Chairman Wood: Perhaps you can give them to us anyway.

Q. Commissioner Howe: I would like to verify them, Mr. Consul. The figure we have is £41,000,000 for 1920. A. Yes, for 1920.

Q. And the expenditure in Ireland is how much? Have you it there? A. I have the 1918 and 1919 figures. We have not got the figures for 1920.

Q. I wonder if you could read that into the record? A. This is taken from the British White Paper on Revenue and Expenditure for the financial year ending March 31, 1919, and includes the 1918 figures for comparative purposes. This is the revenue of Ireland as alleged to be contributed:

	1918		1919
Customs	£6,670,000	increased to	£9,744,000
Excise	2,995,000	increased to	4,825,000
Estate duties	1,181,000	increased to	1,238,000
Stamps	439,000	increased to	619,000
Income tax	7,079,000	increased to	8,808,000
Excess profits	6,822,000	increased to	10,040,000

Q. Commissioner Addams: But there was a general rise in war-time taxation, wasn't there? A. Yes, I will give you the interpretation afterwards. Land values, the one solitary item of the lot, fell from £5,000 to £4,000. The total of those taxes alleged to be contributed went from £25,191,000 in 1918 to £35,278,000 in 1919. Then, in addition to those taxes, there was the postal, telegraph, and miscellaneous items. We get some value from those, however. The total as alleged to be contributed from all of those sources, together with the "contributions" that I have already stated, in the year 1919 amounted to £37,275,000, and in 1918 to £26,865,000. There is, therefore, an increase of over £10,000,000, or nearly \$50,000,000,—a huge increase,—in Irish revenue in one year. This goes to show that England has considerably enlarged the war indemnity which she is extracting out of Ireland. Now, as regards the larger revenue, as to how it is raised and as to how it is divided up, perhaps I can put those figures in.

ENGLAND'S EXTRAVAGANT AND UNJUST CHARGES UPON IRELAND

Q. Commissioner Howe: That will be sufficient as to that. In a general way, what is it spent for? A. Perhaps the expenditure will help us to arrive at that. England's Irish expenditure,—that is, what the English Treasury alleges it spent in certain services. The money is not necessarily expended in Ireland, as I will explain. The services were as follows: The Civil List went from £135,000 in 1918 to £139,500 in 1919. Payments to Local Taxation Accounts fell from £1,475,000 to £1,468,500. The amount spent on votes of credit passed in the British House of Commons increased from £9,392,000 to £9,704,000. Customs, excises, and Inland Revenue

increased from £317,000 in 1918 to £329,000 in 1919. The Post Office expenditure increased from £1,683,000 in 1918 to £1,896,000 in 1919.

The total Irish Expenditure under the heading of Irish Services was £22,161,500 in 1919, as against £13,002,000 in 1918, showing an increased expenditure in the period of nine millions. The total revenue as contributed by Ireland as shown in the same paper by the English Treasury is £37,275,000, so that they levied £37,000,000 to pay £22,000,000, and they have a profit of £15,000,000.

Now, as to the Civil List,—that is the information you required. In 1919 the votes were:

Pensions for Judicial Services.....	£22,000
Inspectors of Anatomy.....	500
Copyright Compensations	500
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.....	20,000
Courts of Justice, Salaries.....	96,000

Q. Commissioner Howe: Is that for salaries in Ireland alone?

A. Yes, sir, without perquisites. There was in the Civil List an increase of only £4,000 in the period 1918 and 1919. There was an increase of £4,000 for Judicial Services. Apparently these are the salaries of the judges on the Consolidated Funds. Lord French, be it noted, is charged as an "Irish Service." They do not charge the Governor-General of Canada or of Australia or of South Africa as a Canadian or Australian or African expenditure. Such officer is charged as an imperial expenditure. In Ireland we have to act as host to Lord French, and we are taxed to maintain him and his suite.

Again, in 1919, under the Land Purchase Acts £40,000 is paid to Local Taxation Accounts, which we pay back with interest. Then there was an Agricultural Grant of £728,000; in lieu of local grants, £79,000; licenses, £212,000; cost of collection of motor-car licenses, £1,000; beer and spirit duties, £124,500; and in relief of rates generally, £284,000. These grants are made for land purchase, relief of rates, and for educational purposes. In spite of the enormous increase in taxation, the amount available to relieve the rates has fallen down £7,000 a year, and the English Treasury appears to have effected the only known savings at the expense of the Irish rates.

IRELAND TAXED FOR ENGLISH PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Now, there is this item of "Voted," £9,704,000. This vote now includes upkeep for the English Royal Palaces, the public buildings, the Houses of Parliament, the diplomatic and consular buildings, one-fourth of the public buildings of Great Britain. All these

are put down in the Imperial account under the heading of "General." In other words, this expenditure, amounting to approximately £700,000, is not charged to England, although nearly all of it is spent in England, under the control and supervision of England, and for the benefit of England. "General Expenditure" is merely a term for English expenditure partly loaded on Ireland. We in Ireland are charged for the upkeep of Westminster, the diplomatic and consular buildings, and other buildings occupied by men who certainly do not work abroad in our interests. Public Buildings in Great Britain involved a vote of £695,000, and England contributed only £532,000 of this. This is pure nonsense, because no public building in Great Britain can represent anything else but an English expenditure. England erects these buildings and staffs them, and she has no more right to expect us to pay for them than she has a right to annex our country.

Another point in connection with that vote is the item of £781,500. This is for the salaries of the Civil Departments and the expenses of the English Houses of Parliament. According to the person who compiled this return, the expenditure of the House of Lords Offices and the House of Commons is not an English expenditure! We have to pay our share of it. Irish rates and Irish taxation have to go to maintain the House of Commons and the House of Lords and the staffs of those places in England.

The following items, too, represent "Expenditures on Ireland": The Lord Lieutenant's household, £3,000; the Chief Secretary for Ireland, £25,500. This is for Sir Hamar Greenwood of Black-and-Tan fame.

Q. Commissioner Howe: What does he get that for? A. Salary and his staff's services, and so forth,—for his official household.

Q. Senator Norris: Annually? A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Quite a good job! A. Yes, financially.

The Department of Agriculture gets.....	£167,000
Charitable Donations	2,000
Congested Districts Board.....	170,000
Local Government Board.....	131,500
The Public Record Office.....	7,000
Public Works Office.....	37,000
The Registrar-General's Office.....	14,000
Valuation	30,000

The total expenditure under these heads is.....£586,000

Now, the corresponding expenditure in Scotland is only £227,500. It is noteworthy that the expense of the Chief Secretary is charged to Ireland, like the expense of the Lord Lieutenant, and neither of them is considered an imperial expense, as similar imperial officers are for British colonies abroad. They are put down as Irish expenditure, that Ireland must contribute to England.

COST OF "LAW AND POLICE" FOR IRELAND

£3,040,500 was also put down under "General Expenditure" to cover "Law and Police,"—"Law and Police" for Ireland! There is the sum of £2,804,500 for "Law and Police" in England; £502,500 for Scotland; £3,040,500 for Ireland, and General Expenditure, £202,000. It appears that the administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order is more expensive in Ireland than in England, with ten times our population; while Scottish "law and order" costs only one-sixth. And yet we are told and it is blazoned all over the world that there is neither law nor order in Ireland! And we are taxed this £3,040,500 a year for the maintenance of "law and order" in our country! The maintenance of the army and navy is not included in that.

Q. Chairman Wood: It does not include the white kid gloves they get? A. No, it does not.

Q. Senator Norris: It does include the police? A. Yes, sir, it does.

Q. Where do you put the Black-and-Tans? A. They were not in existence then.

Mr. Manly: You have not had the bill for that yet,—it will come later.

Q. Chairman Wood: May I ask, Mr. Consul-General, with regard to the grants that are said to be withheld from certain local boards in Ireland: those grants you refer to are simply proposed to be paid. They have not been paid for this year. It is those grants that are being withheld now, is it not? A. That is right, sir.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: You gave figures a while ago showing that Ireland was paying one-eleventh of the taxation when one-twentieth would be her right proportion. A. Yes, sir.

Q. Has anyone made out a similar statement for the figures you have given? What proportion of these figures you have just submitted should Ireland pay? A. I have given no study to that, and I don't know of anyone who has gone into it. But this much I can say: the Irish Republican Government could administer the affairs of Ireland within present revenues and immediately return from twenty to thirty millions of the taxation that England is levying on Ireland.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Including everything,—military defense and everything? A. Yes, sir.

TWO DISTINCT GRIEVANCES

Q. Mr. Consul-General, am I right in stating that there are two grievances here? First, the grievance that an honest Unionist might present, that the government of Ireland is extravagant and that the proportion paid by Ireland is too great. That is one grievance that

a Unionist and a Nationalist would admit. But there is a second grievance that I take it the Republicans assert. I take it that you object to paying anything for imperial expenditure when you are not interested in being a part of the Empire. If I may refer again to the Ulster delegation, I have in mind the oft-repeated statement made by them and others that Scotland never murmurs, and why then should Ireland. Is it a legitimate answer that Scotland is content to be part of the Empire and Ireland is not? A. Well, so far as we are concerned, we are not content to be a part of the Empire and we never have accepted a position as part of the Empire.

Q. In other words, if Scotland paid the same proportion as you do for being a part of the Empire, that would not remove your grievance? A. No, sir, it would not.

EDUCATION OR POLICE

There is another matter I want to bring out. The maintenance of the judiciary and police cost over £3,000,000 in 1919. The vote for education in the same year was only £2,558,000, and £2,555,000 for 1918. In that one year of 1919 the estimate for Irish education was increased by the noble sum of £3,000 over the previous year, and that in a war period when the cost of living and other expenses demanded that the teachers should be better paid, and when the upkeep of schools would cost more than in the preceding year. The other reflection that I have to make is that here England was willing to spend over three million pounds of our money on police; yet she actually passed only two and a half millions for the vote on education!

"GOVERNMENT HOSPITALITY" AND OTHER COSTS

Now, there is an item called the Development Grant which amounts to £387,000 in 1919 as against £316,000 in 1918. This vote includes "Ireland Development Grant," £305,000. I want to remark on that that there is no such grant for development in Ireland. It has gone some place else, or has been purloined to pay deficits on the issue of land loans. There is an item of £85,000 to pay for "Government Hospitality." This is a "dry" country, so I will not make any reflection on that expenditure. The cost of the new electoral act represented something like £65,000. I think that was the only genuine item in the whole list that we got any value for,—that was the Proportional Representation Act. It cost, outside of local expenses, £65,000 to bring that Act through the English Parliament and to administer it in Ireland.

Old Age Pensions were £2,307,500 in 1918, and had fallen in 1919 to £2,240,500, or a decrease of £67,000. The old people are

passing away, and the young men are growing up! The country is becoming younger.

The Customs and Excise cost was £228,000 in 1918 and £230,000 in 1919. And the Inland Revenue vote was £89,000 in 1918 and £99,000 for 1919. The cost of collecting the Irish revenue is less than one per cent.

The Post Office Services vote in 1918 was £1,683,000, as against £1,896,000 in 1919. The revenue of the post office in Ireland is £1,869,000. It nearly balances. They voted £27,000 more than the actual revenue from the post office amounted to. There is a slight deficit, but we have no objection to taking over and administering the Post Office Services in Ireland.

Then there are the votes of credit. There was no such allocation in 1918. In 1919 there was £8,624,500 allocated for this purpose. There is no explanation of what the votes of credit stand for.

That is the statement taken from the White Paper issued by the British Government on Taxation.

Q. Chairman Wood: What date, sir? A. It is for the financial years ending March 31, 1918, and March 31, 1919.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION NOT MENACED BY REPUBLIC

Q. Commissioner Thomas: I have heard it stated on a public platform that one of the difficulties about letting the Irish be independent is that the agricultural south and west would never stand for the social legislation which the workers of Belfast would want, and which they now enjoy under British Acts, and that therefore there is a very genuine cleavage in interest along that line,—not merely a sentimental one but a practical one. Is there reason to believe that that is the case? A. I certainly, sir, have no reason to suspect that the Irish agriculturist is a less progressive citizen than the Belfast shipyard worker. And I don't know of any social legislation enacted for the benefit and protection of Belfast workers by the British Government that could not be improved upon by the Irish Republican Government.

Q. The speaker referred to old age pensions and unemployment grants. A. We could, sir, from our present revenue paid to England, not only pay the old age pensions, but we could pay a pension to every mother in the country.

ULSTER LAGS BEHIND OTHER PROVINCES IN PREVENTION OF TUBERCULOSIS

Q. Mr. Manly: Mr. Consul, have you the figures for tuberculosis and relief measures for the different counties in Ireland?

Those figures, I believe, were collected in the document presented on behalf of the recognition of the Irish Republic. Those figures are very interesting on this point. They show that the contributions in Munster and Leinster are larger than for Ulster. A. Yes, sir; I have those figures here.

Mr. Manly: They are contained in one of the appendices of that document. I think they are very much in point at this time. I believe they are under the heading of The Ulster Question.

The Witness (reading from document): Money paid for treatment and prevention of tuberculosis, per 1,000 of population: Leinster, \$11.50; Munster, \$23.90; Connaught, \$12; Ulster, \$7.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Does that mean that there is less tuberculosis in Ulster? A. I am sorry to say, sir, that there is not. The deaths from tuberculosis in 1913 were: Leinster, 2,932; Munster, 2,195; Connaught, 913; Ulster, 3,347. There were fewest deaths in Connaught, which is supposed to be the poorest province in Ireland. Ulster, rich, wealthy, progressive, prosperous Ulster,—it has the highest death rate from tuberculosis, and it pays the least for preventive measures to prevent tuberculosis.

Q. Major Newman: Are those numbers of deaths, or death rates? A. Numbers of deaths.

Q. Then in order to be accurately comparative, we should have the population. A. Well, I can give you the population.

Commissioner Thomas: Nevertheless, those figures give you an idea of how much they spent for it.

Senator Norris: The figures show the per capita rate. I cannot see how the population would change that or help it any.

Major Newman: I was speaking of the number of deaths.

LAND PAYMENTS AND OLD AGE PENSIONS

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Mr. Consul-General, are the annuities for the land being paid now? Are the payments for the land being kept up under the Land Purchase Acts where the term is still running? A. I presume so. I have been here in this country for the past twelve or fourteen months. I am not as conversant with conditions at home as I was, but the county councils are responsible for the payment of those annuities.

Q. And you have never heard that they have ceased? A. I have not, sir.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: You were talking about the old-age pension. What is the amount of the benefits received? A. When I was in Ireland, sir, it was seven-and-six-pence per week for every person of 70 years and upwards—about nineteen pounds ten shillings per year.

Q. A little less than \$2 a week? A. Yes, sir.

ADMINISTRATON OF LOCAL TAXATION PROVES IRELAND SELF-SUPPORTING

You asked me a little while ago about local taxation. It might be interesting to you to know about the sums of money that pass through our hands. This also is from an official paper.

Q. Commissioner Howe: These are collections of the Irish Republic? A. No, sir; these are the returns for local taxation in Ireland for 1917-1918, from the official reports of the local bodies.

Q. Chairman Wood: How are these taxes levied? A. This taxation is levied, collected, and administered by the local bodies in Ireland.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Are the local councils collecting those rates at the present time? A. Yes, sir. The receipts for the purposes of local government in Ireland during the financial year 1917-1918, excluding loans and grants provided by statute and other grants from Government sources, and making the necessary deductions for duplicate entries in the local accounts from which the returns have been prepared, amounted to £6,835,450.

Q. Chairman Wood: This is for the whole of Ireland? A. Yes, sir. This was an increase of £279,083 as compared with the preceding year, and an increase of £1,450,206 as compared with the year 1907-1908, which is equivalent to 33.1 per cent. of an increase for the decade. Of this amount, 75 per cent. was raised directly by rates assessed on lands, buildings, and so forth; 9 per cent. was derived from tolls, fees, stamps, and dues; 7 per cent. came from rents of property in lands, houses, etc., while the remaining 9 per cent. was made up of various miscellaneous items of local income classed as other receipts, these proportions being practically identical from year to year. This table gives the amount received from each of these sources: £4,356,551 as rates; £539,561 as tolls, etc.; £384,435 as rents; and £554,903 as other receipts. And it may be observed that, compared with the preceding year, there was an increase in rates of £220,538; in rents of £33,370; and in other receipts of £31,888; while there was a decrease of £6,713 in tolls, etc. The chief increase was in the poor rate, £314,866; while the increase in other rates was £719. But there was a decrease of £95,047 in municipal rates. The net increase under these heads amounted, therefore, to £220,538. And it may be seen that with the exception of the year 1911-1912, there were increases under the head of rates year after year for a long period. The rents derived from property, however, continue to increase. But this fact is mainly attributable to the great improvement made in connection with the housing of the working classes in urban and rural districts. The increase in the receipts from tolls, etc., does not call for any special notice.

The total of the four branches of local revenue, the sum first

mentioned above, is regarded as the amount of the local taxation for the year; but it is to be noted that, unlike rates, the taxes known as tolls, fees, stamps, and dues are restricted in range of operation, and to a great extent represent payment for value received; while the income arising from rents and from other receipts is not the produce of any tax or rate, but is dealt with as such in its application to expenditure. Moreover, with regard to "other receipts," there are included under this head the profits of certain reproductive undertakings in the hands of some of the local bodies, representing 3.3 per cent. of the total net revenue of the year. The amount produced by rates, in which is included about £118,246 raised in respect of water supplied for domestic and other private purposes (2.7 per cent. of the whole amount so produced), represents an average of 5s. 4¾d. in the pound on the rateable valuation of Ireland at the beginning of the year, and an average of £1:0s:1d. per head of the population—4,300,000—as estimated at the middle of the year. A net sum of £4,857,243 obtained from local sources, including rates to the amount of £4,289,377, was applied towards the expenditure of counties and towns during the year. Thus, the public bodies raise and spend over £4,000,000 annually in administering the affairs of the counties.

Now, this was supplemented by payments made from the Local Taxation for Ireland Account to the extent of £1,317,646. These are the grants which are now withdrawn. And there were further grants from the Imperial Exchequer and other government sources amounting to £148,006, so that of the total net revenue of county and town authorities, 77 per cent. came from local sources, and 23 per cent. from grants. On an average the grants were equivalent to ls. 9¾d. per pound of rateable value, and to 6s. 9d. per head of estimated population as given above. The agricultural grant paid to the county councils amounted to £727,337, and is equal to nearly 18 per cent. of their whole revenue for the year. That gives you some idea of the problem which the Republican administration of local affairs has to meet in Ireland for the moment.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: That is, however, not a problem that you would face if the British forces were withdrawn and you collected all of your own revenue. A. Not at all, sir.

Q. You could raise it either by an increase in the local rates or by national taxation. A. Yes, we had arranged, by the vote of the Dail, to increase the income tax. The figures here are somewhat mysterious to one who does not know the conditions of the cities in Ireland. Let us take the city's income, for instance. The valuation is put on the rental which the building would bring in,—not on the machinery and the stock in that house, but merely on the rental which it would bring in to the landlord. In England I understand that the assessment is on the machinery and stock.

Q. Major Newman: Mr. Fawsitt, in that connection, are these cooperative industries taxed? A. They (in common with cooperative societies in Great Britain) have been free from payment of income tax under statute of the British Parliament.

Q. But they are not free from local taxation? A. No, they are not.

LOCAL EXPENDITURES AND INDEBTEDNESS

The net expenditure from revenue during the year amounted to £8,947,366; or, excluding electric lighting, gas, and tramway undertakings in the hands of municipal authorities, it was £7,618,479, of which a sum of £1,312,630, or 17.2 per cent., was applied to the discharge of borrowed moneys and the payment of interest and dividends on such moneys. Besides, additional expenditures amounting to £237,904 were defrayed from loans and stock, of which £109,777 was incurred in connection with schemes for the housing of the working classes in towns and for providing laborers' cottages in rural districts; while sums amounting to £44,138 were expended in connection with the three undertakings mentioned above. The local indebtedness on account of loans and stock at the close of the year amounted to £25,778,911. Of this, £10,829,585 appertained to municipal authorities, being an increase of £9,172,143 since 1878, the year in which the first of the existing code of Irish Public Health Statutes was enacted. The municipal indebtedness includes £1,613,281 for water supplies; £2,132,842 for purposes of lighting; £1,066,767 for sewerage; and £1,635,649 in respect of schemes for the housing of the working classes; while for housing schemes in rural districts the indebtedness stood at £7,269,832. The amount standing to the credit of sinking funds applicable to the discharge of the portion of the local indebtedness which is repayable by such means was £1,556,442 at the close of the year.

That is a summary which I have made from the local taxation reports for your information.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Do I understand your claims to be: (1) that British taxation has been excessive; (2) that it has been wastefully expended; (3) that the willingness of the local bodies shows a desire to support all possible social enterprises; and (4), that there is reason to believe that the Irish Republic is not only willing, but is able to support all socially useful enterprises at more than 20 per cent. less than the present cost of administration by the British Government? Is that your position? A. That is our position, sir.

BRITISH INSURANCE COMPANIES TAKE MONEY FROM IRELAND

Q. I have heard it said that practically all the insurance companies are owned by British capitalists, and that all of the banks are British, and that all this constitutes a drain upon the financial wealth of Ireland. Is that correct? A. As a general statement, that is correct, sir. The insurance companies take a very large amount of money in premiums annually out of Ireland.

Q. And they do not invest it in Ireland? A. No, they do not invest it in municipal bonds and so forth, like they do in England. Of course, they spend a small amount for office rent, commissions, and like expense.

Q. Chairman Wood: But there is no arrangement like our American insurance companies sometimes have for putting out in loans in the locality the sums received from premiums in that district? A. No, sir; there is no such arrangement.

Q. Major Newman: Broadly speaking, they do not invest in Irish industry? A. Not in Irish industry or in Irish development, sir.

BANKS DRAIN DEPOSITS TO LONDON INSTEAD OF AIDING DEVELOPMENT OF IRELAND

Q. Senator Norris: How about the banks? A. We have in Ireland, as you have here, savings banks and joint stock banks—the capitalistic banks. There are 9 such joint stock banks in Ireland.

Q. Commissioner Howe: How many? A. Nine. Of course they have over a thousand branches. Within the past few years two of those banks,—Ulster banks; one is named the Ulster Bank and the other is named the Belfast Banking Company,—have been bought out and acquired by English banks. Four of those banks have their head offices in London, and their boards of directors meet in London. The Bank of Ireland is, in addition, the bank of the British Government in Ireland. The whole system, so far as I have studied it, is that they take the deposits of the Irish people at a very nominal rate of interest,—just before the war we used to get $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and thought ourselves very fortunate to get 2 per cent. from the banks.

Q. Major Newman: That is time deposits? A. I am talking of the joint-stock banks.

Q. But of what character of accounts? A. We have two kinds, a deposit account and a current account. The current account is similar to your “checking” account here; and no interest is paid on that except for heavy balances by special arrangement. The deposit

account is the one I refer to. The farming class as a rule do not have current accounts. They put their money on deposit. That money is transferred to England and placed at the disposition of the Bank of England; and the Irish banks trade and carry on on the difference between what they receive from the Bank of England for the money and what the man who deposits it in Ireland receives from them. They are very different from the banks such as you have in this country, because they have no settled policy for the development of Ireland by the investment of these surplus funds in Ireland. That has constituted an enormous drain upon the resources of the country. Under a proper form of government, that money would be employed in Ireland for the development of the country. As it is under the present system, it is lying at the disposition of the Bank of England, and at a very low rate of interest there; and the Irish banks merely trade on the difference.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: That leads me to ask, Mr. Consul-General, about the general subject of the development of Irish resources. It is alleged, I believe, that Ireland has certain coal deposits and other mineral resources, which have not been adequately developed; that Ireland has harbors on the west coast that have not been developed. What is the reason for that? Is it due to the discriminatory policy of the British Government, or the character of the people? A. That question refers to the development of Irish resources, I suppose?

Commissioner Thomas: It does.

Q. Chairman Wood: Before you go to that, you said that these funds in the Irish banks were sent out of the country for investment with the Bank of England. Does that refer to deposits or savings accounts? A. The amount on deposit in savings banks before the war would not amount to £15,000,000 in the year. Almost all of that is in the post-office savings bank, which is a British institution, and the funds of which, of course, are sent to England.

FALLACY OF PAPER MONEY PROSPERITY

Q. Our friends from Ulster said that the bank deposits in Ireland had increased under English rule from \$380,000,000 to \$780,000,000 in ten years; and that would refer to these amounts combined. A. Yes. There is a misconception on that whole question as to the amount of money on deposit in Ireland. These Ulstermen, when they were here and made that statement, brought it forward as an evidence of Irish prosperity under English rule. They ignored or perhaps they did not know that the pound today in Ireland, which was worth around twenty shillings before the war, is today not worth eight shillings; and that if we were to compute the deposits of today on the value of the pound in 1914, it would

be found that the purchasing value of our money in those banks had very considerably depreciated.

Q. The depreciation of the pound applies also to England, doesn't it? A. Yes, but that is no argument that the prosperity of the country has increased. It simply means that the country has been flooded with British paper money.

COOPERATIVE LAND BANK HELPS SOLVE LAND PROBLEM

Q. Commissioner Howe: Before you leave that subject, would you please discuss the cooperative banks that have been formed in Ireland during the past few years? A. The cooperative banks which were formed in Ireland were established as agricultural credit societies.

Commissioner Howe: That is what I have reference to.

The Witness: They have not very generally progressed, as far as my recollection on the institutions goes; they have not developed to the extent to which it was desired they would. That was due to a multiplicity of considerations. There has been a constant agitation, as any of you who are interested in cooperation know,—there has been a constant agitation against all cooperative enterprises; and steps were initiated in the British Parliament to prevent the spread of the cooperative movement in Ireland. I mentioned a while ago in those financial figures a grant known as the Irish Development Grant. Portions of that grant were originally intended to go to the development of cooperative effort in Ireland, including cooperative credit societies and those cooperative banks. That money has not been applied, largely due to the animosity of the trading element in England, and to a certain degree in Ireland itself. The principal bank for the cooperative industry in Ireland is the bank attached to the Irish Cooperative Wholesale Society. The Wholesale Society is a trading society run on cooperative lines. Sir Horace Plunkett is one of the heads of it. Mr. Howard Barbour, an Ulster man, is also another of the heads of it. During the past year there was also established a land bank. The land bank was established to meet the needs of the agricultural communities in Ireland. The joint-stock banks have not at any time catered to the special needs of the agricultural class in Ireland. An object of the land bank was to assist in the purchase and breaking up of the large grass ranches in Ireland, in order to divide them up into economic holdings, and to put the Irish people back onto the soil in Ireland. I am glad to say that that bank has so far been very successful in its operations. Through its help some half dozen

large estates in Ireland have been acquired, have been bought out, have been broken up into economic holdings, and the agriculturists have been put back upon them.

ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF THE LAND BANK

It may be of interest to you to know how this bank functions. It does not purchase the land directly itself, nor does it deal directly with the tenant. One of its officers goes into a district where there is a large estate to be sold, and convenes a meeting of those having claims upon that land, and of those who have no land in the district, and those whose holdings are non-economic,—are not large enough to maintain their families in comfort. These men are summoned together and formed into a cooperative society. Through this cooperative society so formed the bank negotiates for the purchase of the estate. The bank advances the money to the cooperative society, which enables it to purchase the estate. The cooperative society and not the bank divides up the estate into economic holdings. The society and not the individual tenants is responsible to the bank for the payment of the annuities. So far that bank has been very successful, and I understand a half-dozen branches of it have been recently opened in various centers throughout Ireland.

Q. Commissioner Howe: What statutory authority do you have to organize a bank of that kind? A. The bank was established by order or by decree of Dail Eireann. I will quote for you later, if you desire, the actual decree of the Parliament establishing the bank.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Why did not the British dissolve it? A. There are some things that are possible to the British, and there are some things which are not possible or practicable for them to accomplish.

Q. Commissioner Howe: It had some original capital fund, then? A. It is operating as an ordinary bank, sir. It receives deposits and current accounts, and uses its resources to buy land.

ALIEN LANDLORDISM NO LONGER AN OBSTACLE

Q. Major Newman: They would have to find a willing seller. A. Land has gone to such a price in Ireland that landlords who formerly had refused to sell to their tenants are now glad to do so.

Q. Has there not been some depreciation in land prices in Ireland? A. No, sir. There has always been a land hunger in Ireland.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Does alien landlordism figure at all in the present situation? A. Alien landlordism doesn't figure to any appreciable extent.

Q. It would figure, I should think, in case of heavy taxation or confiscation of the land, or if the Irish courts valued the lands down too low. A. None of those matters, so far as I know, has so far arisen. Where there have been disputes over land titles, those cases have been dealt with by the courts of Dail Eireann.

Q. There has been no trouble, then, in connection with acquiring the land? A. No, sir.

Q. Major Newman: They do not seem to fear that the land may be confiscated? A. So long as there are 4,000,000 Irish people in Ireland, there is no fear of confiscation.

Q. Commissioner Howe: But they might fear for their alien estates. A. Of course, alien landlordism will have to go.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: It is, as I understand it, against Sinn Fein policy to permit alien landlordism. Your declaration of independence contains the statement that the land of Ireland belongs to the Irish people. A. Yes, sir.

IRELAND'S RICH UNDEVELOPED MINERAL RESOURCES

On that question of mineral development you were asking about—
Commissioner Thomas: Yes, I was asking about it.

The Witness: The question of mineral development in Ireland is in this position: we have not had a proper survey made of the mineral wealth of Ireland. Secondly, there has been a good deal of confusion in the different Land Acts as to the ownership of the minerals under the soil. Under one Act the ownership would vest in the tenant. In another, the landlord could maintain ownership. Under another Act the ownership of the minerals was reserved to the Land Commission, which was the British Government. That was true of the Act of 1893. That Land Commission has no money or no machinery to develop the mineral wealth, and the British Government has not given it money to develop it.

Q. It is not even partly explored? A. Only partly surveyed.

Q. On the basis of what you do know, would you say that you have a large number of undeveloped resources, in comparison to other countries? A. Yes, sir. Coal, peat, iron.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Water power? A. Yes, we have water power which is running untapped to the sea. We have a very large rainfall in Ireland, which, if it were conserved, would supply an enormous quantity of electric light and power for domestic and industrial purposes. Then there are any number of untapped mineral resources—coal, lignite, lead, copper, bauxite, barytes—I could run through a whole list of them.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Could you file with the Commission

a list? I don't know that it would be of value now, but I think it might be in the final report, would it not, Mr. Howe?

Commissioner Howe: Yes.

Commissioner Thomas: I am particularly interested in asking this question because, with regard to Central Europe, the question was raised that self-determination with bankruptcy would be no good. And it is held that that is where Ireland would be. And that is why I am asking these questions. A. No, sir, there is no danger of bankruptcy in Ireland under Irish government. I have in my hand a copy of a lecture delivered by Professor E. St. John Lyburn, of Dublin University. The lecture is entitled, "Irish Minerals and Raw Materials: Opportunities for Development." It was delivered to the Committee of the Scientific and Debating Society attached to the Royal College of Science for Ireland. Professor Lyburn is adviser on mining matters to the Irish Land Commission. He has here, under various heads, dealt with the following mineral deposits in Ireland: barytes, diatomite, ochre, coal, cement, molybdenite, steatite, sand-lime brick, carbide of calcium, road-making materials, peat, iron ore, bauxite, fire-clay, lignite, pyrites, gypsum, felspar, glass sands, materials for paint manufacture, and mineral bleaching powder. He has developed each of those in his lecture. If you are interested in that publication, I can let you have it.

Q. Chairman Wood: Can you file that with us? A. Yes.

IRELAND CAN SUPPORT TWELVE MILLION PEOPLE

Q. Commissioner Thomas: You would say, then, that Ireland is not dependent merely on its agricultural wealth for its future development economically? A. I am satisfied from my own study of Irish wealth and resources that she has within her all the possibilities of development for sustaining a large population.

Q. What estimate would you make of the population that Ireland might comfortably and happily maintain if it was properly developed? I do not mean if it is exploited, but if it is properly developed. A. I am satisfied that Ireland can support a population of at least 12,000,000 people.

Q. Three times what you now have? A. Yes, sir.

IRELAND'S UNEQUALED HARBORS NEGLECTED

Q. I understand from a casual survey of the map that you must have some very fine harbors on your west coast. In what shape are they as regards present value? A. We have in Ireland the best harbors in Europe. There is no country in Europe fronting the Atlantic that has harbors equal to those that Ireland possesses.

Generally speaking, they are not in good modern-harbor condition. They have been neglected. They have been nobody's property. There is no public fund in Ireland out of which harbors can be developed and maintained, such as there is in other countries. It has not been to the interest of England to develop the harbors of Ireland, because her policy has been to secure for England the shipping and the trade of the world. The one harbor of Ireland that is in a position to be a serious rival of certain English ports is the harbor of Cork; and the English ports that I have referred to, principally Liverpool, have waged an unceasing warfare against Cork harbor. Cork harbor is the most advantageous harbor for Atlantic trade, for shipping can do more journeys in a given time from America to Cork Harbor than they can from America to English ports. They can make more journeys in that given time and at less cost for operation. And the cost of handling goods in Cork is much less than the cost of handling goods, say, at Liverpool.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Is that because of lower wages? A. Not because of lower wages alone.

Q. Insofar as it is due to lower wages, it would not be a permanent advantage, would it? A. No, sir. It is due, among other reasons, to the fact that vessels do not have to wait for an incoming tide to cross a bar. A pilot is not necessary; it is optional with the captain. The large shipping companies have not yet monopolized the shipping and dock facilities. Those are some of the considerations that make Cork a very great rival of certain English ports.

Q. Commissioner Howe: How about Galway? A. Galway has a very wonderful harbor, sir. But it needs an expenditure of a large amount of money to make it desirable for ocean-going liners.

Q. Senator Norris: Now, a harbor like that would make it even more desirable for shipping from America, would it not? A. Yes, but you have to remember present conditions.

Q. But I am thinking of the future. A. Blacksod Bay and Galway would be wonderful harbors for the development of trade between Ireland and America. But what I have in mind is the European trade as well. Galway and Blacksod would not compare or compete with Cork in this respect.

Q. Mr. Manly: Mr. Fawsitt, has there not been a steamship line,—the Panhandle Steamship Company,—opened up for developing trade between America and Cork? A. Yes, two lines; one freight, the other for passenger traffic.

HARBOR BOARDS RESPONSIBLE TO IRISH PEOPLE WILL DEVELOP HARBORS

Q. Commissioner Thomas: That situation is very important, and I want therefore to ask this question: Those harbors can be developed by American capital, let us say? I mean to say, would the loss of British capital be a factor in the development of those ports?

A. No.

Q. I have heard that these ports could be developed if they could get capital. A. Let us take the case of Cork. Funds could be raised, for instance, on the revenue of the harbor. They do maintain the harbor at present out of revenue. The harbor would, and will be, developed when we have an authority sympathetic to the interests of the port. The harbor boards in Ireland, it is necessary to explain, have been in the hands of representatives of a particular class of persons in Ireland,—of the commercial class and the shipping class. They have not been elected on a popular franchise, such as the corporations and the county councils. To become a member of any one of the chief harbor boards you must, as a rule, hold at least one thousand pounds of the stock of that harbor board. It is necessary also to belong to the commercial or shipping community. And in certain cases the harbor commissioners are elected by the local shipping community and by the local chamber of commerce. Up to recently those boards have been controlled and the policy of those boards has been directed by men who were not friendly disposed towards the political aspirations of Ireland. The merchants and the cross-channel shipping representatives at those ports, the importers principally, were the men who were on those boards; and the English shipping companies were interested in seeing that there was no foreign shipping trade. And the result is that those ports have not been developed, and it was not within the competence of the Irish people to see that they were so developed.

Now, as a result of the recent elections, representation has been secured on the Harbor Board of Cork. That board is wholly elected by the Cork Corporation from its members as such and from trading interests. In the course of time that harbor board will come under the direct influence of the Republican Government. That is an important factor when you ask why our ports have not been developed. As soon as the harbor boards are made responsible to public opinion and public need, those ports will be developed.

Q. Major Newman: Those harbor boards are an incorporated body? A. They are an incorporated body.

Q. You spoke of the issue of stock. A. Yes, that is the stock they put out for the development of the harbor.

Q. They have charge of the harbor front? A. Yes, they have

charge of the harbor front, and their revenues come largely from the charges made for the use of the docks.

OBSTRUCTIONS TO DEVELOPMENT UNDER ENGLISH LAW

Q. Do they own the land along the water front? A. No, the English Board of Trade claims to have authority over the foreshore. The quays at Cork are owned—the harbor board has control over the quays; but the roads abutting to those quays are owned by the corporation in trust for the city. The Cork Harbor Board wanted to get control of certain swamp lands to enlarge their dockage facilities, and under their charter it was necessary to get a permit from the English Board of Trade before they could develop such lands. We are opposed to paying an annual rent to the Board of Trade for the use of such lands.

Q. Chairman Wood: But the title to those lands was in individuals, was it not? A. Yes, except the foreshore land, which is claimed by the English Board of Trade.

Q. Senator Norris: What is the tide at Cork? A. Six feet or so. The largest vessels afloat can float in Cork harbor. The anchorage is almost unlimited. It was the base of the American fleet during the war. They had no difficulty in using Cork harbor or Bearhaven or any of the others. In addition to being spacious harbors, they are sheltered from the Atlantic winds.

Q. Chairman Wood: The construction of a bridge over a navigable stream, for instance, as I understand it, is taken out from the authority of the local boards. A. Yes, sir; the law was that they had to get permission from the English Parliament or Privy Council to erect that bridge, or to change a roadway.

Q. I remember a case of which my friends told me where a market was on one side of a river and the population was on the other, and the people had to drive fifteen miles or so in order to get around. They wanted to put a bridge across the stream. They went to London, and there was much obstruction encountered in their endeavor to get what they wanted. A. That appeared to be the ordinary experience.

IRELAND'S DEMONSTRATED ABILITY TO GOVERN ITSELF

Q. How far do the local functions belong to these local boards? We hear so much about Ireland not being able to govern itself. How much government is done for them? A. Well, you have heard me read today the total revenues which the local boards levy, collect and disburse, amounting to over £5,000,000 sterling annually. They must give some value for that, sir. That money is

expended in the maintenance of roads, public lighting, water supply, sanitation, public health, education—so far as technical education is concerned—and the maintenance of libraries.

Q. Most of the intimate functions of government, where they touch the individual human being, are already carried out by these local councils? A. Yes, subject to the English Local Government Board in Ireland.

Q. These councils are made up entirely of Irishmen? A. Yes, sir, the local councils are elected from and by the Irish people.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Under the Lloyd George Home Rule Bill, Mr. Consul-General, supposing it were accepted, would the Irish Parliament have control of these ports and the other matters that we have been previously discussing? A. I must plead ignorance of the Lloyd George Bill, sir.

Q. I should imagine so, but I thought you might happen to recall. A. No, sir.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT BREAKS ENGLAND'S MONOPOLY ON IRISH TRADE

Q. Mr. Manly: We got diverted from the shipping question and the experience of the *Panhandle State* Steamship Company. A. We have been confronted with this situation in Ireland for quite a number of years, that our trade has been the absolute monopoly of England, and that at the same time all our harbors on the south and west coast have been denuded of shipping; and that such shipping trade as we had was almost wholly trade to and from English ports. That has been the economic weakness of our situation. For this reason we were not in a position to sell in the best market, nor were we in a position to buy in the best market. Under the system that England had brought about, she was our only market and the only place where we could buy such goods as we wanted. We have been directing our efforts since the Republican Government was started to changing all that. The Government sent its consuls to the different countries. We have consuls in France, Spain, and Italy, Belgium, and Denmark, and other European countries, as well as in the United States of America. And these men have been instructed to bring about closer trade relations between those countries and Ireland; and they also have been instructed to obtain a market in those countries for Irish goods, and to obtain in those countries such goods as they can supply and Ireland needs for her own use. Furthermore, they have been directed to secure direct shipping between those countries and Ireland.

Q. Senator Norris: That has been done under the new regime? A. That has been done under the Republican regime. There has been and is now out of New York a good service of freight boats to the Irish ports.

Q. Mr. Manly: Are they American owned? A. They are American owned, flying the American flag. We expect that during the coming months there will be another line out of Boston also to the Irish ports. There was an announcement of a second line out of New York to Irish ports that appeared in the New York shipping and commercial papers two or three weeks ago. Our consul in France arranged direct shipments to Ireland, and similar arrangements have been made from Holland, Spain, and Portugal. We have also out of Cork now a direct freight service on American ships from Cork to Copenhagen and the Baltic ports. To that extent we have, at any rate, broken down the wall which England had put around Ireland; and we have attracted from foreign ports considerable tonnage to our shores. We have got direct some of the foreign-produced goods that we needed; and we have exported, principally to America, goods that otherwise would not have come here. The old custom was that our goods would be shipped to England, and would be shipped from there as English goods. Due to the absence of an Irish department of customs, we have no records of our trade with foreign countries.

BRITISH INTERFERENCE WITH AMERICAN FREIGHT SERVICE TO IRISH PORTS

Our work now is in breaking virgin soil. I am very pleased to say that the service between American ports and Irish ports has been successful; and I think that that service is as financially successful as that of any other service to Europe from this country. I can put before you figures showing the growth of that trade month after month for the past twelve months.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Are those passenger boats? A. Those are freight boats, in which we are much more interested than in passenger boats.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Are they allowed to land in Ireland? I thought there was some regulation about that. A. Yes, I was coming to that in a minute. Freight boats have been permitted, I might say, to dock by the British authorities; but not a single one of those boats has avoided interference by the British authorities at the Irish ports. From the very first boat to the last boat that has gone there, every one has been subjected to some interference by the British authorities at the Irish ports.

Q. Senator Norris: Don't you think that after this trade develops, as it gives promise to, that the British Government will interfere with those boats landing directly at an Irish port? A. She will go as far as she can to prevent this service becoming a permanent one.

Q. She may let up on you a while, and then pay her debts out of shipping profits, and then come back on you again. A. Every one

of those ships has been raided by the authorities, ostensibly looking for arms and ammunition and secret dispatches and "undesirables."

Q. Do not those things have a tendency to interfere with the trade, and may, if carried on, prevent the trade entirely? A. Yes, it is an indication of what is coming. And it has this effect, that it makes it very onerous for the individual seaman going into an Irish port to have his person and his possessions searched by the British Government. Every one of these seamen has his possessions and his cabin and his person searched by the British officials.

Q. They do not even stop with that, according to some of our witnesses.¹ A. They have even mounted machine guns on one of these ships, and they would not allow the cargo to be unloaded or the captain to land for a time.

Q. Mr. Manly: Those were relief supplies, were they not? A. Part of the cargo consisted of relief supplies.

BRITISH ADMIRALTY PROHIBITS AMERICAN PASSENGER SERVICE TO CORK

England has not so far prevented the freight trade. She has prevented, however, passenger vessels flying the American flag putting into Cork harbor. It was announced early in the year that passenger boats built in a Philadelphia yard and flying the American flag were to be routed on the Atlantic, some of them out of New York and some others of them out of Boston, for European ports, calling at Cork harbor. It is a very remarkable fact that while that first boat was on the ocean, with passengers, freight and mails, the British Admiralty issued an order prohibiting her and prohibiting other ships on the eastbound voyage to call at Cork harbor. Before that there had not been any such prohibition, because the only ships calling at Cork harbor were British vessels. But here was an American vessel desiring to cater to the needs of American citizens who want to go to Ireland and of Irish citizens coming to America; and the English step in with an order and say, "You shall not go into Cork harbor." A more remarkable thing is that some two weeks before that ship sailed, a dispatch was sent by the correspondent of and appeared in the London *Daily Chronicle*, which is Mr. Lloyd George's paper, announcing that those ships were going, and stating that the representatives of the White Star and Cunard and other English lines here were wondering whether or not this "foreign" ship would be allowed into Cork harbor. That was several days before the first ship sailed. Here is the dispatch from the *Daily Chronicle* of September 3, 1920. It is headed, "New Competition With British Companies," and is from their special correspondent:

¹ See testimony of Emil Pezolt.

"New York, Thursday.

"For the first time since August, 1914, a passenger liner from the United States will arrive in London this month. She is the *Panhandle State*, and her voyage will mark the inauguration of the United States Mail Steamship Company's competition with the Cunard and White Star lines. The company is negotiating with the old North German-Lloyd an agreement similar to that recently concluded between the American Ship and Commerce Corporation and the Hamburg-American Line, whereby the docking facilities and routes of the German concern all over the world will be placed at the American company's disposal. (The Witness: Mark the phrasing of that!)

"The *Panhandle State*,—a nickname given to Texas because its shape is that of a frying-pan with its handle,—is advertised to sail from New York on September 18th for Queenstown, Boulogne, and London. She is the first transatlantic liner to be built in America in 20 years, and is of 13,500 gross tons. She is luxuriously fitted up for first-class passengers only.

QUEENSTOWN PROBLEM

"Shipping circles point out that, in accordance with the present British regulations, the Cunard and White Star liners have eliminated Queenstown on their eastbound voyages, although they are permitted to call there on their way to America. Officials of those lines are wondering whether vessels under foreign flags will be privileged to land passengers at the Irish port."

The Witness: That message was sent from New York, and appeared in the London *Daily Chronicle* on September 3. The boat sailed on September 18, and was prohibited entry into Cork harbor. No American passenger steamer on that route has been permitted to call at Cork harbor.

Q. Senator Norris: Cork harbor is Queenstown? The dispatch says Queenstown. A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: This is a matter on which the Commission needs light. I gather from what you have already said that, in spite of obstacles, the Republican Government has already done constructive work. Perhaps you can outline that for us. Those are the things that especially interest the Commission.

REPRESSION OF FOREIGN TRADE WITH IRELAND A CONTINUOUS BRITISH POLICY

Q. Commissioner Addams: I would like to ask one question. Could the British Government prevent a boat landing at Cork harbor if it were not under martial law,—under war-time rule? A. That is a question for your State Department to answer.

Q. I mean, could the British Government dictate in general what boats could land in Ireland, or is it a part of the punitive policy of the Government towards Ireland now? A. That is a question of International Law that I cannot answer, but I understand that within the three-mile limit the Government is in power, and the Government can say what boats they will admit or will not admit within those limits.

Q. That has been done before, has it not? A. Yes, we have been crippled and prevented from developing commercially and economically by English navigation laws and other repressive legislation on a good many occasions in our history.

Q. Mr. Manly: Mr. Consul, at the time this regulation was passed, Cork harbor was not under martial law? A. No, it was not.

Q. Commissioner Addams: But I meant under war-time regulations. A. I may say, on the shipping proposition, that the British Government has sent out certain announcements that the Irish Coast is not safe for shipping, with a view to keeping shipping out of those ports. On the 27th of October there appeared in the issue of the *New York Times* of that day a news item under a Baltimore date line headed: "Warn Ships Off Ireland; Admiralty Says Navigation Guides Are Not Reliable There." The news item cited a notice prominently posted in the marine room of the Baltimore Customs House for the benefit of outbound mariners:

"I have to report that an announcement is made by the Admiralty (British) to the effect that too much reliance should not be placed upon the maintenance of fog signals and lights on the coast of Ireland. The Admiralty also calls attention to the fact that there is a liability of these aids to navigation being discontinued on the coast of Ireland without any warning whatever."

The Witness: That is a very serious announcement, and I sent a letter to the Harbor Commissioners of Cork, and here is their answer:

"I am directed by my Commissioners to refer to your letters of 15th and 16th November, with reference to the following British Admiralty notice to mariners, extracted from the *Dublin Gazette* of October 3rd last:

"NOTICE TO MARINERS

"Much reliance is not to be placed on lights and fog signals along the Irish coast, as they are liable to be discontinued temporarily without warning."

and in reply to state that as far as my Commissioners and their officials can ascertain, no shipping, either Irish, British, American, or foreign, has avoided the Irish coast or Irish ports on account of this warning notice.

"There is no danger whatever over normal conditions to shipping frequenting the Irish coast or Irish ports; and as far as Cork harbor is concerned, its approaches, anchorages, and wharves are absolutely safe. The only vessels prohibited (by a British Government order) from calling at this port are, as far as we are aware, eastbound passenger transatlantic liners."

The Witness: I have sent this out to all the maritime boards here.

BRITISH ORDER PRACTICALLY BLOCKADES IRISH PORTS

Only this week there appeared in the press here the following, sent out from London on January 11:

"The mysterious announcement by the Admiralty, believed to refer specifically to Irish ports, notifying masters to watch carefully for the discontinuance without warning of light and fog signals along the Irish coast, is still in force, the Admiralty announced today."

It may be necessary, the statement adds, to forbid all entrance to certain ports. This is believed to apply specifically to Irish ports.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Is that ever justified under any code of martial law, except in the case of actual war? It practically means that there is war in Ireland. A. Yes, that is practically an acknowledgment of the existence of a state of war.

Q. That is practically a blockade. A. It is.

Q. As a matter of fact, has the British Government a right to make such an order? A. Well, the British Navy is still afloat.

Q. But it is going to be disarmed. A. In Mr. Asquith's phrase, "Wait and see."

AMERICA'S GROWING TRADE WITH IRELAND

May I briefly give you the totals of the trade with Ireland in the eleven months since those ships began to run, as compared with the preceding eleven months? The value of direct trade between America and Ireland: During 1919, America imported from Ireland, for the eleven months, \$11,797,896 worth of goods. The following year, 1920, America imported from Ireland \$36,605,809 worth of goods. America exported to Ireland in 1919 goods valued at \$30,775,879; in 1920, \$41,331,371. That shows you the enormous expansion in the direct trade between the two countries following the inauguration of this shipping service.

Q. Chairman Wood: How are those trade balances you name settled? They indicate that in normal times the rate of exchange would be in your favor. A. Under normal conditions in Irish trade, we sell more than we buy. The rate of exchange would be in our favor. The pound—if we had the sterling currency—would buy far more than the English pound. But because of the political connection with England, and because of the fact that our Republican Government is not recognized, we are in this position, that the pound today will not buy eight shillings' worth, while the pound in 1914 would buy twenty shillings' worth.

FUNCTIONS OF IRISH REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

Now, as to the functions of the Government. That is the last thing you wanted information about. I will put on record, if I may, an extract from the official request made to the United States Government for recognition of the Irish Republican Government. This sets forth the different departments of government established in Ireland. (Reading):

"The Government of the Republic of Ireland is conducted under the central administration of a cabinet consisting of the president and ministers of state for home and for foreign affairs, for national defense, for finance, for local government, for industries, for labor, for agriculture, and for education, with supplemental directors of

trade and commerce, of fisheries, of forestry, and of information. Each of these departments is now actively functioning, and has been so functioning without interruption since April, 1919.

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs is prosecuting Ireland's claim for recognition as a sovereign and independent state through a number of diplomatic missions to foreign peoples and governments. The Minister of Defense has organized a disciplined army of Volunteers, which is being equipped. The Minister of Finance has floated a considerable loan, both domestic and foreign, for the general purposes of the government, in particular for the economic development of the country. The confidence reposed in the Republican Government by the people of Ireland is evidenced by the fact that the domestic loan was over-subscribed by one-half. We asked for £250,000 from the Irish people, and they gave us £370,000.

"The Minister of Local Government coordinates the work of the municipal and rural councils, and controls through these democratically elected bodies the administration of all the local affairs of the nation. The Minister of Industries and the Director of Trade and Commerce have caused a survey of Ireland's economic resources to be made, with a view to their proper utilization, along cooperative lines, for the benefit of the nation; and they are developing closer trade relations with foreign countries through the consular service. The Ministry of Labor is particularly concerned with the advancement of schemes for the proper housing of the workers, the question of unemployment, and, the arbitrament of industrial disputes."

Q. Commissioner Thomas: May I interrupt here to ask if it is true that the Dail Eireann adopted a program similar to that of the so-called Bishops' Program here in the United States? A. I confess I do not know. I have not read that program.

Q. Commissioner Addams: The minimum wage and eight-hour proposition. A. I can submit to you later the actual decrees made by Dail Eireann. (Continues reading):

"The Minister of Agriculture has organized a Land Bank to finance the agricultural industry of the country. Through the agency of this bank several large grass ranches have been divided into economic holdings, and allotted to farmers and laborers cooperatively organized. The Ministry actively aided the Director of Forestry in instituting an Arbor Day movement for the planting of waste lands throughout the country. The Minister for Home Affairs has organized a national judiciary,—civil and criminal courts, the only courts, except the British courts-martial, now functioning in Ireland; and a police court. The rulings of the Land Courts on the intricate questions arising out of the land problem have brought about a cessation of the land unrest endemic in certain parts of Ireland in recent years. The Department of Education is promoting a general scheme of national education, and has taken over, and now directly controls, certain technical and other educational institutions.

"The Fisheries Department is attending to the special needs of the fishing industry. A chain of cooperative societies has been formed amongst deep-sea fishermen, and the Department is aiding these societies financially to secure motor-driven boats, and essential equipment. Its inspectors see that the necessary technical knowledge is made available for those employed in the curing and marketing of the fish. The other Departments similarly promote the national interests directly in their charge, working in close association with all interested in their respective spheres.

CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS

"The functioning of the Republican Government is seen in its legislative acts and in the obedience rendered to them. Both the English Government, through Dublin Castle, and the Irish Republican Legislature are issuing laws and decrees. But the laws and regulations of Dublin Castle are purely repressive and destructive, and are principally honored in the breach; whereas the laws of the Irish Legislature are constructive and are observed. One hundred fifty thousand soldiers cannot enforce English laws upon an unwilling population, whereas the force of public opinion has served to obtain a nearly full measure of obedience for Ireland's own laws.

"The administration of justice and the maintenance of civil order is another test of actual government. That Irish courts administer justice to the practical exclusion of the English courts is now a matter of universal knowledge. When the Lord Mayor of Cork, now dead in an English jail, was arrested, he was presiding at a court of the Republic adjudicating in a case in which an English insurance company was the plaintiff.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND "ALMOST NON-EXISTENT"

"Thus the Government of the Republic is functioning, and claims recognition not only because it is the legitimate and rightful government of the Irish people, the only government with the democratic sanction of the consent of the governed, but also because it is also the actual government in Ireland. The rival British Government in Ireland has been declared, even by Lord Grey, to be almost 'non-existent.' Referring to the 'helplessness' of the British authority in Ireland, he said recently that British authority 'has apparently ceased.'"

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT DEVELOPS MEAT- PACKING INDUSTRY

In amplification of that little cursory statement, I would like to supplement it very briefly with some of these things. I referred, earlier in my remarks, to the non-economic traffic in live stock. The Director of Trade and Commerce has taken measures to organize and establish on cooperative lines a large meat-dressing plant at Waterford. The farmers of the district abutting on that city and port have already subscribed almost one and one-half million dollars cooperatively for that plant. We had here in this country within the past two months a delegation from that cooperative committee at Waterford interviewing possible managers of the plant, and looking up architects and experts in the laying out of meat packing plants. Everything is in order to erect that large meat dressing plant at Waterford, and alongside of it to have a tanning industry to treat the hides, and a fertilizer plant to deal with the offals. This is one of the schemes undertaken by the Republican Government for the development of Ireland.¹

¹ This promising undertaking has since been thwarted by the British forces in Ireland. See evidence, pp. 985-989.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: Speaking of meats, did the Republican Government put an embargo on the shipment of meats and pork products? A. Yes, at one time during the war.

Q. Which was effective? A. It was effective.

DECREE OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT STOPS LAND LITIGATION

Now, as to the official decrees of the Dail. You may be interested to see one of the official acts of the Dail. It is bi-lingual, in Irish and in English. This one here is in regard to the land question. It is rather interesting. It is headed, "Proclamation. Claims to Land: Dairy, Agricultural, and Residential Holdings." (Reading):

"Whereas, it has come to our knowledge that claims have been and are being made in various parts of the country to farms and holdings which are being used and worked by the occupiers as dairy, agricultural, and residential holdings, and that such claims are being based on the assertion that the claimants or their ancestors were formerly in occupation of the property so claimed; and

"Whereas, these claims are, for the most part, of old date; and while many of them may be well founded, others seem to be of a frivolous nature, and are put forward in the hope of intimidating the present occupiers;

"Now it is decreed by Dail Eireann in session assembled:

"(1) That the present time, when the Irish people are locked in a life-and-death struggle with their traditional enemy, is ill-chosen for the stirring up of strife amongst our fellow-countrymen; and that all our energies must be directed towards the clearing out, not the occupier of this or that piece of land, but the foreign invader of our country;

"(2) That pending the international recognition of the Republic, no claims of the kind referred to shall be heard or determined by the courts of the Republic unless by written license of the Minister for Home Affairs;

"(3) That in the meanwhile claimants may file particulars of their claims with the Registrar of the District Court in which the property is situate.

"And it is further decreed that any person or persons who persists or persist in pressing forward a disputed claim of the nature above referred to shall do so in the knowledge that such action is a breach of this Decree;

"And it is ordered that the forces of the Republic be used to protect the citizens against the adoption of high-handed methods by any such person or persons.

"By order of Dail Eireann, this 29th day of June, 1920."

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT RESTRICTS EMIGRATION

The Witness: Here is an order restricting emigration from Ireland; and this also shows you the outlook of the men at home. (Reading):

"PROCLAMATION: EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND

"Whereas, it has come to our knowledge that a number of men of military age and other citizens of the Republic are leaving Ireland; and

"Whereas, Ireland cannot spare any of her children at the present juncture;

"Now it is hereby ordered that after the date of this Proclamation no citizen of the Irish Republic shall be permitted to leave Ireland for the purpose of settling abroad unless with the written sanction of the Government of the Republic. Applications for permits must be made to the Secretary of State for Home Affairs. Each application must set out: (1) name of applicant; (2) his or her address; (3) place of birth; (4) date of birth; (5) date of proposed departure; (6) country of destination; (7) proposed period of absence; (8) reasons for emigrating. Every application must be authenticated by a justice and the Registrar of the District Court for the district in which the applicant resides. Applications by soldiers of the Irish Republican Army should set out particulars of their companies, battalions, and brigades, and should be authenticated and recommended by the Brigade Commandant in each case. All applications must be accompanied by a certificate of the birth or baptism of the applicant.

"By order of Dail Eireann this 24th day of July, 1920."

The Witness: Lord French proclaimed that there are 200,000 too many young men in Ireland and suggested emigration as a cure. Dail Eireann decreed that these young men must remain in Ireland.

**REPUBLICAN DECREES FOR CONSERVATION
AND DEVELOPMENT OF IRISH RESOURCES**

I will give the names of just a few additional decrees: A Decree for a National Arbor Day for Afforestation; Fisheries: Financial Assistance, and the Appointment of a National Inspector of Fisheries; the establishment of a National Civil Service, embracing employes of all elected bodies. Down to very recently, the brains of Ireland was going into the English civil service; the young men who passed through the secondary schools in Ireland and who could not go on to the university to get a profession were recruited for the English civil service, and not only occupied positions in Ireland, but in England, Egypt, and India. And we felt that Irish brains should be used, not for the buttressing up of the British Empire, but for the building up of Ireland. We are endeavoring to provide an incentive whereby the youth of Ireland will not leave the country, but will have ambition to remain in their own country. A Commission of Inquiry to inquire into the industrial resources of the country, to find out the potentialities and possibilities of development, was appointed by Dail Eireann. From the date it began until its recent sittings, the British Government used every effort to prevent its holding public

sessions. They took possession of certain of its members physically, so that they could not attend meetings. They have occupied buildings where it was to sit. They have seized its records. Yet despite all this, the Commission has gone on the even tenor of its way and taken surveys of the industrial resources of the country. And I have in my hand the first survey it has published.

Chairman Wood: We should be glad to have it.

The Witness: I can leave it with you. I want to give you a decree on housing and fixing a minimum rent.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: You mean a decree on maximum rent.

JUDICIARY AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTABLISHED

A. I will come across the actual decree in a moment. (Reading titles of decrees): "That courts of Justice and Equity be established; and that the Ministry be empowered when they deem fit to establish courts having criminal jurisdiction"; "That a Department for the collection of Income Tax be instituted by Dail Eireann, and that all persons who pay the income tax to that Department which, otherwise they would pay to the British Government be indemnified against losses caused by distraint or otherwise; in agreed circumstances discretionary power being given to the Dail Income Tax Department to refuse such taxes as it deems inadvisable to accept." "That a commission of experts be set up to inquire into the possibility of carrying on local administration without financial aid from the English Government, to report as to reforms and economies in local administration, and particularly in the Poor Law system, that would enable councils to meet altered financial conditions." That, of course, has to do with the withholding of grants by the English Local Government Board. This is a decree that the imposition of political or religious tests as a condition of industrial employment in Ireland is declared illegal, and that action be taken to prevent such tests being imposed.

DECREE RESTRICTING INCREASE OF RENT

And this is the decree restricting increase of rent. (Reading decree):

"No landlord of any dwelling house shall compel a tenant to quit his holding or terminate or refuse to renew the tenancy of any tenant if the tenant shall pay a reasonable increase of rent. A 'reasonable increase of rent' shall mean an amount calculated at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum on the expenditure on the improvement or structural alteration of the dwelling house, not including expenditure on decoration or repairs; and in addition an increase in the amount payable by

the landlord in respect of rates over the rates paid in respect of the corresponding period which included the third of August, 1914. In further addition where the landlord is responsible for the whole of the external and sanitary repairs, an amount not exceeding 15 per cent. on the net rent. The expression 'net rent' means, where the tenant paid the rates, the rent at which the premises were let on the third of August, 1914; or where the premises were not let on that date, the rent at which they were last let before that date; or in the case of premises first let after said date, the rent at which they were first let; and where the landlord paid the rates, the said rent less the amount of such rates.

"That pending further legislation, the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, with the approval of the Ministry, be empowered to make such regulations as the Ministry shall deem fit to carry out the provisions of this decree."

Q. Commissioner Thomas: How do you carry out such legislation, solely by moral pressure? A. You forget, sir, that we have our courts functioning.

Q. And you have your police force? A. Our police force and our local authorities.

Q. Senator Norris: But your courts operate in secret. A. Chairman Wood: But they have the force of public opinion behind them. They have the popular support of almost 90 per cent. of the people.

Q. Commissioner Thomas: There is British machinery left, is there not? A. O, yes, if you want to employ it.

Q. Well, suppose I was hard-hearted, as some landlords are, and went to the British courts and got a decree for an increase of rent. A. That would be an act of treason to the Republic, and would be punished accordingly.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: It is not a bad act. I think we shall have to get something of that kind.

Commissioner Howe: In Pennsylvania?

Commissioner Maurer: Yes.

RELIGIOUS LEGISLATION PROHIBITED

The Witness: This is a decree forbidding religious legislation.

"It is hereby decreed that the Ministry of Home Affairs be empowered to make orders from time to time declaring that any particular act or acts of the British Parliament or orders thereunder, or any parts of such acts or orders, being clearly motivated by a religious or political animosity to the Irish people, or repugnant to the Republican Government or to Irish ideals, shall not be recognized by the Irish Republic, and shall not be applied in the law courts of the Republic; and that on making any such order the Ministry may make any consequential orders which may be deemed necessary or expedient."

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL FORMED

The Witness: Here is the formulation by decree of a National Economic Council consisting of nominated and elected elements;

elected elements comprising representatives of various organized economic interests, such as Labor, Agriculture (Farmers' Unions, etc.), Cooperative Societies, and representatives of some of the local public bodies. The duties of the Council shall be to examine and report on all current economic questions referred to it by the Dail or the Cabinet, and generally to advise the Republican Government in regard to economic policy; and by providing a common ground for representatives of various economic interests, and by promoting negotiations between them, to secure agreements and joint action which will safeguard national interests.

Commissioner Thomas: That is pretty good.

The Witness: And here is a decree setting up a National Land Commission for the purpose of carrying the land settlement schemes of the Dail into effect.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: I just want to ask a question after listening to your laws and regulations. You said something about your having issued a decree that there should be no young men leave Ireland. That does not mean that no one can get into Ireland, if there is a fellow like myself, about my age, that would want to get there? I think it would be a pretty good country to go to after awhile. A. If you will come to me, you will have no difficulty in arranging your passport after awhile.

Commissioner Thomas: He might even show you the way to get there.

The Witness: If there is any other information I can give you gentlemen, I should be glad to give it.

Chairman Wood: We appreciate it very much. And if at any future time we need further information along this line, we want to call on you.

The Commission will adjourn until tomorrow at ten o'clock.
(Adjournment 5:50 P. M.)

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SIXTH HEARINGS ON CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

Session Two

Before the Commission sitting in the Hotel LaFayette, Washington, D. C., Friday, January 21, 1921. 9:50 A. M.

Commissioner Addams (presiding): We will open our session this morning. Our first witness is Miss Louie Bennett, of Ireland.

TESTIMONY OF MISS LOUIE BENNETT

Q. Miss Bennett, will you please give your name and address?

A. My name is Louie Bennett. I live ten miles out of Dublin. I work in Dublin.

Q. What is your occupation, Miss Bennett? A. I am secretary of the Irish Women Workers' Union.

Q. We have asked the witnesses their religion. I don't know why we have fallen into that practice. What is yours? A. Protestant.

Q. And your family has been a Protestant family? A. Yes, a Protestant family, and Unionists.

TWO LINES OF CONFLICT

Q. Now, Miss Bennett, you know the purpose of our inquiry, and we want to get the situation as clearly as possible before us. And if you will, just give us the important facts about the situation.

A. I represent, as you know, Miss Addams, the Irish Women's International League, which is fundamentally a pacifist organization. And it is the desire of my Committee that we lay before you and place emphasis particularly on the efforts which the Irish people have made to develop their own national life and to follow their own government, Dail Eireann, rather than to concentrate on any of the physical force activities which have taken place in Ireland. You see, there are going on at the present time two lines of conflict: there is the conflict between the Irish Government, the Dail, and the British Government, along what one might call civil lines; and there is also the physical conflict, the conflict between the two armies. And we thought it would be interesting to lay before your Commission facts in regard to the way in which the British Government have tried to block all the efforts of the Irish to establish or carry on industry, and to carry on their own local councils—the administration of their county and local councils, and to carry on their own courts—courts of law as established by the Dail.

THE IRISH INDUSTRIAL INQUIRY COMMISSION

If the Commission wish, I propose to deal with those subjects, and to take up first the industrial question. And I had given me by Mr. Darrell Figgis, who is Minister for Industry in the Dail—the Irish Parliament, I had given me by him a statement with regard to his Commission, the Industrial Inquiry Commission which he organized—an inquiry into the industrial conditions and resources of Ireland. And if the Commission wish, I would read that statement.

Commissioner Addams: We would be very glad to have it.

The Witness (Reading):

“NOTES RESPECTING THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIES OF IRELAND, AND THE ATTEMPTS TO HINDER THIS WORK.

“The Commission was established in September, 1919, by the Government of Ireland with the following terms of reference:

“‘To inquire into the national resources and the present condition of manufacture and production, and industries in Ireland, and to consider and report by what means these natural resources may be more fully developed, and how these industries may be encouraged and extended.’

“It will be seen that the work consigned to the Commission was of great magnitude and importance. Men representative of science, industry, as well as men not immediately concerned either with industry or science but of public standing, were called together to undertake this work. The invitations extended took cognizance only of their qualifications for this work, and made no inquiry as to what might be their political opinions. It therefore happened that the personnel of the Commission of Inquiry comprised men representing many shades and colors of political thought. Mr. Darrell Figgis was invited to undertake the office of secretary, and accepted the invitation.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES ON FOOD AND POWER

“At its first meeting, held in the Mansion House, Dublin, it was recognized that the task outlined was of considerable magnitude. It was indeed a task such as had not been committed to any single body in any state among the nations of the world; and the complexity of the subjects needing inquiry was added to by the systematic neglect of industrial inquiry by the usurping government of the country. The Commission, therefore, decided to approach its inquiry in detail; decided to set aside certain subjects for later examination; and at once to prosecute inquiries into the two subjects of outstanding importance. The two subjects so outlined were food and power. Special committees were appointed to deal with each of these two subjects. Hugh Ryan, D. S. C., Professor of Chemistry at the National University, Dublin, was appointed chairman of the Power Committee. Thomas Johnson, Secretary of the Irish Trades Congress, was appointed chairman of the Food Committee. These two committees further subdivided their subjects. The Food Committee decided to deal immediately with Milk and Milk Products, Meat and Meat Products, and Fisheries, seaboard and inland; and to leave certain other subjects of its inquiry for later investigations. The Power Committee divided its subjects according to the commodities from which power may be derived, whether coal, peat, industrial alcohol, or water.

“At the end of that year the Commission began to hear evidence

in public session on each of the above subjects at the City Hall, Dublin. It was rumored that the Crown Forces would attempt arbitrarily to prevent these public sessions. Steps were therefore taken to secure necessary publicity in other countries as to such action, and the result was that these public sessions were held without interference.

CROWN FORCES SEEK TO SUPPRESS COMMISSION

"Early the following year the Commission moved down to the City of Cork to continue its public sessions there. On its arrival in that city the secretary was informed that sessions, whether public or private, of the Commission of Inquiry would not be permitted, and would be broken up by force if necessary. The secretary replied that he could not receive any verbal message of this kind, and requested that the information be given him in writing signed by a proper authority, when he would take due cognizance of it. This request was refused. The Lord Mayor and the Corporation of the city had invited the Commission of Inquiry to hold its session in the Council Chamber of the City Hall. On proceeding to the City Hall the following morning, however, this building was found in possession of the Crown Forces, armed with carbines, who violently prevented both commissioners and witnesses entering its precincts. Arrangements, however, had been made in view of this possibility, and the Commission, together with its witnesses, who included some of the most prominent citizens of the city, proceeded to the School of Art. It sat in session there during the morning. During this session police forces entered and attempted to eject the Commission. The commissioners refused to withdraw, and the Crown Forces withdrew. On its return to the School of Art it found this building also occupied by Crown Forces. It then proceeded with its witnesses to the Council Chamber of the County Council at the Court House, and sat in session there until a late hour at night. Crown Forces attempted to enter this Council Chamber, but, witnesses all being present, the precaution had been taken of bolting and barring the doors, and therefore it was possible to complete this session.

"The following morning advice was brought to the secretary that every public building in the city was occupied by Crown Forces. Witnesses were, therefore, brought into the hotel, and the session proceeded in the Commission's own private room at the hotel. In the early afternoon, however, the manager of the hotel informed the secretary that the local commander of the Crown Forces had just informed him that if the Commission were permitted by him to continue any longer with its session, he would break into the hotel and break up the session by force. The manager therefore requested the secretary of the Commission to suspend its session, as such a proceeding would cause great inconvenience to his guests. The commissioners, therefore, accompanied still by their witnesses, proceeded by a back way to a private house, and there completed its day's work while the Crown Forces were hunting for it through the city."

Q. Major Newman: May I interrupt you just a moment, Miss Bennett? What was the date of this inquiry? A. September, 1919. It was on, of course, for a considerable time.

Q. And just what was the Commission? A. An inquiry into the industrial resources of Ireland.

Q. Yes, but the Commission had its origin—it was appointed by whom. A. By the Dail Eireann Parliament. Mr. Darrell Figgis, the secretary of the Commission, is a member of the Dail. (Continues reading):

"The following morning the Commission proceeded up a back way into the City Hall. Its witnesses on this occasion were to be the City Engineer and the Professor of Engineering at Cork University. The session was opened, and it continued for nearly an hour before the Crown Forces discovered that they had been outwitted. They accordingly broke violently into the City Hall and ejected each member of the Commission by force from the building. This section of its evidence had, therefore, to be completed at a later date in the City of Dublin. For it is to be observed that the Commission has never in one single instance deflected from the work it has outlined for itself, but has, with no attempt at furtive procedure, completed each part of the work scheduled by its committees.

"The same interference was encountered in the City of Limerick. The Mayor of this city is himself a member of the Commission. He, in his mayoral chain of office, was to have presided on this occasion, but was, with his fellow commissioners, excluded from his own City Hall. Nevertheless, at Limerick also the Commission completed every part of the work it had undertaken to do in that city.

"These are only two instances of the attempt by the usurping government of Ireland to frustrate and bring to naught a purely industrial and scientific inquiry. On several occasions the Commission has been invited to address the County Councils of the country with regard to its work. Such meetings have been publicly prohibited. On one such occasion it happened that the secretary of the Commission came in actual danger of his life because of an inquiry into the coal resources of one of the coalfields of Ireland concerning which the County Council, in whose administrative area this field occurred, had requested to know the result of the special inquiries the Commission had conducted as to this field.

"Recently, at the end of November, 1920, a delegation from the Commission proceeded to Buncrana, in the north of Ireland, to hear evidence with regard to fisheries. Arrangements had been made for this evidence to be heard in the Town Hall. On the morning of the day, the Town Hall was occupied by Crown Forces, and the Commission was forcibly prevented from entering. It happened in this case that the leading witness was politically prejudiced against the Government *de jure* of the country, and expressed himself warmly against the interference with such an inquiry. Here also the Commission withdrew to its private hotel, and completed all its arrangements as scheduled before the Crown Forces were aware of what was happening.

WORK ACHIEVED BY THE COMMISSION

"The above are some instances of the persistent attempt by the usurping government of Ireland to frustrate this purely industrial and scientific inquiry. Nevertheless, the Commission has already published an interim report on Milk Production, Volume I of its Minutes of Evidence, and has in rapid preparation for the press reports on the Coal Resources of the Country, Industrial Alcohol, Meat, Fisheries, and Stud Farms. When these reports are completed, other subjects will at once be taken in hand."

ATTEMPT MADE ON SECRETARY'S LIFE

The Witness: With regard to the statement here of the secretary of the Commission, Mr. Darrell Figgis, being in danger of his life on one occasion: he narrowly escaped hanging. The military forces broke in on the meeting, and they held a kind of mock trial of Mr. Figgis. Colonel Moore was with him, and Colonel Moore got away.

And they decided to hang him, and they actually sent for the rope, and the rope was brought. Meanwhile, Colonel Moore had got away and he went to the District Inspector, and he reported to the District Inspector that in his opinion Mr. Darrell Figgis was in danger of his life because of the actions of those soldiers. And the District Inspector went down and stopped it. That was all that saved the life of Darrell Figgis.

Q. Mr. Manly: For the record, Miss Bennett, who was Colonel Moore? A. Colonel Moore was a British army officer in his youth. He is now an old man about 70 years old, I judge. He used to be a dominion home ruler, a Nationalist; but he has gradually come around to a Sinn Fein position.

Q. Does he hold a public office. A. No, he does not.

INQUIRY ENLISTS SUPPORT OF ALL CLASSES

Q. There is just another point in that which might be made more specific. In that last hearing that was a Unionist witness, was it not, who was about to testify? He was prejudiced against the existing government? A. Yes, he was prejudiced against the *de jure* government of the country.

Q. But that means that he was a Unionist witness, or a witness opposed to the Republican Government in the country. A. Yes. That inquiry caused a great deal of comment, and many witnesses of all parties appeared before it.

Q. The testimony has not at all been confined to witnesses of the Irish Republic? A. Not at all. You see, the industrial resources interest all kinds of people. They wanted to make it as broad as possible, and they had all kinds of witnesses before the Commission. I would like to add that this milk report was especially good, and this strange situation was recorded: that this report was sold side by side with the English Government report on the same subject, at a shop called Ponsonby's in Dublin where Government reports are sold. And this report, because of the enormous demand for it, was sold side by side with the British Government report.

Q. In the introduction, Miss Bennett, it was said that this Commission represented all shades of opinion. Can that be made a little more specific? Can you name witnesses who were not sympathetic with the Irish Republic? A. No, I cannot. You see, I did not take part in this inquiry at all. Friends of mine did, but these friends were either Nationalists or Sinn Fein—you understand what I mean by Nationalists—dominion home rulers?

Q. Yes, but there were dominion home rulers and there were Unionists on the Commission? A. Yes, yes.

Q. Major Newman: The personnel of the Commission itself, I think Mr. Manly meant.

The Witness (To Mr. Manly) : You mean the Commission itself?

Mr. Manly. Yes. A. Oh, no, they were all Sinn Fein. It said in the introduction, did it not, that all shades of opinion were represented in the inquiry?

Q. Mr. Manly: I thought it said on the Commission. A. It says (Reading) : "The invitations extended took cognizance only of their qualifications for this work, and made no inquiry as to what might be their political opinions. It therefore happened that the personnel of the Commission of Inquiry comprised men representing many shades and colors of political thought." Well, yes, that is what it says.

SECRETARY OF COMMISSION "ON THE RUN"

I ought to explain to this Commission that it is extremely difficult to get in touch with Mr. Darrell Figgis. He is on the run. I tried to get in touch with him, and a friend of mine did, but we did not succeed. In Dublin today it is extremely difficult to get in touch with people. But the Government has allowed the offices of the Commission to remain open. That has not been interfered with.

Q. Major Newman: Is that in Dublin? A. Yes, in Dublin.

Mr. Manly: But the Commissioners are on the run? A. Yes, that is it. Mr. Darrell Figgis, of course, goes to the office. He goes back and forth, and it is very hard to find him.

SUCCESS BEGETS SUPPRESSION

Q. Major Newman: I suppose the point of view of the British was that this was an activity of Dail Eireann, and therefore a secessionist activity. A. Yes. Our experience is that when the Crown forces begin to see something succeeding, they suppress it then. In its initial stages they did not take much notice of it. A witness who was testifying before that Commission in its earlier stages, a friend of mine, said that word was sent up to her that a detective was standing behind her taking notes on what she said. At the first meeting in Dublin it was not interfered with. But when it came to be successful and prominent, then they suppressed its activities. And it is the general opinion in Ireland that the British Government did not wish to give encouragement to any industrial activities which they did not undertake themselves. To illustrate that, just lately, December 11, I think it was, Mr. George Russell—AE.—had an account of an attempt to establish a meat-packing industry in Waterford. I have the article here if you think it to be of interest to the Commission. You see, that was deliberately blocked by the British Government. And anything of that sort which comes from the *Irish Homestead*, which as you know comes from Plunkett House,

from the Irish Agricultural Organization Society's headquarters—anything that is stated in the *Irish Homestead* you may take as absolutely true. Nothing is published for which they cannot give absolute and accurate evidence.

NON-POLITICAL CHARACTER OF IRISH AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION SOCIETY

Q. Commissioner Howe: Mr. George Russell and Sir Horace Plunkett work together, do they? A. Yes, sir. The *Irish Homestead* is the official paper of the Agricultural Society.

Q. Who are the men who work in that group? A. Mr. R. A. Anderson is the secretary. Mr. Coffey has charge of the library, and then there is a second secretary, Mr. North (?).

Q. Plunkett House is not official; it is not connected with the Government in any way? A. O, no, it is not official; purely voluntary.

Q. Major Newman: Sir Horace Plunkett we know is not a Sinn Feiner. Are the other men associated with him Sinn Feiners? A. Well, some are and some are not. You know they try to keep politics entirely out of their work, and they have succeeded very well, because they have men of all shades of political opinion in the cooperative movement, as you can understand. Unionists in the north are in the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, as well as Nationalists and Republicans. So it is of very great importance to them that they should keep politics out of their movement altogether.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT PREVENTS IRISH COOPERATIVE MEAT INDUSTRY

Q. But this case you refer to is of an industry which has been prevented, and it was under the auspices of this group? A. No, not at all.

Q. Commissioner Howe: It was the bacon industry that you were speaking of, was it not? A. Yes, the bacon industry. Please stop me if you think it is not of interest to the Commission. This relates to the American Meat Trust, which is endeavoring to operate in Ireland.

Commissioner Howe: That will be doubly interesting.

The Witness: This is an editorial by George Russell in the *Irish Homestead* for December 11, 1920:

"A few days ago alarm was expressed officially lest the American meat trusts should win complete control over the meat supply of these islands. The alarm was natural. A trust in an industry what imperialism is politically. It wants absolute control within its own sphere, just as the Cæsars, Napoleons, and statesmen with their am-

bitions without their genius, want to dominate the world. The nature of a trust is such that it goes on buying up, amalgamating with, or knocking out rivals until there is nothing in its own line of business left to oppose it."

Q. Commissioner Howe: There are no trusts, according to the American meat packers. A. Well, perhaps you have a different term for what we call trusts. (Continues reading):

"The alarm felt in Great Britain about American meat companies is felt in America about British oil companies, and diplomatic notes about oil concerns are already being exchanged, the diplomatists being gingered up to the requisite firmness by the big financiers who control them."

The Witness: Is that like an American trust?

Major Newman: We recognize that.

Commissioner Howe: There are some Americans who are in jail for saying that.

The Witness (Continuing reading):

"We expect within another ten years the big financiers of the old and the new world will have brought about another world war, or if they do not, it will be prevented only by direct intervention of Providence softening hearts, which nothing except a miracle could restore to humanity. We need not pursue this anticipation further, as the horror of today is sufficient for itself. But since official alarm has been expressed about control over the meat supply in these islands by American trusts, we will tell something of the adventures of people in Ireland who are trying to establish an Irish control over the Irish meat trade, and so prevent any foreign trust coming in. We refer to Irish Cooperative Meat, Limited, which, as our readers know, is a cooperative society registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act. It is a purely business organization, non-political, and non-sectarian. It is being promoted by a committee appointed by the cooperative societies and farmers' unions in the counties of Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, Carlow, Tipperary, and Queen's County. The chairman is Sir John Keane, Bart., D. S. O., Lieutenant-Colonel of His Majesty's Army, and who was a member of the War Office Costings Committee. Among the five thousand shareholders admitted to date are a general, several colonels, majors, captains in the British army, together with justices of the peace. We mention these facts to show that the organization was purely business, and it was impossible to suspect the chairman, committee, and shareholders were engaged in anything but a commendable business enterprise, and not the wildest imagination could suppose that these men came together and had subscribed over one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for any purpose inimical to the British Government. The sole purpose of Irish Cooperative Meat, Limited, was to erect a meat and bacon factory and cold store, and to carry on under better conditions the trade in meat which exists between Ireland and Great Britain.

POLICE HOLD UP, BEAT, AND THREATEN ORGANIZERS FOR COOPERATIVE FACTORY

"We now can tell the difficulties under which the organization of the society is carried on. It had an organizer in Cork, one in Limerick, and two in Tipperary. In August the Limerick organizer, with the secretary of the Farmers' Union, were held up at Askeaton by policemen, who covered them with revolvers, searched them, and took all

the documents they had. After examining these documents they were returned to the two men, and they were ordered out of the town. They were given exactly ten minutes to clear out, and they were threatened with dire penalties if they were caught there again. When they got outside the town darkness came on, and the roads were so unsafe, owing to the danger of being shot by military patrols, they returned and stayed at Askeaton during the night. On the next day the organizer went to Robertstown for a meeting, and while he was away the police searched the town and threatened the landlady if the organizer of Irish Cooperative Meat was allowed to stay another night in the town they would blow her house up. The secretary of the Farmers' Union went to meetings at Pallaskenry and Ballysteen. He went from these to his own house, and on his way was held up by men in uniform, who knocked him on the head, broke his cycle, and he was forced to walk home in this condition eight miles, and was in bed for ten days from the effects of the treatment he received. The Limerick organizer reported that he could hold no further meetings in the county. The Cork organizer reported a similar state of things there, and that it was unsafe for him to travel by road. At Castletownroche, where a big meeting was held, the farmers decided each to take shares and to send the money individually instead of hand both over to a treasurer, as was usual, as it would not be safe to make any collection of money in the district. The reason given for this was the raids by military and the allegations that sums of money were taken in these raids from persons whose houses were raided. The burnings of cooperative creameries have also had a very deterrent effect on the project. The organizer reports: 'The chief reason which I find keeps people from investing is the burning of creameries and the danger of something similar happening in Waterford to this project.' Naturally, when cooperative creameries are being attacked, wrecked and burned, when factories owned by English companies at Balbriggan, and other factories owned by persons of irreproachable politics at Mallow and elsewhere were burned, even the possession of a cooperative directorate of irreproachable character for the Irish Cooperative Meat, Limited, might not save it. We quote from the letter of a farmer in Waterford to show how this feeling operates: 'Owing to the destruction of cooperative stores and creameries, I decline to take any share in your Cooperative Meat, Limited, and I therefore request my name to be removed off the list of shareholders.'

BRITISH GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO PROTECT A LEGITIMATE IRISH INDUSTRY

"All these facts were communicated to Sir Hamar Greenwood, by order of the committee, and he was asked to reply definitely to the following questions: 'Is the policy of the Government opposed to the organization of these cooperative enterprises? Will the Government give an undertaking that our organizers and those attending meetings in connection with this project will not be interfered with in future by your forces? Is it possible, should the factory be erected and equipped, to get any reliable guarantee that it will not be destroyed by the forces of the Crown; or, if destroyed in this manner, will the Government guarantee adequate compensation?' To this reasonable request, on the 28th September a reply was received acknowledging the letter and repudiating on the part of the Chief Secretary any idea that the policy of the Crown was in any way antagonistic to the development of cooperative enterprises, and a further communication was promised with regard to the several points raised in the letter. On the 30th September another letter was addressed to the Chief Secretary pointing out that thousands of farmers in the south of Ireland could not distinguish between the Government and the acts of

its servants, and when cooperative creameries were being destroyed it would be futile to risk a quarter of a million of money on the Waterford enterprise. Along with this letter the secretary of Irish Cooperative Meat, Limited, inclosed letters, one from the Limerick organizer resigning his position because he could not incur expenses without showing a return, mentioning that when a meeting of farmers around Kilmallock was summoned to get shares, the military and police scoured round the country, and as a result it had to be dropped. Farmers told him they would gladly take one hundred shares, but it was not safe to invest money at present in such enterprises. But for the interference in the Kilmallock meeting, it was believed 5,000 shares would have been taken by farmers there in Irish Cooperative Meat, Limited. On the 30th October a further letter was addressed to the Chief Secretary asking for the reply promised to the first letter, and also mentioning that the Royal Irish Constabulary were making inquiries as to societies and individuals taking shares in the project, and stating that if information of that kind was wanted it could always be had at the office, where a list was kept, and there was nothing secret about the enterprise, which was purely a business proposition. And this was the reason why the committee pressed for a guarantee that the project, involving an outlay of £250,000, would not be destroyed by forces of the Crown, or if destroyed, adequate compensation would be given. To this letter, on the 2nd November, the following official reply was given: 'I am desired by the Chief Secretary to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo.' None of the matters dealt with in the first or succeeding letters were referred to, nor was the promise of inquiry or reply carried out. The last fact connected with this effort to create a great Irish industry is a letter from the Cork organizer stating that it was useless for him to continue his work. Nobody would come to meetings, and traveling was dangerous; farmers saw no security for money invested in any cooperative enterprise.

"We recapitulate the facts. Here is a great Irish industrial enterprise, with every prospect of success, with a directorate whose political character is above suspicion, with prominent shareholders who are generals, colonels, and others holding high office in the British Army, and they cannot get from the Chief Secretary a guarantee that if they build a meat factory, bacon factory, and cold store at Waterford the factory will not be burned down by the armed forces of the Crown, or if burned down that adequate compensation will be paid. These were plain questions addressed to the Chief Secretary, and he obviously finds himself unable to give a reply. He could, probably, if it was a local society of farmers, indicate that it was composed of persons whose politics rendered them liable to suspicion, and gave them such a public warning as he gave at Westminster, that any creamery was in danger if its manager was suspected of Sinn Fein opinions. No such general charge could be directed against Irish Cooperative Meat, Limited; and yet the Chief Secretary for Ireland finds himself unable, after four months, to assure Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Keane that if the business organization of which Sir John is chairman proceeds to erect premises, they will not be burned down by forces of the Crown; or, if burned down, compensation will be paid. This is making easy the operations of the American trusts, of which official dread was lately expressed. We can be quite sure that if American money was invested in a meat factory in Ireland, the American Government would very soon get compensation from the British Government for its proprietors if it was burned down by the armed forces of the Crown. The property of American citizens in Ireland would be either adequately protected; or, if wrecked, compensation would be paid. No American capitalist need dread loss of his money if he builds a meat factory in Ireland. Why then cannot Sir John Keane and his colleagues get a guarantee of safety or a

guarantee of compensation? The problem is beyond us to solve. Sir Hamar Greenwood denies explicitly that the British Government has any hostility to cooperative organization. What is it, then, which makes him unable to insure Irish Cooperative Meat, Limited, against the destruction of its premises if this society gives out the contract and starts to work? We have no answer. Perhaps the Chief Secretary, now that we have given publicity to the correspondence, may be induced to speak and say whether he suspects Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Keane, the general, colonels, majors, and other shareholders of treasonable practices, or whether any industrial enterprise of the kind is unlawful in Ireland. We think an answer is needed, and we hope the question will be put at Westminster, where convention requires that an answer shall be given."

HOSTILITY OF ENGLISH CAPITALISTS BEHIND REPRESSION OF IRISH INDUSTRIES

Q. Mr. Manly: Has that enterprise been completely abandoned as a result of this oppression? A. Yes, it is abandoned now.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Now, quite obviously the producers in that territory were planning to organize a meat-packing factory that would enable them to carry on all the functions of raising cattle and killing cattle and marketing the by-products. A. Yes.

Q. Why should the British Government object to that enterprise, and prevent the marketing of the agricultural products of Ireland? Why should the Government object to that, in your opinion? A. Well, I find it difficult to answer that question, but there is no doubt about it that they have continually put a spoke in the wheel to scotch Irish industry. You know the same effort was made in Cork to stop the Ford factory. It was not done through the Government, but through the motor industry in England. They tried to block Ford setting up that industry because they said that if he did, it would hurt British trade.

Q. Major Newman: But you say the British Government was not behind it? A. Well, they may have been, but it was primarily the British motor industry that was objecting.

Q. Commissioner Mauer: Did Ford get his plant erected? A. Yes, he did. He eventually decided to make these motor tractors and not motor cars.

Q. Commissioner Howe: In your opinion, why is the British Government opposed to the better development of Irish industry? A. I think it is sheer stupidity. The British are a stupid people. They have proved it in many ways. After all, Ireland helps to feed England. It seems to me an amazing thing that the English people should destroy Irish creameries and have to pay five shillings a pound for butter. It seems to me sheer stupidity—amazing stupidity. In destroying Ireland, England is also destroying her best customer.

Q. Major Newman: What do you think is in their mind? A. Well, I think they are afraid.

Q. Commissioner Howe: That economic prosperity will increase Ireland's power? That a weak country can be held in subjection easier than a strong country? A. Yes, that is it. You know they have tried to keep the population of Ireland at low ebb. As Sir John French said, the trouble in Ireland was that there were too hundred thousand young men too many, and they wanted to get rid of this population—the "vermin," as they call them.

Major Newman: He said there were two hundred thousand too many? A. Yes, young men. He said that they were the cause of the trouble.

Q. Commissioner Howe: This policy of economic repression in Ireland, in so far as it is intelligent, must be traceable back to an individual or a group of individuals or economic interests. Have you any theory as to where it emanates from? A. No, I have not.

Q. Does it emanate from the north of Ireland, from Belfast? A. No, I don't think so.

Q. Does it emanate from Sir Edward Carson's policy? A. I think there is a desire among the capitalist class in England to get Ireland in its grasp economically, and therefore anything like the cooperative movement they object to, because the cooperative movement means the destruction of capitalism.

Q. So you think that there is a tendency in England to weaken Ireland for their own power? A. Yes, I think that is so.

Q. It is not necessary for each group to be organized, but each group sees its opportunity in Ireland, and that opportunity is weakened by cooperation? A. Yes, yes.

Q. The fishing industry in England, for instance, might object to the cooperative fishing industry? A. Yes, yes.

IRISH ANTHRACITE COAL NOT UTILIZED

Q. And the coal: the English coal-mine owners object to the development of Irish coal mines? A. Well, Irish coal is anthracite, and it is no good for burning.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Now, just a moment. You say it is no good for burning? A. Well, they cannot burn it in their grates.

Q. Mr. Manly: Your stoves are not equipped to use anthracite? A. We haven't the heating systems that you have.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: We think that is the best coal we have. Our folks would never know how to use any other kind of coal. They have always burned anthracite. A. We have been carrying on a movement to encourage the Irish people to use it, but it means a change in our grates.

Q. But when you come to set up your new industries and foundries, you can adapt them to use anthracite? A. Yes, the new industries are adapting themselves to use Irish coal.

RAPID GROWTH OF COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Q. Commissioner Howe: You are familiar with the cooperative movement in Ireland, are you, Miss Bennett? A. Well, I am not working in it, but I know the Plunkett House crowd very well.

Q. We have not had very many statements on that, and if you can give us an idea of the cooperative movement and how it is developing and its scope, it would be very interesting. A. Well, you understand, the cooperative movement in Ireland is altogether agricultural—agricultural production. The cooperative movement is rather different from what it is in England. Its strength really lies in Sir Horace Plunkett's organization, the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. It is the cooperation of farmers, and it has grown immensely within the last twenty years. I think it is about twenty or twenty-five years established. And there have been cooperative societies set up all over Ireland, north and south, and it has been a quite definite link between north and south, for as I mentioned before, no politics can enter into the movement at all. Unionists come into the cooperative movement with our Sinn Feiners. Politics are outside of the movement altogether.

DESTRUCTION OF COOPERATIVE CREAMERIES BY CROWN FORCES

I think recently there has been quite a distinct feeling that there has been an effort to break up this cooperative movement in Ireland. The attacks on the creameries look distinctly like that. Altogether now the number of creameries destroyed amount to 47. Those are not all in the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, Sir Horace Plunkett's organization, but the large majority of them are. I have here another copy of the *Irish Homestead* which gives a complete list of the creameries destroyed in Ireland and the circumstances. If I read one or two, you will see how it is done. The I. A. O. S. is getting out evidence to prove that it was the Crown forces who destroyed these creameries in Ireland.

Q. Major Newman: If you read us one or two of them, can you leave us the rest? A. Yes, I brought you an extra copy so that the secretary might have them.

Q. Major Newman: We are very glad to have that specific information. We have already had some information on the subject, but we should like to have a complete and reliable list. A. Well, this you can rely upon as being absolutely correct, as being very carefully compiled at Plunkett House.

The first is the 9th of April, 1920, the Rearcross Cooperative Creamery, County Tipperary. Stated to have been burned by police and soldiers; machinery broken by police previous day; property completely destroyed. Direct personal evidence given. Claim for £5,000 lodged in County Court; damages amounting to £1,100 awarded. Compensation for machinery was refused, as it was not a separate claim of which notice was given within three days, in accordance with Malicious Injuries Act. Creamery appealed against decision, and were awarded a further sum of £1,200 for machinery destroyed, with costs. This attack and others under same date are assumed to have been reprisals for the shooting of two policemen. This was the first cooperative creamery attacked in Ireland. Trade turnover, 1918, £7,858.

Then it goes on. The tenth of April is another in Reiska, County Tipperary, an auxiliary creamery or separating station, property of Upperchurch Cooperative Agricultural and Dairy Society, County Tipperary. Stated to have been damaged by police and soldiers; machinery smashed and premises injured. Supposed cause same as at Rearcross. Direct personal evidence given at County Court. An award of £800, including consequential damage, was given against the county. County Court Judge Moore expressed the view that Crown ought to pay the amount. The creamery was later entirely destroyed (see Reiska, 10th August). See also Upperchurch, 31st July.

On the same date, April 10th, is another one, the Knockfune Cooperative Agricultural and Dairy Society, County Tipperary, an independent auxiliary dairy society supplying cream to Newport Cooperative Agricultural and Dairy Society for churning. Stated to have been damaged by military and police, machinery smashed and premises injured. Supposed cause of attack same as at Rearcross. Direct personal evidence available. This creamery was later entirely destroyed. See Knockfune, 29th July. See also Newport Cooperative Agricultural and Dairy Society, 23d July. Trade turnover, 1918, £6,581.

On the same day the Kilcommon Cooperative Creamery, County Tipperary, was also destroyed, and the goods in store destroyed and stolen. Direct personal evidence given. No reason whatever could be found as a cause for the attack. And so it goes on all through the list—two on the 6th of August; one on the 10th of August; another on the 16th; another on the 17th, and on the 27th; another on 8th September, 15th September, 19th September. The 1st of October, two more.

COOPERATIVE RECREATION HALL DEMOLISHED

The 7th of October case is rather interesting. This was an agricultural society at New Ross, County Wexford, a general cooperative society. Cushinstown Hall is one of a number of halls erected throughout the country out of a bequest left by Gertrude, Countess of Pembroke, and which have been vested in cooperative societies for administrative ends. These halls are used for educational and social purposes of all sorts, and have been found valuable accessories to the cooperative movement. Soldiers are stated to have held up about fifteen men present at 9 P. M., smashed scenery and stage fittings, burst open presses, and smashed boards out of stage fronts and out of wall and floor with a pickaxe, and then fired shots over the hall when leaving. The cause of the attack is supposed to be "terrorism." An estimate has been obtained for the repairs and a bill for same has been sent to Sir Nevil Macready through Colonel Jameson Davis, Enniscorthy.

And then the list continues: 8th October, a central cooperative creamery at Banteer, County Cork; two creameries on the 9th October, one on the 11th, two again on the 18th, and others on the 25th, 27th, and 31st; another on 3d November, 4th November, 5th November, and again others on 8th, 9th, 11th, 13th, and 18th November; 26th November, 27th—two large central creameries. And so it goes.

NOT ENOUGH MONEY IN IRELAND TO PAY FOR DAMAGE DONE BY CROWN FORCES

Q. Major Newman: I note that the first one or two of those that you read said that a proceedings for compensation for damages was instituted and afterwards allowed by the court. A. That was the county, you see; not the British Government. But the counties are not paying those claims under the Malicious Injuries Act. They cannot pay them. It would be impossible. Even in the *Irish Times*, which is the Government organ, they stated that if all the claims for malicious injuries were to be paid, there is not money enough in Ireland to pay them all.

Q. We have been told by other witnesses that it is the custom to assess these damages back on the community—that the community has to pay it. But what court was that? A. The county court.

Q. Later, after that did they cease to do that, or did they make awards all the way through? A. I will see about that (looking at notes).

Major Newman: That is not essential.

The Witness: As a matter of fact, none of these are being paid. The county councils are refusing to pay them. In some of these

cases they made a claim, and in others they did not. For instance, at Ballymote, County Sligo, a claim for £25,000 was made to the County Court.

Q. Mr. Manly: But that is simply lodged in the court. It is not awarded by the court. A. Well, in many cases the court says the loss is so much. But what the Irish Agricultural Organization Society is out to do is to prove the loss, to place complete evidence before the court, and then make the claim on the British Government. That is what they want to get this evidence for.

GOVERNMENT'S FALSE EXCUSES FOR DESTRUCTION OF COOPERATIVE CREAMERIES

Q. Major Newman: Did you ever hear of any case in which arms or ammunition had been discovered in creameries that had been raided by the Crown forces? A. It was stated in one or two cases that they had; but that was stated not to be true. The police stated that they were fired upon from two creameries. I think it would open this up if a read a little from "AE." on the subject of the destruction of these creameries. It is from one of his editorials:

"The cooperative movement in Ireland has gained world-wide recognition as one of the sanest and most beneficent of national movements. Its membership includes men of all parties and creeds in Ireland, and it is as popular and widely spread in Ulster as in other provinces. Its constitution and the rules of its societies forbade the discussion of political and sectarian matters. On this basis many thousands of Unionists were able to join with their Nationalist fellow-countrymen in an all-Ireland movement for their mutual benefit. Over one thousand societies have been created, with an annual turnover now exceeding eleven million pounds. The creameries, bacon factories, mills and agricultural stores created by cooperative societies are a familiar feature in the Irish countryside. Up to the moment of writing, forty-two attacks have been made on cooperative societies by the armed forces of the Crown. In these attacks creameries and mills have been burned to the ground, their machinery wrecked; agricultural stores have also been burned, property looted, employees have been killed, wounded, beaten, threatened, or otherwise ill-treated. Why have these economic organizations been specially attacked? Because they have hundreds of members, and if barracks have been burned or police have been killed or wounded in the lamentable strife now being waged in Ireland, and if the armed forces of the Crown cannot capture those actually guilty of the offenses, the policy of reprisals, condoned by the spokesmen of the Government, has led to the wrecking of any enterprise in the neighborhood, the destruction of which would inflict widespread injury and hurt the interests of the greatest number of people. I say this has been done without regard to the innocence or guilt of the persons whose property is attacked. It is not only wicked, this indiscriminate justice, but it is the most foolish of all policies if its object be to make people cling to the donor of the justice so dispensed. Every innocent person whose property is attacked, whatever were his political feelings before, becomes naturally an antagonist to the power which has injured him.

CREAMERIES HAVE NOT BEEN USED AS AMBUSHES

"In two cases it has been alleged that cooperative creameries were used as a basis of attacks on military or police. These exceptions are the Newport and Ballymacelligott Societies. It was stated by General Rycroft, of course on the report of some subordinate, that shots were fired from the Newport Creamery on a party of soldiers. The Irish Agricultural Organization Society was most anxious to get at the truth of these charges, which involved a violation of the non-political character of the associations it created. Sir Horace Plunkett investigated the case on the spot, seeing witnesses and attending the Quarter Sessions when the case was heard. Before this a claim for compensation under the Malicious Injuries Acts was made by the Newport Society. General Rycroft was informed that the claim was to be considered by the County Court Judge, and the military authorities were asked to give evidence. They did not summon any witnesses. They did not employ counsel to cross-examine the Society's witnesses. They actually withdrew from the district the soldiers who were implicated in the attack. I believe this was done because on deliberation it was found that the charge of shooting from the creamery could not be sustained. The second case, that of Ballymacelligott, has been given wide publicity by the Chief Secretary. Most careful inquiries have been made by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, and from a study of the affidavits made by eye-witnesses I am convinced the statement made by Sir Hamar Greenwood, on what authority I know not, is a travesty of the facts; that there was no ambush at the creamery, but there was a most wanton attack by the armed forces of the Crown on employees of the Society and others present during the normal working of the creamery. In this attack two men were killed and two wounded. It may be said my denial is of no more value than Sir Hamar Greenwood's affirmation. Be it so. It brings me to the purpose of this article, which is to demand, on behalf of the Irish cooperative movement, an open and impartial inquiry into these attacks on cooperative societies. We cooperators have nothing to fear from the result of such investigation. The Government may have, for it has hitherto refused to set up any tribunal to inquire into the wreckings. I believe refusal was made because the Government knows only too well the outcry which would follow an exposure of the horrors which have taken place in Ireland, to which thousands of witnesses of high character could testify. I appeal from the British Government to the British people. I appeal to their sense of fair play and justice to judge between Irish cooperators and the Government.

"THE GOVERNMENT STANDS CHARGED WITH ARSON"

"We charge certain unknown agents of the Crown with indiscriminate wreckings and burnings of our societies. The Chief Secretary retorts by saying they are centers of revolutionary propaganda. Let him prove his charge if he has evidence. We declare we have nothing to fear from any investigation. The whole character and repute of our movement is involved. If our defense breaks down, a long and honorable record is broken and our character is ruined. Knowing all this, we press for the fullest and most public inquiry. The Government stands charged, through the acts of its agents, with arson, with the wrecking of property, and the ill-treatment of Irish citizens, without due trial by processes of law. It shrinks from publicity. It refuses open inquiry. We ask for investigation. The Government denies it. Which shows the worse conscience? Which behaves as the guilty party? The leaders of the cooperative movement in Ire-

land, Sir Horace Plunkett, the Lord Monteagle, the Rev. Thomas Finlay, and Mr. R. A. Anderson, are publicists whose character and work have been known for over a quarter of a century. Are they men likely to make irresponsible or unfounded accusations; men with long and honorable careers of public service behind them? They, I assert, are men of honor with a knowledge of Ireland a thousand times greater than the Chief Secretary could possibly have, a knowledge gained by lives spent in philanthropic work. When such men ask for open inquiry, public opinion in Great Britain, if there be any sense of justice there, would insist on this being granted. It cannot allow the fountain of justice to lie under the imputation of being fouled. What is being done in Ireland today may be done in Great Britain tomorrow.

COMPENSATION FROM CROWN FUNDS DEMANDED

"On behalf of the Irish cooperative movement I demand the setting up of an impartial tribunal to investigate the illegal destruction of cooperative property by the armed forces of the Crown. I claim for these societies full compensation out of Crown funds for the property destroyed, if the charge is proved. It is futile saying there are County Courts and that claims can be made there under the Malicious Injuries Act. That Act was never intended to lay upon the rate-payers in any district the burden of compensation for property wrecked by the forces of the Crown. No County Council will levy a rate to compensate persons where property has been destroyed by those whose ostensible reason for employment by the Crown is the defense of life and property. The Irish Agricultural Organization Society has indeed urged its societies to make claims under the Act before the judges in the County Courts, not in the belief that the compensation awarded would be levied by the County Council or paid by the ratepayers, but because by doing so sworn evidence about the cause of the wrecking was available. On this sworn evidence County Court judges have already assessed damages, and one of them declared the Crown ought to compensate for the acts of its agents, as it did in Fermoy. The actual injury inflicted on the cooperative movement and the property of poor farmers is estimated by experts to be between £250,000 and £300,000, while the annual trade disturbed is almost £1,000,000. I say if the British people, because of their natural anger over the shooting of police and soldiers, condone without inquiry indiscriminate vengeance inflicted on persons and movements which are innocent, they will lay up a hell for themselves in their own country. They will be tearing up all the safeguards of justice won through centuries of struggle, and there are too many interests minatory to democracy in power to allow them the advantage of such precedents. If we trust the judges and the courts, the Government should not fear to do so. Do not trust those who are afraid of courts of inquiry, and who, to every demand for justice, respond by attempts to excite hate and rage among the people. It may be we Irish are scoundrels, but if we are, let us be tried openly for our crimes, and not penalized without trial either by order of the secret service or without orders by military or police forces out of hand. I ask for the Irish Agricultural Organization Society the support of all fair-minded men in order that it may get the public inquiry it demands. Do not let a great movement which has hitherto won praise from all parties in the state and from visitors all over the world be condemned to destruction on the word of a man whose sole personal knowledge of Ireland is derived from brief visits, protected by the military, to Dublin Castle, and whose sole source of information about the matters in dispute is the word of the persons who are charged with committing the crimes."

WRITER A PROTESTANT ULSTERMAN

Q. Major Newman: Now this is an editorial in what? A. In the *Irish Homestead*—an editorial written by “AE.” himself, Mr. George Russell.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Has Mr. Russell ever been arrested? A. No, although Sir Hamar Greenwood spoke of him in the House of Commons as a dangerous extremist.

Q. And the *Homestead* has been permitted to go on, has it? A. Yes.

Q. There has been no interruption of the *Homestead* publication? A. No, no interruption. Well, you see, when you read it consecutively, it is written in a very moderate tone. That is a mere statement of facts, and they cannot go back of that.

Q. Major Newman: Is Mr. George Russell a Sinn Feiner? A. Well, he does not belong to the Sinn Fein organization, but he is Sinn Fein in sympathies.

Q. He is Irish? A. Yes, he is an Ulsterman.

Q. Mr. Manly: He is a Protestant, I believe. A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Sir Horace Plunkett is a Protestant too, is he not? A. Yes, he is.

Q. And he has always been identified with the Unionist cause in so far as he has been identified with any party? A. Well, he is a dominion home ruler now.

Q. But he has not been in any conflict with the Government? A. No. But he has been very badly treated by the Lloyd George Government.

Q. Major Newman: But he is not opposed to the British Government?

Q. Commissioner Howe: He does not favor Irish independence? A. O, I see what you mean. He is not a Republican. He is not a Separatist. No.

SCOPE OF IRISH COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Q. Mr. Russell stated that there are a thousand cooperative societies in Ireland. Those include stores, creameries, and what else? A. Well, you see, they have also to buy agricultural machinery.

Q. And they buy it cooperatively? A. Yes. And they have a great number of stores.

Q. Do you know anything about the cooperative banks that have been organized? A. About the National Land Bank, yes. I do know something about that, but—

Q. Now, we have diverted you from what you were saying. A. I was going to say that I would prefer not to give any evidence about the National Land Bank for special reasons.

Q. Chairman Wood: Then, if you like, Miss Bennett, you can just go back to what you have prepared. A. Well, I think that covers everything I can say about the industrial development of Ireland. There is a letter here which Mr. Anderson, secretary of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, has prepared for the press, and if you wish, I can just leave that with you.

Commissioner Addams: If you will just file that with the Secretary.

Q. Mr. Manly: Miss Bennett, could you cover the attitude of the Irish industrial workers toward the Republic? That has not been covered to date, and if you could, I think it would be very valuable. A. Yes, I propose to.

Q. If you can take it up in your own way. A. Yes. I am in the Irish Labor movement myself. I shall take that up presently.

DEVELOPMENT OF REPUBLICAN ARBITRATION COURTS

I would like next to deal with the arbitration courts, because I do not think there is anything more interesting in the Republican Government than the development of these arbitration courts. Have they been dealt with in any way?

Major Newman: To some extent, but we would be very glad to have your testimony on the subject.

The Witness: Well, these courts, you know, were set up by the Republican Government.

Major Newman: Well, if you will just proceed as if we didn't know anything about them, it would be most helpful.

The Witness: I had hoped to have for the Commission a very interesting list of cases dealt with by these courts—a long list of cases giving the nature of the case and how it was dealt with and so on. But we had to be rather careful. We thought we ought to be rather careful in the papers we brought with us, and this particular paper has not come to hand.

Q. Major Newman: Just at this point, you had no difficulty, did you, Miss Bennett, in regard to a passport to come over? A. Miss Townshend had some, but she comes from County Cork, and everybody from Cork has difficulty. But it was the American consul who made it difficult for Miss Townshend. She only got it two hours before she had to start.

Major Newman: She can tell us about that later.

The Witness: These courts, when they first began, as far as I know the British Government made no objection to them. I think they thought they were a kind of little amusement for the Sinn Feiners, and that they would never attain any serious proportions. But, as a matter of fact, they were taken up with great favor by the Irish

people, for the Irish people have a great love for law. These new courts were taken up with very great favor because there is no red tape to them. The courts, of course, were instituted by the Republican Government. They had their elections to the courts.

Q. Was that an open election? A. I don't know. The amazing thing about these courts was that the British people who came over were very much struck by the way the people accepted these courts and accepted their decisions almost in all cases. Mrs. Swanwick made the comment that she had never seen nor heard of any case of government by consent like the government of Ireland by the Dail at the present time.

UNIONISTS AND BRITISH CLAIMANTS USE REPUBLICAN COURTS

They deal with all kinds of cases in the arbitration courts. And all kinds of people have come before the courts with their cases. In the country they have had to come before the arbitration courts—the Unionists have had to come, because no one would appear before the British courts. They could not get land cases settled otherwise, because nobody would come into the other courts or respect their decisions. And Unionists who have come before these courts have spoken in the highest praise of the justice of these courts. The way they are conducted and the judgments they have given have been highly commended.

Q. Mr. Manly: British claimants have come before these courts, have they not, as a matter of fact? A. That I do not know of myself. A. Miss Townshend: The Prudential Insurance Company of England had a case in the Cork District Court not so long ago.

Miss Bennett: Well, when these courts became very popular, then the British Government tried to suppress them. All over the country they were suppressed.

BRITISH DECLARE REPUBLICAN COURTS ILLEGAL

Q. Major Newman: Could you tell us something about how they functioned before they suppressed them? A. Well, they used to meet in a public hall or room, and it was quite open. Kevin O'Shiel, he was a judge in the Land Court, and he told me that he has carried on one of these courts in the room when it was half-filled with military and police. He simply went on with his case. That was before they were forcibly prevented. Now they are driven underground, and hold their sessions in all sorts of places, wherever they can get a room.

Q. When did those courts begin to function? A. It must be about a year and a half ago. I cannot give you exact dates. I am sorry.

Q. But approximately when? A. I would say about a year and a half ago.

Miss Townshend: I don't think it has been quite that long, has it?

Q. And approximately about how long a period did they run openly? A. Up to the beginning of summer.

Q. Beginning of summer in 1920? A. Yes, this spring. When the land courts were held this spring, they were held openly.

Q. Then for nearly a year they were held openly? A. No, you are right, Miss Townshend. They were held openly only for about six months. All last autumn they were getting started in different places.

EFFECTIVE WORK OF INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION BOARDS

But also recently they have had a large growth in connection with the labor movement. They started what were called arbitration boards, which were really conciliation boards, in which they dealt with industrial disputes, and they dealt with them in a most satisfactory way. There is a note paper which has not come to hand giving a list of the cases they have dealt with, the cases in which they have prevented strikes or brought strikes to a satisfactory conclusion. Of course the workers were always willing to appear before these courts, but it was very difficult to get the employer to appear. Before the establishment of these courts, the Dail Minister of Labor tried to handle these cases himself, and these courts were an outgrowth of his work.

I had an experience in this connection—one of our cases about women garment workers. Tom Kelly, who by all rights ought to be Lord Mayor of Dublin, but is at the present time insane since his imprisonment in England—at that time, however, he was all right, and he acted as arbitrator of this case in which I was concerned. On the second afternoon when I went in, Tom Kelly said to me, "You have got to hurry up and get this case settled, because we expect the military here by four o'clock." It went on, and we did not get the case settled, and it came to be a quarter after three. We were holding out, and the employers would not give in. Tom Kelly put his watch on the table and said, "Half an hour." Then, "Ten minutes." "Five minutes." And we got the case settled five minutes to four.

COURTROOM SMASHED UP BY MILITARY

Q. What happened at four? A. Well, the military did not smash up the place that day, but they came the next day and smashed up the place.

Q. And where was that? A. In Hartford Street, Dublin.

Q. This court had its offices there? A. Yes, they bought a house and had their offices there.

Q. When was that? A. November, 1919.

Q. And at that time they were being raided? A. Yes, you see, they had been declared an illegal organization.

Q. Up to that time they were a legal organization? A. Yes, up to shortly before that time.

Q. Mr. Manly: After that there were continuous raids? A. Yes. I have gone over to the place since, and have looked at it, and I saw the damage done by the Crown forces in these raids.

THE IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION

Q. Commissioner Maurer: I would just like to ask a question. You told us you were connected with the Women's Trade Union League there? A. Yes, the Women Workers' Union.

Q. From where? A. It is a trade union for the women workers of Ireland.

Q. It takes the whole country in? A. Well, we have not got the whole country in yet. The majority of our workers are in Dublin.

Q. And what position do you hold? A. I am general secretary.

Q. And how did you get that position—elected or what? A. May I tell that later on when I deal with the labor movement?

Q. Well, I have to leave after an hour, and I would like to know before I go. A. Well, then, I will tell you. In the early part of 1916 there was no proper union for women workers at that time. The Irish Transport Workers' Union admitted women, but it was not satisfactory at that time. And an effort was made to establish an independent women workers' union. James Connolly approved of that step, and Miss Maloney, who was working with him, approached me and asked me if I would try to organize the women workers in the principal industries in Dublin. This was in the early part of 1916, and I knew that she and James Connolly were very closely associated with politics. And I said I would not take up the work unless the trade union movement was absolutely divorced from politics. I had a warm discussion with James Connolly, and he said it was absolutely wrong to take the movement apart from politics; that labor could only progress that way. Nothing was done then. After the rising in 1916 the whole labor movement arose

quickly, and the men got organized quickly. In January it was again suggested to me from Liberty Hall that I should organize the women workers. And to show you the conditions then—and you know, it was in January, 1917—how the cost of living had gone up, the women workers were earning 7, 8, 9 and 10 shillings a week. That was in the printing trade, and other trades were earning less than they. The printing trade was the aristocratic one, and conditions were better there than in some of the others. I saw something had to be done, so I started in 1917 with a few girls of the printing trade whom I got together. And we had extraordinary success, and I got the women in the printing trade organized.

Q. Mr. Manly: Were those adult women getting 7, 8, and 9 shillings a week? A. Adult women; some of them had worked for 18 or 19 years for the same employer. The industrial conditions in Dublin had a great deal to do with the uprising of 1916. My father was of the employing class, and they looked upon me as a sort of blackleg.

Q. What is your father's occupation, Miss Bennett? A. He is an auctioneer appraiser, an appraiser of values. He is not an employer of a large sort, of course, but he belongs to that class. When I went to the employers and asked them for an increase, they refused, and would not recognize the women workers' union. And they tried to bribe the women out of the union. They said they would give them a sixpence or a shilling increase. I told them not to accept it. The women are splendid in Dublin. I have known of cases where girls have returned to employers a half crown—and that is a great deal—they returned it for six or eight weeks, this half-crown increase, because it was not given through the union. And eventually, after six or eight months, we got the Employers' Association to recognize our union and to deal with us.

ABSOLUTELY NO RELIGIOUS ANTAGONISM

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Now, what I had in mind; you told us in the beginning that you were a Protestant. A. Yes.

Q. And Dublin, I believe, is overwhelmingly Catholic. A. Yes, and the workers are overwhelmingly Catholic.

Q. The people in this country are led to believe that the trouble in Ireland is of a religious nature. A. Yes.

Q. And it seems strange to me that they would have a Protestant organizer in a Catholic district if there was this religious difference which is alleged to exist in Ireland. A. Well, our union now numbers 6,000 workers, and I should say that they are almost altogether Catholic. Personally I have met only about a half dozen Protestants. Of course there may be others, but I have not met them.

Q. But you have found no antagonism to you on account of the fact that you are a Protestant? A. Absolutely none. And I have now working with me as my assistant a Miss Shaw, who is also a Protestant—a very much better Protestant than I am, if I may say it that way. In one of the firms two girls who were Protestant got into some sort of dispute with the employers. There was some small injustice done them, and the other girls, who were all Catholics, would not stand for it. They demanded that the employers treat these two Protestant girls fairly. I have always been treated with the greatest confidence and the greatest consideration by these women.

Q. That is very interesting, in view of what is stated in this country. A. I found it very interesting myself. I thought, in going into it, that there would be a good deal of opposition. But I did not find it at all.

WAGES OF DUBLIN WOMEN WORKERS IMPROVED

Q. Now, to what extent have you improved the condition of the women workers in Dublin? A. Well, you would not think it very much, but we think it very considerable. You see, they used to pay different wages in different firms. We have now established a uniform scale, and a different wage, according to age. They begin at 14 years of age at 10 shillings a week, and at the end of four years they get a minimum of 35 shillings a week.

Q. Mr. Manly: So that 14-year-old girls now get more than women used to? A. Yes, more than the adult women used to. And the adult women now get—as I said, the minimum for a trained worker is 35 shillings.

Q. Major Newman: What did they get prior to your organization? A. Nine to ten shillings the senior women got. Some of them got as little as 6 or 7 shillings.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Do you find it very difficult to have discipline among them? A. No, no, you do not. They are very good. It is rather interesting. We find that certain types of workers have certain characteristics. The printers are magnificent trade unionists. The laundry workers are very, very difficult, not through any ill-nature, but through sheer good nature and indifference.

AFFECTION OF DUBLIN WORKERS FOR JAMES LARKIN

Q. Now, did you know James Larkin? A. I have never met him. I have heard him speak, but I never came into contact with him personally.

Q. No, I should not think you would, because he was here some

time before you were in the labor movement. A. Well, my interest in the labor movement began at the time Mr. Larkin was in Dublin in 1913.

Q. Of course you know what happened to Mr. Larkin here? A. Yes.

Q. Do the people in Dublin feel strongly about the way he is treated here? A. O, yes, there is a great feeling for him there. The people have by no means forgotten him. And his work, like Connolly's, is still being carried on. Thomas Foran acts for him now.

Q. In what esteem do they hold Larkin over there, generally? A. Well, it is rather difficult to say. The dockers and the general workers retain their affection for Larkin. The other workers have got ahead of the agitation stage. It is difficult to say. He certainly would have a very large following if he came back to Ireland.

Q. He would? A. Yes, he would.

INTOLERABLE INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS PRECIPITATE EASTER UPRISING

Q. Mr. Manly: You said there was a definite relation between the industrial situation and the Easter uprising. Could you develop that? A. Yes, that was generally true.

Q. You mean a general feeling of discontent that gradually merged into the Easter uprising? A. Yes, I think it helped to precipitate it. Nothing could stop the uprising in Dublin. Connolly didn't start it. The conditions were already there which made an uprising possible. Of course, from the treatment he had received, and the workers too, he was a terribly bitter man—naturally enough, for he was shamefully and terribly treated.

Q. So you think that working conditions and wages had something to do with it too? A. Well, you see, the wages were so bad. I have told you what the wages of the women were. I could not tell you what the wages of the men were, but they were equally scandalous. The people were living under scandalous conditions. The same conditions went on for two years after the war began, while the cost of living was steadily increasing. Life was not worth living for these men.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Do you have slum conditions in Dublin? A. Yes, the slums of Dublin are terrible, terrible, terrible. And now, you see, we have a housing famine in Dublin.

Q. A housing famine? A. A housing famine.

Q. Mr. Manly: And now, I suppose, with the present destruction of houses that housing condition is getting worse? A. Yes, you see that is why the destruction of houses is so terrible.

REPUBLICAN LAND COURTS AND DECREE OF DAIL AVERT LAND RIOTS

Q. Commissioner Howe: Now will you go back again to these courts? A. To these courts. Yes. About the land courts. In order to make up this report, I had a long talk with Mr. Kevin O'Shiel, who is a member of the Dail and also, of course, is on the run. But I managed to see him before I came over here and he gave me some details of his duties as Land Judge and how the work started. You all know, of course, of what we call the land hunger in Ireland, and this passionate desire that rises up among the Irish people for the possession of land. It seems to come in waves. A wave of this land hunger swept over Ireland in the early part of 1920. The people in Connaught got to threatening the landlords and demanding land. Arthur Griffith—you know him by reputation, of course—realized that there was going to be serious land trouble, which would further complicate the political question in Ireland. Accordingly, the Dail had to take this under consideration, and the Dail issued this decree.

Q. Major Newman: Would you give us the date of this, just for the record? A. This was the 29th of June, 1920. (Reads decree):

“At a time when in many Irish cities, town, and villages the British armed forces are engaged in wholesale sabotage, the following proclamation is issued by the elected Government of Ireland:

“DAIL EIREANN PROCLAMATION

“Whereas it has come to our knowledge that claims have been and are being made in various parts of the country to farms and holdings which are being used and worked by the occupiers as dairy, agricultural, and residential holdings, and that such claims are being based on the assertion that the claimants or their ancestors were formerly in occupation of the property so claimed; and

“Whereas, these claims are, for the most part, of old date, and while many of them may be well founded, others seem to be of a frivolous nature, and are put forward in the hope of intimidating the present occupiers;

“*Now it is decreed by Dail Eireann in session assembled:*

“(1) That the present time when the Irish people are locked in a life-and-death struggle with their traditional enemy is ill-chosen for the stirring up of strife amongst our fellow-countrymen; and that all our energies must be directed towards the clearing out, not of the occupier of this or that piece of land, but the foreign invader of our country.

“(2) That pending the international recognition of the Republic no claims of the kind referred to shall be heard or determined by the courts of the Republic unless by written license of the Minister of Home Affairs.

“(3) That in the meanwhile claimants may file particulars of their claims with the Registrar of the District Court in which the property is situated.

“*And it is further decreed:*

“That any person or persons who persists or persist in pressing forward a disputed claim of the nature above referred to shall do so

in the knowledge that such action is a breach of this Decree;

“*And it is ordered* that the forces of the Republic be used to protect the citizens against the adoption of high-handed methods by any such person or persons.

“*By order of Dail Eircann, this 29th day of June, 1920.*”

“DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS.”

The Witness: That was the proclamation.

Q. Mr. Manly: Did that put an end to the cattle driving? A. Well, I wanted to tell you about that. What led to the Dail taking a very strong action about this was that Captain Shaw Taylor, a prominent landlord of County Galway, was shot—was murdered because he refused to give up certain land to the claimants. And at that time the Dail had information that there were a large number of threatening notices to landlords throughout the West and part of the South, threatening them with death if they did not cede their land. And in other places the cattle drivings were going on. So because of that it became necessary to do something. Now, Kevin O’Shiel has written for me this statement of the land problem.

CATTLE-DRIVING

Q. Major Newman: Miss Bennett, for the purpose of our record, could you tell us briefly just what is meant by cattle driving? A. If certain people—the peasants—want to till a certain lot of land that a landlord is using too much of for grazing, they will drive the cattle away, you see, and they will take possession of the land themselves. Or in other cases they will put their own cattle on the land where large lots of it are being so held.

Q. Mr. Manly: Was this cattle driving spontaneous among the people? A. Yes, it was purely a spontaneous movement among the peasants in certain districts; not in all districts, but in certain districts.

Q. Commissioner Howe: Was it accompanied by force, or did they just drive the cattle away? A. O, it is very often accompanied by force and even bloodshed. And some of the people are very anxious today about what may happen this spring.

VOLUNTEERS ENFORCE JUDGMENTS OF LAND COURTS

These Land Courts have had wonderful success, you know. They have settled many, many cases. Even when their judgments were against these people who have driven cattle off, their judgments have been acknowledged and accepted by the people. Kevin O’Shiel gave me a very interesting case. He went down to this very dangerous country just when the trouble was at its worst. He went down to County Mayo, and he gave a decision against the claimants, and they would not accept the decree. They were using the land them-

selves, and they had possession, and were tilling the land, and would not give it up. Why the claimants were so determined, they knew that the Volunteers in County Mayo would not turn out against them and operate against them. But the Dail sent two bands of Volunteers from outside the county, one from Donegal and one from County Clare. And they went in and removed twelve of these men to an unknown destination. But the women went out and tilled the land when the men had been removed. And then the Volunteers came along and took off another twelve. And after that they never had any trouble. Everything went smoothly.

Q. Major Newman: When was this incident, Miss Bennett? A. That was just after this Decree, at the end of June or the beginning of July, 1920.

Q. And the man who was down there and handled that matter told you about it? A. Yes.

Q. Just what is his position? A. He is a Land Judge.

Q. Was he head of the judiciary there? A. Just for that district.

PRISONERS TAKEN TO AN "UNKNOWN DESTINATION"

Q. Commissioner Addams: How long did they stay in this unknown destination? Were they brought back soon? A. It is for a fixed time. They were brought back again.

Q. Commissioner Howe: This unknown destination is generally known to the countryside? A. No, no, it would not be; for that would not do. They would be brought back in that case.

Q. And how are they kept in these unknown destinations? A. The Volunteers keep them there, and public opinion is behind them. Of course you must have heard the story here of the prisoners on an island off Galway who refused to be rescued by the British police because they were prisoners of the Irish Republic. They drove them away when they came in boats to rescue them.

Q. Major Newman: Now, these men who were removed—their cases had been tried? A. O, yes, they had been tried, and they were resisting the judgment of the Court.

Q. And the purpose was to send them to an unknown destination for what we call contempt of court? A. Yes, it was just an arbitrary action.

Q. Sort of a mild reprisal? A. Well, of course, they had to have respect for their decrees. There is no doubt but that that saved the country from terrible land troubles last summer, the fact that these courts were established and that their decrees were respected and obeyed. I have clippings here from the *Times* and

other Unionist organs acknowledging these land courts and the good work they have done.

Miss Townshend: And they are very kind to their prisoners.

Commissioner Addams: They are not criminals.

The Witness: Of course not.

Q. Commissioner Howe: It is the policy of the Republican Government to treat their prisoners kindly? A. Yes, O yes.

Q. They do not treat them like they did the women suffragists in the Washington prisons here? A. They are treated very kindly.

LAND RIOTS OCCUR WHERE LAND PURCHASE ACTS ARE INOPERATIVE

Q. Mr. Manly: Just one moment, please, Miss Bennett. Was this agitation and this shooting of landlords most marked in counties and areas where the Land Purchase Act was not put into effect, where these large estates were still in existence and were being used for grazing purposes instead of tillage? That was the case, was it not?

A. Yes, these land cases almost all arise in Galway and the western counties.

Q. That is the large area where the great estates still stand, where the Land Purchase Act has not been put into effect? A. Yes, yes.

Q. Major Newman: That is particularly fertile land, I believe.

A. No, not in County Mayo. Parts of Galway are very good, but in parts of the west the land is poor land, and the peasants are very poor.

Major Newman: Now, we have interrupted you a good many times, I fear, on this.

REPUBLICAN LAND COURTS SUCCEED WHERE ENGLISH COURTS FAILED

The Witness: But what I wanted to bring out was the success of these Land Courts. Where the English courts would fail absolutely, the Irish courts can carry the thing through and deal with it, because they understand what the people want.

Q. Mr. Manly: The English courts for centuries have been trying to solve this land question, and have not had the success that the Dail courts have had in just a few months. A. Yes, yes, in just a few months.

Mr. Manly: I think it would be of interest to the Commission to read the statement of Mr. Kevin O'Shiel.

Commissioner Addams: Yes, yes; we would like to hear it.

The Witness: This, I must say, was written rather hurriedly. I got it on just the day I sailed. Mr. Kevin O'Shiel has, of course, been on the run, and he has also been very ill. (Reading)

"THE LAND QUESTION IN IRELAND

"In the springtime of the past year a violent and sudden recrudescence of the land trouble broke out in the province of Connaught, which even threatened for a time the stability of the popular cause. The trouble began in the County Galway. Like most popular upheavals, it started fitfully, and showed no signs, even at its height, of organization or centralized control. It confined itself at first to a few spasmodic cattle drives, a few cases of the destruction of fences, and a few instances of threatening letters. After the shooting of Mr. Shaw Taylor, however, the question took on an extremely sinister and serious aspect. Far from checking the trouble, the tragic death of this landlord fanned what seemed the dying embers of the fever into a flame which sped with the fury of a prairie fire over Galway, Mayo, and Roscommon, and, having enveloped all Connaught, spread to West Leinster and North Munster, and even to the southern parts of Ulster. It was more than a mere disorder. It was a little revolution, and none the less a revolution because it lacked cohesion and direction.

"We shall now examine the causes, remote and proximate, of this fierce distemper which sorely tested the powers of the Dail and which filled the industrious and peaceful people of the West with a wild and unreasoning passion. I will quote from an article I wrote in *Young Ireland* dated 26th June, 1920:

"The land question, like the "Ulster" question and the "flax" question and every other domestic disturbance which irritates our peace, is of English origin and design. Directly or indirectly it can be traced back to the English invasion of the twelfth century,—that fruitful source of all our ills. It is no exaggeration to say that it is the basis, the framework, the very core of Irish history since the English occupation. It arose when the first Irishmen were driven from their ancient clan lands in order to make way for the feudal robbers of Henry Plantagenet. And then, as afterwards, plunders and all those outrages which accompany English civilization grew and increased; it also prospered and grew with them. It was pretty active in the time of the Tudors, but became more violent when the Stuarts, Cromwell, and Dutch William were enforcing their organized systems of wholesale pillage. Readers of *Young Ireland* do not need detailed accounts of the clearances during those periods in Ulster, in the Midlands, and in Munster, and of the consequent "man-driving" to the lean lands across the Shannon. Still more confiscations and "forfeitures" followed, until the majority of the depossessed Gaels were harried into the mountains and the swamps, and had to draw their sustenance as best they could from rock and heath and ooze.

A CENTURY OF DISASTER

"But to find the immediate cause of the present trouble, we need go back no further than to the last century,—beyond all doubt the most disastrous century this nation has experienced. It opened with the well-planned and carefully fostered "famine," whereby over 3,000,000 of our race were expeditiously swept out of existence. And in order that none of the advantages of this brilliant and successful coup should be lost, it was followed up in quite proper strategic fashion by an eviction campaign on the part of the landlords which was, of course, directed by the English authorities.

"In due course the day of reckoning arrived, and the century which saw the dying of the people in its infancy and their evictions and departure in its prime, witnessed the going of the landlords before its expiration. A degree of prosperity followed the Land War, and though the stream of vigorous humanity continued to flow copiously from the country, there was a kind of tranquility which was not broken until the recent disturbances.

DUPLICITY OF CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD

“The Land War cleared off the landlords, but it planted in their stead an equally if not more sinister danger in the shape of the body known as the “Congested Districts Board for Ireland.” This body was ushered into existence with much trumpeting and blowing, as a board of the people’s own choice and for the people’s own weal. And in order to give a semblance of reality to the fiction, a number of prominent persons, ecclesiastical as well as lay, were nominated to it. But those persons, were they ever so interested and energetic, were never permitted to go beyond the “advisory” stage of functioning. The reins of power were in the tight grasp of the English minister, who saw to it that nothing harmful to the English scheme of things would be carried out. The Congested Districts Board undoubtedly did some good work in reinstating evicted tenants on economical holdings, but it carried out its work with incredible slowness. Since the war it has ceased to function—even slowly; and the excuse is the same excuse for every wanton neglect on the English Government’s part in Ireland,—the necessity for economy! Now, this incredible slowness was of course purposely planned. The people were told often enough to wait in patience, and all would be well. They did wait, and the Board crept along with its pretenses, with the result that there are now some thousands less in Connaught than there would be had things been done expeditiously and conscientiously. “Land for the People!” is the open slogan of the Board; emigration is its concealed object.

“Today this Board is the landlord of thousands of acres of the finest land in Connaught. In Roscommon alone, where the situation is very acute, it holds close on to 60,000 acres of excellent *untenanted* lands! What the actual area of its possessions in Galway, Mayo, Clare, and other counties is, I don’t know; but there is no doubt whatever that those possessions are very considerable in extent and very rich in quality. A large proportion of those vast estates, capable of supporting a quarter of a million people, are let out in grazing ranches to farmers and small holders, whereby an enormous sum is annually netted. But again, there are many valuable ranches lying derelict and empty, and that, too, in parts of the county where there is serious congestion.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF RECENT LAND TROUBLE

“The direct causes of the recent trouble would appear to be three-fold:

“(1) Wilful and intredible slowness on the part of the Congested Districts Board;

“(2) The maturing of a new generation since the termination of the Land War;

“(3) The astonishing increase of deep national feeling in the hearts of the people, with a resultant determination to live in the country if at all possible.”

The Witness: I certainly would add a fourth cause here, and that is the growth of the Labor movement in Ireland; because, you know, the last few years the Transport Workers have organized the peasant workers, and they have brought a new spirit into the peasant class in Ireland. (Continues reading):

“The third cause is, I think, the driving force at present. Indeed, so strong is this love of the earth of Mother Ireland that, like all strong and undirected emotions, it is apt to run amuck at times. In point of fact, it actually has led to grave abuse in parts of the country. There are certain parishes where, as soon as the fever fell upon them,

they proceeded to break down the walls and fences and drive the stock of persons but a few acres better off than themselves. Again, in many cases they selected the comparatively small man for attack when practically at their doors there were boundless acres untenanted and often unstocked.

REPUBLICAN ARBITRATION COURTS A REVELATION OF EFFICIENCY AND DISPATCH

“ . . . The Arbitration Courts were a revelation of efficiency and dispatch. With the sanction of An Dail, they sprung, as it were, from the hearts of the people in order to settle a difficulty which threatened to become a menace, and which no foreign tribunal could possibly settle. Nothing could surpass the eagerness of the local arbitrators in the District Courts to eliminate all prejudice and do plain and simple justice to every man, be he landlord or tenant, claimant or resister. It was edifying also to follow the testimony of the unsworn witnesses, and note the pains they took to be accurate and truthful. I have been in English, French, and other foreign courts, but I have never seen the business of the judiciary carried on more effectively, if less formally, or in a more dignified manner than by those plain people of the west. “Government in its last analysis,” says Woodrow Wilson, the man of many saws, “is organized force based on the consent of the governed.” And again, “In reality, laws which issue from the arbitrary and despotic authority of the few who occupy the central seats of the State can never be given full effect unless in one form or another the power of the community is behind them.” And there is no manner of doubt that the power of the community supports the law and the judiciary of the popular authority west of the Shannon.”

ORIGIN AND ORGANIZATION OF REPUBLICAN COURTS

“I have quoted very largely from my article in *Young Ireland*. I wish now briefly to add a few details concerning the construction, the workings of, and work done by the Republican Courts. It was the land agitation that forced the establishment of the popular courts. At the time that the agitation broke out, the British authority in nearly the entire country was paralyzed both by the passive attitude of the people and the active campaign of the Volunteers. The Royal Irish Constabulary were more concerned in hunting down fugitive patriots than in attending to the business of averting malefactions and in preserving the peace. Thus when the land trouble broke out there was nothing to arrest or check it or to encounter it in any manner. Western landowners, large and small, came flocking to the Republican authorities in Dublin, beseeching them to do something soon, as their lives were in jeopardy. All those landlords had received warning notices threatening them with death if they did not sell certain portions of their land; and undoubtedly if things were left to themselves, we would have seen the Shaw Taylor tragedy repeated many times.

“This was the first big test Dail Eireann had to encounter, and it faced it resolutely and swiftly and with triumphal success. Out of this trouble came the Republican court system. The smallest court under the Republic is the Parish Court. It consists of three parish justices elected by the people of the parish, subject to a power of veto vested in the Dail. Its jurisdiction is practically the same as that of the old British petty sessions courts. The next court is the District Court. Every Parliamentary constituency is a district; and this court consists of five district justices elected directly by adult citizens of both sexes of the district. The jurisdiction of this court is similar to that of the British County Court. The next highest court is the Cir-

cuit Court, which consists of a Circuit Judge who goes round to the chief towns of every District Court and hears appeals, etc. The Circuit Judge is a High Court judge, and is appointed directly by the Minister for Home Affairs. He must be a lawyer of seven years' standing. After this is the Supreme Court of Appeal consisting of three Supreme Judges, who never move from the metropolis. Needless to say, they must also be lawyers.

LAND COURTS UNDER DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

"All land cases are under a separate jurisdiction. They are under the Department of Agriculture, and are tried either at first instance or on appeal from the District Courts by Land Judges appointed by the Minister of Agriculture. Half of these Land Judges are qualified lawyers; the other half qualified lawyers and land valuers. They rank as Circuit Judges, and hear all cases of which land is the subject matter, subject only to an appeal to the Supreme Court of Appeal. Last year these land judges held sittings in ten counties and disposed of over four hundred cases. No judge experienced the slightest trouble in enforcing his decrees, as public opinion was strongly behind him. These land courts claim to have saved the lives of many land-owners, to have given general satisfaction, and to have quelled the turbulence of the vexed land question."

The Witness: That answers the question you asked about the work of these courts?

Mr. Manly: Yes.

LAND COURTS FUNCTION DESPITE MILITARY SUPPRESSION

Q. Commissioner Addams: Then did Dail Eireann have no courts until June, 1920? Were those the first courts? A. Well, before this decree was issued, they were forming their courts. Because I myself was asked to act on one of these courts in the early part of the spring. These reports of this land trouble were coming into them for a considerable time before they succeeded in getting the courts going and setting them up.

Q. Major Newman: Now, Miss Bennett, have you the details of a few of those typical land cases showing the manner in which they were settled? A. No, I am sorry I cannot give you that information now. I hope to get it later.

Mr. Manly: We can furnish the Commission with that information from the *Bulletin*. It gives a list of such cases.

The Witness: Do you get the *Bulletin*?

Mr. Manly: Yes, when it gets through and isn't stopped in the mails.

The Witness: Well, it was their list of cases I wanted to have here today.

Mr. Manly: I think we have the *Bulletins* giving the cases tried before the courts for the first six weeks or two months, giving the

general character of the case and the decision and how it was carried into effect. And we shall be very glad to give that information to the Commission.

Q. Commissioner Addams: At first these land courts sat openly?

A. Yes, at first, but not now. They are broken up if they sit openly now. I was told in Cork when I passed through on my way here that they had a large number of cases awaiting settlement now; but they are continually held up there. But in Dublin they are settling them.

LANDOWNERS ACCEPT DECREES OF LAND COURTS

Q. Major Newman: I want to ask you about another phase of this matter. The acuteness of the land question was due to the fact that there was land tied up in these large estates. Now, in your reference you said that the findings of these Land Courts in some of the cases were against the claimants. A. Yes, yes.

Q. Do you know whether in some of these cases there were decrees against the landowners? A. Yes, there were.

Q. Now, what I want to know is how they enforced these decrees against the landowners. A. Well, Kevin O'Shiel told me after those first cases the decisions were accepted. Of course, the land is purchased—purchased by degrees, you understand.

Q. And in cases of that kind the landowner accepts? A. They accept, yes.

Q. And what was to be done in cases of that kind was that they were to sell the land under these existing legal terms in conformity with the previously existing British law? A. Yes. And Kevin O'Shiel told me also that there were a number of complicated cases which could not be settled in that simple way, and those cases have been held over pending the settlement of the political situation. They say here in their Decree that they have arranged that "In the meanwhile claimants may file particulars of their claims with the Registrar of the District Court in which the property is situated." In any case, I know that O'Shiel told me that he had a number of cases come up before him which he could not settle out in court in that way, and in these cases the parties agreed that the case should be held over until the country was more settled. They arrived at a compromise, in other words.

JUSTICE RATHER THAN LAW DETERMINES DECISIONS OF LAND COURTS

Q. Major Newman: Now, these courts have a settled code of laws? Has the Dail got out a special code of laws for Ireland, or

are they using the laws they have, the laws that have grown up in Ireland during the past centuries? A. No. You see, they have had very few meetings during the last six months.

Q. These courts? A. No, the Dail. And their attention then, as you would think, would be to attend to the emergencies of the moment in Ireland.

Q. And they have enacted no codes of law, then? A. No, no.

Q. Mr. Manly: Well, you see, these codes are being gradually built up from the usages of the country and precedents on a basis of fact. As a matter of fact, is it not true that these courts are carrying out the work which the Congested Districts Board failed to do? A. Yes, that is it.

Q. The Congested Districts Board was created to handle the land question, but they had failed, for some reason, to solve the congested land situation. Then this recent wave of land hunger arose, and these Land Courts were formed, and they have successfully handled the cases which the Congested Districts Board failed to handle? A. Exactly.

Q. And their decisions are given on the basis of the rights and wrongs, irrespective of rules of law anywhere, are they not? A. Yes, yes. I think that is the great value of these arbitration courts.

ONE-THIRD OF LAND STILL IN LARGE ESTATES

Commissioner Howe: Are most of these large owners Irish or English now? A. They are mostly Irish, I think.

Miss Townshend: The Land Bill did not apply to many of these large holdings.

Q. Commissioner Addams: About one-third of the land remains undivided, does it not? A. Yes.

Q. Major Newman: About 60 per cent. of the land is now owned by the Irish, is it not? A. Yes.

FINANCIAL CRISIS CONFRONTS LOCAL COUNCILS

We take it for granted that you know about the county and local councils and the elections of this year, and that the majority of the county and local councils went Sinn Fein. And these councils, you see, the Local Government Board, the British Local Government Board, control to a great extent by the money grants that are given supplementary to the rates to carry out certain reforms. In this way the Local Government Board control them. And over this question a great crux has arisen. Miss Townshend has a paper, a statement of the difficulty that has arisen over the financial condition of the county and local councils.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Perhaps we had better have that now.

A. Yes.

Commissioner Addams: Then Miss Townshend can read that. Has Miss Townshend given her name and address?

Commissioner Howe: No, she has not.

TESTIMONY OF CAROLINE M. TOWNSHEND

Q. Commissioner Addams: Miss Townshend, will you please give the Commission your name? A. Caroline Mary Townshend.

Q. And where do you live, Miss Townshend? A. Glendower, County Cork.

Q. And your religion, Miss Townshend? A. Well, I come from a Protestant family also.

Q. And a Unionist family? A. A Unionist family also.

Q. Mr. Manly: What denomination? A. I was brought up in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Were your family of English descent? A. Yes, on my mother's side we came over from England under Strongbow, and I have also some Celtic blood.

WHY LOCAL COUNCILS REPUDIATED BRITISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD

Q. This paper you are just about to read, Miss Townshend, is about the councils? It was written about the present situation of the councils? A. Yes. I have two papers, which supplement each other.

Q. Who has written this paper? A. A member who is on the council. You will tell me if you cannot understand me. I am not used to reading aloud.

"The local administration of Ireland is in the hands of the County Councils, Rural District Councils, Urban Councils, Town Commissions, and Boards of Guardians; and was hitherto under the supervision of the Local Government Board. The levying of compensation for malicious injuries on the counties' rates was the first thing that led to the councils' disowning the Local Government Board and separating themselves from it. They disclaimed responsibility. Malicious injuries include the burning of town halls, creameries, private houses, and also empty police barracks to prevent their being reoccupied by military."

Q. Commissioner Addams: Now, who is supposed to have burned these town halls, houses, and creameries? A. Well, the Crown forces. That is the belief of the writer of this paper. (Continues reading):

WITHHOLDING OF GRANTS A DECLARATION OF WAR UPON SICK AND POOR

"They include also compensation for murders of civilians. The banks were the treasurers of the councils, and could cash a check for any amount awarded in court. To safeguard the funds, the treasurer-ship was removed from the banks. The government's response was to stop all so-called grants in aid of hospitals, lunatic asylums, sanatoria, salaries of medical officers, and technical education. These grants had been made out of Irish sources of revenue in the control of the Treasury. The rates thus had to cover the whole cost of local administration, and under the circumstances the boards refused to allow the Government to audit their accounts. The County, Urban, and Rural Councils are delaying payment of annuities on loans for public works, laborers' cottages, and so forth, until a settlement is come to between Dail Eireann and the English Government.

"The next step of the English Government was to empower the Local Government Board to proceed by writ of mandamus against the councils and boards. This the Local Government Board is doing in certain cases, naming individual members, costs to be levied on the defendants. These actions are now pending. The refusal by the English Government of the grants as above is not only a declaration of war upon the sick in hospital, but also upon the feeblest of the poor, to whom outdoor relief may have to be denied."

The Witness: I think that is all of that. The other paper is supplementary to that.

Q. Commissioner Maurer: Who is that from? A. This is from a member of a board. I do not know whether I would care to give his name. I know him personally. I went down and got it from him first-hand. (Reading):

IRISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT SUCCEEDS DESPITE BRITISH OBSTRUCTION AND DESTRUCTION

"The Local Government Department of Dail Eireann is at present the authority which controls and supervises local administration in twenty-nine counties of Ireland. In spite of difficulties of communication, it is receiving and dealing with the minutes of the meetings of the local authorities throughout the country. Its instructions are obeyed, and its advice and assistance sought in the problems that confront the Councils and Boards of Guardians; and despite all obstructive tactics of the English Government, the people through their representatives on local boards turn naturally and enthusiastically to the native administration, the creation of their own will democratically expressed. The machinery of the English Department is idle, rejected by the people. The clerks in the custom house spend their day, some at novels, and some few studying Irish. The latest reports of the internal conditions of the boycotted institution are to the effect that its higher officials definitely despair of ever again regaining their control of local administration, and are now bent on a course of obstructive and destructive tactics in the hope of wrecking local administration, thereby inflicting great hardships on the most helpless sections of the community,—the sick in the hospitals, the poor who are depending on outdoor relief, the mentally unsound in the asylums which are maintained by the County Councils. The sequence of events leading to this result is as follows:

ENGLISH "GRANTS" TAKEN FROM IRISH TAXES

"Early last summer the English Government declared its intention of setting all 'grants' in aid of local administration against decrees for 'Criminal and Malicious Injuries.' These terms call for explanation. The so-called 'grants' amount to about a million and a half pounds per annum, doled out by the English Government to the local bodies for various services, such as care of lunatics, prevention and treatment of tuberculosis and other medical relief to the poor, maintenance of roads, etc. It should be kept well in mind that this sum represents (or represented) the contribution of the English Government to the internal administration of the country, while about forty million pounds annually is paid by the people in taxation. The rest of the burden is borne by the people in local rates struck and levied by the County Councils. So much for the 'grants.'

"CRIMINAL AND MALICIOUS INJURIES ACTS" LEVY COSTS OF WAR UPON VICTIMS

"Let us now consider the 'Criminal and Malicious Injury Decrees.' These are decrees granted in the English Courts against local authorities in compensation for damage to person or property in a particular area. The amounts are included in the local rates, and are levied from the rate payers of the area in which the damage occurs. The 'Criminal Injuries Act' applies only to servants of the English Government. It deals with injuries to the person. By its terms the English Government is enabled to levy huge sums in compensation to the relatives of any member of its armed forces who is killed or wounded while waging war on the Irish people. The operations of this Act have led to developments that would be ludicrous if one could forget the plunder they involved. Policemen have been solemnly awarded hundreds of pounds because of a kick in the shin received or alleged to have been received while arresting a drunken man. Strictly speaking, under the terms of this Act the injury is supposed to be received as a result of an illegal political combination, but this trifle is usually disposed of by the policeman claiming compensation swearing that someone amongst the onlookers shouted 'Up de Valera',—evidence which His Majesty's judges find ample to establish that the injury arises from an 'illegal combination.' Putting the matter quite baldly, this compensation to armed forces of the Crown or their relatives is an attempt to make the Irish people pay for a war against themselves. They are not only to have their throats cut by Sir H. Greenwood's Black-and-Tans, but they are to pay liberally for the knife.

The 'Malicious Injuries Act' is fundamentally reasonable and just, supposing normal conditions under just and popular Government to exist. It provides that where damage is done to property in any area the injured person can claim compensation in the courts, and the sum awarded must be included in the local rates, and be borne by the rate payers of the area in which the damage occurs. It makes it the interest of the inhabitants of an area to see that property is respected. But here again the Irish people pay for the knife to cut their throats. The armed forces of the Crown have looted, burned, and wrecked from end to end of Ireland, and the Irish people are, through their Councils, put in the dock as defendants and have damages awarded against them. Even judges on the English bench have been moved to comment on the tragic irony. The County Councils have been instructed not to appear as defendants in these cases, as to do so would seem to lend solemnity to a farce and acquiescence to plunder. But judgment is marked against the county councils in every case in which a claim is made, and the farce goes merrily on; the plunder also, since it is to meet these claims that the 'grants' are being withheld.

ENGLAND WITHHOLDS GRANTS TO PAY FOR DAMAGE DONE BY HER AGENTS

"It is worth pausing to consider the position of a Republican whose premises are gutted by Sir Hamar Greenwood's Black-and-Tans,—assassination or the burning of one's home or business premises is now the routine penalty for prominence in the Republican movement. The theory of the matter is this: the injured Republican is supposed to enter his claim in the English courts and have damages awarded against his neighbors and friends by decree against the County Council. For the most part no claims are lodged in such cases. Some few lodge claims, but merely for the purpose of record. The damage done by Crown forces in Ireland must now amount to many millions of pounds, so that even on the assumption of payment out of the 'grants' that have been withheld, it would take many years to compensate these victims of Black-and-Tan playfulness. The 'grants' are being withheld because the Councils would not agree to include in the rates sums awarded for these 'Criminal and Malicious Injuries.' It was only after the announcement of the English Government that these 'grants' would not be paid that Dail Eireann decided to call on the public bodies to cut clear from the English Local Government Board and to function henceforth solely under the authority of the Local Government Department of Dail Eireann. That course was not taken earlier because the Ministry of Dail Eireann was reluctant to put on already heavily overburdened people the additional strain that the loss of these 'grants' would involve. When the 'grants' were no longer a factor in the situation, it was felt that the only adequate retort was to cut clear from the foreign institution."

Q. Commissioner Addams: As I understand it, they were going to pay the fines for malicious injuries out of these grants? A. Yes.

Q. But I thought that under the Malicious Injuries Act damages had to be paid by the community? A. Mr. Manly: But these grants were given to the communities by the Local Government Board.

Q. We were told before that if a malicious injury suit was won, the damages had to be paid for out of the funds of that locality. A. Mr. Manly: Yes, but this is a grant to that locality.

A. Miss Bennett: Well, I think this explains it: they would not strike a rate to pay for the malicious injuries, so the Local Government Board said, "Very well, if you will not pay it out of the rates, we will take it out of the grants."

The Witness (continuing reading):

IRISH PUBLIC BODIES RENOUNCE ENGLISH CONTROL

"On the order of Dail Eireann, the public bodies of Ireland ceased all communication with the English Local Government Board. Minutes of meetings and all other returns that it was customary to make to that institution were forwarded instead to the Local Government Department of Dail Eireann, which now began to develop to meet the requirements of the new situation. Auditors of the English Department were refused access to the accounts of public bodies; their inspectors were refused entry to public institutions, and local administration in Ireland entered definitely on a new phase.

"The English Government is now stating that the 'grants' are being

withheld from Irish public bodies because they refuse to submit their accounts to audits by officials of the English Local Government Board. This is not correct. The public bodies of Ireland did not repudiate and were not asked to repudiate the English Local Government Board until the 'grants' in aid of local administration were withheld. The present position is that the Irish public bodies are functioning in non-recognition of the English Local Government Board, and in full and complete recognition of and obedience to the Local Government Department of Dail Eireann. Control of the internal administration of Ireland has passed from the English to the native government, from the Government based on the sword and bullet to the Government based on the people's will.

RIGOROUS ECONOMIES AND REFORMS EFFECTED

"But the financial position is undeniably serious. Let it be remembered that all the estimates for the current year were made on the assumption that the 'grants' would be paid as heretofore. Despite the most rigid economy and schemes of reform which show the administrative genius of the people, the loss of the million and a half pounds is being keenly felt. Finance is the essence of the situation. The economies and reforms are for the most part of a kind that will take some time to bear fruit. Take the most important one that is adopted, the scheme for the pooling of contracts by the public bodies. Hitherto each local authority contracted for its own needs and for the public institutions under its care. The new scheme is to have the contracts for all the public bodies and public institutions of Ireland made through a Central Purchasing Committee in the Capital. It is obvious that by contracting and purchasing in very large quantities, instead of having each local authority contracting in small quantities for its own needs, a very great saving can be effected. Moreover, it is hoped that this scheme will give much needed support and stimulus to native industries."

Commissioner Addams: Thank you very much. I think that gives us the clearest idea we have had of the conditions of the local government in Ireland. I think that is all now, unless you have some questions to ask, Mr. Manly?

Mr. Manly: No, we can take that up this afternoon.

Commissioner Addams: All right. Then we will reconvene at two.

(Thereupon, at 12:48 P. M., the Commission adjourned for the noon recess.)

2:08 P. M.

Commissioner Addams (presiding): The Commission will be in session. The two Irish ladies who testified this morning have still two topics to give us.

TESTIMONY ON RECALL OF MISS LOUIE BENNETT

Miss Bennett: One is the influence of the recent Labor movement, and its influence on the general situation; and the other is this much vexed question of the religious issue,—how far the religious issue enters into the general situation.

Commissioner Addams: Miss Bennett is identified with the Labor movement in Ireland in various ways, and will give us this topic.

The Witness: Miss Addams, I am just not quite sure what the Commission would like to know with regard to the Labor movement. Is it just the action that it has taken in this recent conflict?

Q. I think so; its action in the recent conflict and its influence in the conflict that has gone on. A. Yes.

Q. And the possibility of changing that somewhat in character owing to the existence of the Labor movement. A. Yes, yes.

STRENGTH OF IRISH LABOR MOVEMENT

It is so extremely difficult to gauge the forces of the Labor movement in Ireland at the present time, because the interests of the people seem to be so much absorbed in the purely political question. The trades unions have grown enormously in the last five years, and one might say that the workers of Ireland are well organized, and they are organizing fastly in one large union, the Irish Transport Union, which was Larkin's union originally, and was just meant for general workers, for unskilled workers. But since Larkin's time the Transport Workers have enlarged their scope, and are taking in all classes of people, men and women both. And there is no doubt but that the Transport Workers have considerable power in the country at the present time; and I should think they will have greater power in the future when things are more settled.

IRISH BRANCHES SEPARATING FROM ENGLISH UNIONS

One other point in regard to the Labor movement in Ireland. There are two classes of trades unions: there are what we call the amalgamated unions and the branches, as well as the purely Irish unions. The amalgamated unions are branches of the English unions. And during the past year there has been a very strong movement among the Irish workers to break away from the English workers—the amalgamated unions, so that there shall be only Irish unions in Ireland. The most remarkable break in that line is the A. S. E.,—Associated Society of Engineers, a very strong union; and all of the men of the engineering works in Ireland were originally in this English union, the Irish branch of the A. S. E. But in the early part of 1920 a group broke away from the A. S. E. and formed an Irish union; and in the nine or ten months since this was organized they have drawn in a very strong lot of the engineering workers in southern Ireland. Indeed, people up in Ulster,—I am not speaking now of the Ulster situation at all; but a number of the

workers in Ulster have joined the new Irish union. And they have bought for themselves a very large, fine house in Dublin for headquarters. Another large union is the N. U. R., the National Union of Railwaymen. The railwaymen are all organized in a branch of the English National Union of Railwaymen; but the trend of the whole labor movement in Ireland at the present time is to become independent of the English trade unionists, and the railwaymen are bound to break away in a short time. But strange to say, while this movement persists, a much closer relation between the British Trades Unions Congress and the Irish Trades Unions Congress has been set up. Today the official Labor Party,—the Irish Labor Party, is working on a similar policy for a close association with the British Labor Party. But at the same time, among the rank and file there is a strong tendency to break away from British trades unionists.

BRITISH LABOR PARTY ACKNOWLEDGES IRELAND'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Of course you know very well the attitude that the British Labor Party have taken towards Ireland lately. They had a mission to Ireland in the spring, and they made another investigation lately; and they have gradually come around to the view of the Irish Labor Party with regard to the Irish situation. When Henderson and his party first came to Ireland in the spring, they would not hear anything else but dominion home rule;—that Ireland should have the right of self-determination outside the Empire, they could not see that. And they said it was inconceivable that any group of people in the world should be so extraordinarily stupid as to wish to stand outside the great and noble British Empire. And when we brought up the crimes of British imperialism, and proved that it was guilty in common with all other imperialism, they said, "No, our great British Empire is not guilty of any such thing." They would not believe it. But this time when they came over they saw the necessity of acknowledging the Irish people's right to self-determination outside the Empire. But I am sure that in the bottom of Mr. Henderson's heart there still lurks a desire that Ireland should stay within the British Empire.

Q. Major Newman: Was Mr. Henderson a member of both Commissions? A. Yes, he was.

Q. Commissioner Addams: And they have just printed their second report? A. Yes.

RANK AND FILE OF IRISH LABOR WHOLLY ABSORBED IN POLITICAL STRUGGLE

Now, with regard to Irish Labor policy. I should say that the rank and file are too much absorbed by the national political situa-

tion to be much concerned about other matters. The leaders have a progressive program in the back of their minds, but they cannot put it forward at the present time,—I mean by that a more socialistic program. They cannot put it forward at the present time because of the absorption of the rank and file with the political position. The real desire of the rank and file is not so much for social reform now as it is for changed political conditions. The rank and file have taken political action and brought about certain changes which have never originated with the leaders or been desired by them, but has come from the rank and file itself. That has happened in three cases. The first was the case in Limerick where a policeman was shot in conflict with a Sinn Feiner. The friends of the Sinn Feiner, —he was in a prison hospital, tried to get into the hospital and rescue him. The boy was shot in his bed where he lay, and a policeman was also shot. That gave rise to the action of the British Government that nobody could go outside the city without a permit. Well, some of the biggest factories of Limerick lie outside the city; and the British Government demanded that they ask for a permit in order to go from their homes out to their work outside the city every morning. The workers refused to ask, without the consent of their leaders, and said they would not go to work if they had to ask the British Government for a permit. Thomas Johnson, who was secretary of the Irish Labor Party, went down to Limerick to get this straightened out.

Q. Commissioner Addams: It was not a strike against the employers at all, but against the regulations? A. Yes, against the regulation. But in the end they were beaten for want of funds. I think it was due to some mistake made in the organization, but anyway, they were beaten. But this permit order was rescinded. It was not carried on. That was the first stand made against the Government by the workers themselves.

The second occasion was the motor restriction made the first of this year. Very complicated and strict restrictions were made upon taxi and motor drivers, the Government said with a view to prevent them carrying the "rebels" and aiding "these outrages." The taxi drivers went on strike against this permit order. The Union took it up, and it had to be taken up very much more generally than among the drivers themselves, for many of the motor drivers are members of the Transport Union, and it became a rather large strike. But the officials of the Labor movement, I think, did not like this strike, and they didn't want it to go very far. It went on for several weeks, and it was settled in the end in a compromise. Neither side gave in.

LABOR COMPELS RELEASE OF HUNGER STRIKERS

Before I tell you about the third case of strike without the leaders' consent, I want to say that the Labor movement now involves considerable solidarity. Whenever a labor question arises,—for instance, when there was a large number of Irish workers on hunger strike in Mountjoy prison, then the Labor Party called for a general strike.

Q. Commissioner Addams: That is, the Irish Labor Party? A. Yes, the Irish Labor Party. The Labor Party called for a general strike to compel the Government to release these hunger strikers. The response to it was instantaneous and general, although it meant danger of dismissal and loss of money and everything else. But I can speak of my own trade union women: there was not a single case in which the workers objected to refuse to work. That strike went on for three days, when the hunger strikers were released. There was tremendous enthusiasm in Dublin over that strike. You know the people were all outside the prison praying. The day the hunger strikers were released, I could not get up there myself, but I know of the demonstration. There was a marvelous demonstration. The people were so tremendously serious over it; it was a very serious and solemn demonstration. And one would imagine that in a general strike like that there would be all sorts of disturbances and the people would get careless. Nothing of the sort. I have been in Dublin in both general strikes, and there has been perfect quiet right throughout the city. There have been no riots or disturbances of any kind.

Q. Major Newman: Mountjoy is a prison in Dublin? A. Yes, Mountjoy Prison is in Dublin. I do not just remember what the other occasion was, but at any rate whenever there has been a call of that kind, the people have responded to it in the same sort of way, with the same spontaneity and unanimity.

IRISH RAILWAYMEN STRIKE AGAINST TRANSPORT OF ARMED TROOPS AND WAR MUNITIONS

Q. Commissioner Addams: Now, was the action of the Railwaymen in refusing to carry munitions, was that spontaneity, or was that ordered? A. I was going to tell you about that, for that has been one of the most interesting developments of the year. I have notes here on how that originated. You know, until this year there has not been any strong feeling against the soldiers in Ireland,—I mean as individuals. Of course there is a strong opposition to the army of occupation. But between individuals there has been a lot of good

feeling. Bitterness has only arisen between the people and the army since the Black-and-Tans came along. It was May 13, 1920. You may remember that the question arose of the threatened war with Russia, and the workers of England refused to carry munitions of war for Poland to use against Russia. And the workers of Ireland then,—some of the dockers and some of the railwaymen, said: “Why should not we refuse to carry munitions of war for the British to fight against our own people?” And this strike originated quite suddenly upon the docks among the workers of the Transport Union. On May 20th they refused to discharge war material from a steamer on the North Wharf. The British dockers had already refused, on May 15th, in fact to load the *Jolly George* with munitions for Poland. Then on May 21st J. H. Thomas, the National Union of Railwaymen’s executive, said he had ordered the British railwaymen not to handle the munitions for Poland. On the 24th the Cork railwaymen took it up, and said they would refuse to handle munitions for Ireland, and they started the railway strike in that way. The Labor Party realized that this strike was likely to become an extremely big and serious thing, and they decided that they would limit it as far as possible. And they decided that they would not call out all the men; they limited it as far as possible. And the limitation meant this,—that it was only when armed soldiers or Black-and-Tans boarded the trains that the engine driver should refuse to drive that train. That is how the thing was carried out everywhere. Whenever the armed military boarded the train, the driver or guard refused that the train should go; and then the engine driver or the guard were dismissed. It did not mean that the whole crew would be dismissed. So for a long time they kept this strike within certain bounds. But the military forces kept on. On certain lines they persistently boarded the trains time after time, and the trains got held up. And gradually sections of the lines, except in the north, and even some of the side lines in the north, were closed up; and trains were limited on the other lines. And gradually, of course, we were getting in a kind of strangle-hold regarding the railroad traffic. The numbers of men out were increasing every week. The response for funds for these men throughout the country was very unusual. Right from the beginning of this strike to the end they were able to pay each man at least two pounds a week. Some of the men got three pounds a week, but no man got less than two pounds a week who was out of work. The last week of the strike it meant that they were paying out £700,000 a week. And none of this money was paid out by the National Union of Railwaymen, because they said it was an illegal strike. The men had no right to come out on strike without the consent of their leaders. Some of the English unions contributed, but the great mass was contributed by the Irish unions themselves.

LABOR PLANS FOOD SUPPLY FOR NATION

In the beginning of November Mr. Geddes announced that if the railwaymen continued to refuse to handle munitions, all the railroads in Ireland would be closed down. And this was the issue that the Irish railwaymen had to face: the complete shut-down of the Irish railways. Various plans went on behind the scenes. A trade union congress was called late in November to decide what they were going to do. Meanwhile, the Irish Labor Party were in touch with Dail Eireann and other members of Sinn Fein drawing up plans as to what they would do in the event of the closing down of the railways. Thomas Johnson himself told me that they had quite complete plans drawn up for the continuing of the food supply. It had to be a very elaborate business. The coast towns were all right, because they could arrange to carry food by boat. Inland it was a very difficult problem, but they had all their plans made, and the committee had gone into it very carefully and had decided in detail what would be done. The Government raided their offices then and carried away their plans. They also brought out a very drastic motor order, which meant—and it is still in effect—that motor traffic could not be carried on in a wider area than twenty miles outside of the district in which this particular motor was registered. So that meant that motor traffic could not be used in the event of the closing down of the railways. Some other method had to be used.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS SUPPORTS MUNITIONS STRIKE

Then they had this Trade Union Congress. I will see if I have the date. I know it was in November. The Trade Union Congress was held on November 16th. The Trade Union Congress was a Congress of all the workers of Ireland, not to order the railwaymen as to what they should do, but to express the wish of the Irish Labor movement as to what they thought it would be well for the railwaymen to do, whether they were to give in or whether they should continue that strike against the carrying of munitions. It was a very large Congress. There was close to a thousand delegates there. It was a very serious and a very quiet Congress, the most serious of any congress I have ever attended. It did not have the great enthusiasm of some previous congresses. Thomas Johnson, who was the secretary of the Union, put the case before them in, I may say, a very fine and idealistic way, and he got a tremendous response. That strike was going to affect every man in the place, because a railway strike means not only that the railwaymen would go out, but that every man there would go out on account of the closing down of industry. The Congress went on all day long, and in the

end they recommended that the railwaymen should stick it out and should refuse to handle munitions. I will read you now the resolution that was carried. First of all, this resolution was carried advising the railwaymen to hold out; but I should add that in the railway union there are a group of older men, a kind of stolid lot of men, and this older group was in favor of giving in. They moved that an honorable settlement should be made, but they did not say what that meant,—they did not know what they themselves meant by “an honorable settlement.” And of course, Mr. Thomas of the English Railwaymen’s Union, his policy was that they should give in and carry munitions. But the Congress did not give in; they decided they would support the Irish railwaymen to the very end. I remember there was one man from Donegal who said, “We have got to stick it out, and if we have got to run across the fields and carry the food on our bare backs, why, then we will stick it out.” And that was the spirit of the people. We women were criticized because we also encouraged the men to stick it out,—we women delegates who were there at that time.

IRISH LABOR INDORSES SETTLEMENT DRAFTED BY BRITISH LABOR PARTY

But also at that Congress they drafted a platform that had some very important and interesting points in it. (Reading):

“This Conference, representative of organized labor in Ireland, welcomes that statement of policy made by the leader of the Labor Party in the House of Commons, Mr. Adamson, speaking on behalf of the British Labor Movement, in declaring for:

“(1) The withdrawal of the British armed forces from Ireland;
“(2) The calling of a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of proportional representation by a free, equal, and secret vote.”

“(3) That such assembly should draw up a Constitution for Ireland, on the understanding that such Constitution shall be made operative, subject only to two conditions, namely, that it affords protection to minorities, and that the Constitution shall prevent Ireland from becoming a military or naval menace.

“This Conference declares, on behalf of the Irish Labor Movement, its readiness to advocate the acceptance of this policy as being the fulfilment of Ireland’s demand for the right to choose and decide its own form of government, and assures the British workers that the realization of the policy outlined will lead to good-will and fraternity between the two peoples.

“And further, we indorse the statement already made by our National Executive to the leaders of the British Trade Union Movement, that the only obstacle to peace and good order in Ireland is the presence of the British armed forces; and we indorse with confidence the assurance they have given that the withdrawal of these forces from any district, leaving responsibility and power for the maintenance of order to the popularly elected representatives, will secure peace and good government in that district.”

IRELAND NOT INTERESTED IN AGGRESSIVE WAR

The Witness: Now, there are two points, of course, in regard to this resolution. And one point was raised in particular,—that it meant that Ireland would have no power over the army or navy, and would have no army or navy of its own. And some of the members of the Congress raised that point and objected. They were not prepared to yield that right. But other speakers replied that in the future the Republic of Ireland would not want to have armed forces; that Ireland would have enough to do with a constructive policy to build up her own nation; that she was not out for war; and that it was the business of the Labor Party of each country to see that aggressive war—and that would be the only kind of war in which Ireland was interested—should be abolished. And there were only three dissensions to that policy in that Labor Congress.

Q. Commissioner Addams: That was in November, 1920? A. Yes, November 16, 1920.

MUNITIONS STRIKE CANCELLED TO PREVENT SUFFERING OF PEOPLE

Well, then, it meant that in the meantime this committee that was arranging for the transport of food should go on with its work. It was urged that a committee should be appointed from the Congress to lay the case of the striking railwaymen before the British labor unions and get their support. But the thing went on for several weeks, up to Sunday, November 21st. On Sunday, November 21st, 14 British officers were shot down in Dublin, the British Government said by Sinn Feiners. Well, you know, of course, the feeling that aroused, and Dublin was put under the strictest kind of martial law. On Monday night I know there were many people who never got home at all; they were held up by the armed forces. The whole city was raided, and large numbers were arrested. There were wholesale arrests, including some of the most important members of this food committee; and others of them had to be so much on the run that it was not possible for them to get together at all. The arrests were simply extraordinary in the wholesale and arbitrary way they were made. When the raiders closed down on the members of this committee, and the men who held the strings of the food supply were arrested, it meant that the food supply had to be practically in the hands of the Irish Volunteers. And if they could not act, the thing could not be done. The Labor Party office was raided and everything they had was taken from it, as well as the plans of the food supply committee. But still they did not give in. And then came the burning of Cork, and the proclamation of martial

law throughout many districts. And then Tom Johnson and several other leaders told me that to call a strike at that time would leave the people too much at the mercy of the armed forces, and would put them in a very bad position. And therefore the strike was called off.

But we who were pacifists and who, I might say, were in favor of a constitutional movement against the British Government, were very much disappointed, because we felt that the energies of the Volunteers would be called wholly into the distribution of food supply, and they would be so busy with that that other things could not be done. A movement of that sort would have proved so completely that the people were behind the Republican Government that the British Government could no longer claim that it was only a matter of capturing "the murder gang" and the whole thing would be ended. It would have shown that the men and the women and the children of the nation were all in it. It seems to me that it was a pity the thing could not be carried out, because it would have been a very fine and effective demonstration of the unanimity of the Irish people.

Q. Major Newman: I would like to ask you a question on that point, Miss Bennett. Of course the refusal of the employees to carry armed soldiers or munitions of war resulted in the stoppage of the running of trains, did it not? A. Yes, it did.

Q. Did that react very severely on the people in the way of getting supplies? A. It did not react so badly on the getting of food, but it threw a good many workers out of work and made it difficult for them. And certainly business men felt it very keenly.

Q. Did it result in hardship on the people generally? A. Well, I would not say that it did. It did in special cases, but I would not say in a general way. It had not gone so far as that.

Q. Do you think that one of the reasons for the failure of the railway strike was the hardships that it would involve? I mean, of course, the hardships upon their own people. A. No, I don't think it was, because they were prepared for that.

Q. But do you think that that was one of the reasons for calling off the strike? A. Well, I think they realized that on account of the condition of the country at that juncture that it would finally result in serious hardship for a great many people.

Q. Had it resulted in any serious hardship up to that time? A. No, not up to that time; nothing serious. And of course the men were being paid such an allowance that they did not feel any great hardship up to that time.

Q. But I meant the people of the country? A. No, no; it had not gone on that far. In isolated districts, perhaps, but not generally. But if it had continued, it would have had a very serious effect. And I think that much of the unemployment that we are

now suffering from is due to the holding up of supplies of all kinds. Is there anything further?

SERIOUSNESS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Q. Commissioner Addams: Do the Irish workers come under the British unemployment insurance act? A. Yes, they did. Of course, some of us feel that the Irish Labor Party (I say that this is what some of us feel; it may not be general), but some of us feel that the Irish Labor Party has not taken a strong enough attitude towards British rule as it affects them. For instance, over that unemployment benefit, they ought to have been quick enough to get up something of their own and not have to take that from England.

Q. Major Newman: But they had paid for it, we understood. A. Yes, they paid for it; yes, yes.

Q. But they had paid for it in past year, we understood. A. No, this new act was something extraordinary to meet the present unemployment. It is very interesting how it is done. At first when it started workers who were out of employment four weeks were entitled to benefits. Now any unemployment of the worker, whether his card is stamped or not, entitles him to benefits.

Q. Commissioner Addams: When was that passed? A. Just a few weeks ago.

Q. In the English Parliament? A. Yes.

Q. Major Newman: Does that apply to Ireland? A. Yes.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Are the workingmen taking it? A. Yes, they are. They believe in taking all they can get.

Q. But you have not as much unemployment in Ireland as they have in England? A. No, we have not. But in Cork it is now very serious. And in Belfast it is going to be as serious as it is in England at present. The shipyards, and of course the linen mills, are going to be held up.

Q. We have had some testimony of the growth of the labor movement in Ulster, crossing over religious lines and bringing the people together in a very interesting way. The Gaelic League, it seems, has done the same thing. Perhaps, Miss Townshend, you would tell us something about that?

CONTINUED TESTIMONY OF MISS CAROLINE TOWNSHEND

GAELIC LEAGUE HAS OVERCOME RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES

A. Miss Townshend: Yes, these papers, that were sent on to us today, deal with that. Miss Nellie O'Brien, who is also a Protestant Episcopalian, tells what Dr. Douglas Hyde, an Episcopalian and

for twenty years years President of the Gaelic League, says about it. But perhaps it is too long.

Commissioner Addams: Well, perhaps you can just give its main points and put it into the evidence.

Miss Townshend: Of course, she shows the wonderful way in which the Gaelic League has crossed over religious prejudices.

Commissioner Addams (to the Commission): Would you like to hear that?

Q. Commissioner Howe: Is it very long? A. Five or six pages.

Major Newman: Well, we would like to hear it.

Mr. Manly: I will read it if you like.

The Witness: Thank you, sir.

Commissioner Addams: I understand that this was sent to the ladies. They had it sent to me, but it was for them to give here.

Q. Major Newman: Mr. Manly, I don't think the record shows who made the report, and the date of it.

A. Mr. Manly: The report is signed "Nellie O'Brien," who is the Miss O'Brien just referred to.

Miss Townshend: Miss O'Brien is one of the original workers in the Gaelic League, which is a non-sectarian and non-political movement. Of course, I have articles here showing what a wonderful movement the Gaelic League is.

Q. Commissioner Howe: And this report here is what? A. It is a report on the religious question. It shows the relation of the religious question to the political question.

Q. That is, to what extent the religious question enters into the present struggle? A. Yes. She proves that the religious question does not come into it at all.

Q. Commissioner Addams: She is an Episcopalian and an organizer for the Gaelic League, as I understand it. A. Yes, she is.

Mr. Manly (reading):

"PROTESTANTS AND NATIONALITY

"Many old standing fallacies in Ireland which have been carefully nurtured by British influence are now being exploded, like the one that the country is entirely dependent on England and could not keep her population alive out of her own resources. The most pernicious of all, however, is the fallacy that there is an impassable gulf between Catholics and Protestants, and that the interests of the different denominations are incompatible. So deeply instilled is this that we hardly realize it ourselves. Even when we have not been brought up to hear our fellow Christians of another denomination spoken of as almost outside the pale, we are taught to treat them with a self-conscious consideration, to elaborately avoid any subjects which might by any possibility be held to be controversial, to be on our guard lest we should hurt their feelings (or supposed feelings); in short, instead of the frank, free intercourse there should be amongst citizens of the one country, there is an atmosphere of being on one's guard, even of suspicion, which poisons the mind of our people by slow degrees, and divides us more and more into different camps. Protestants are

taught, for instance, to be very careful not to say anything which might be interpreted as criticizing the priests; while Catholics on the other hand have got into the habit of thinking that they will get no sympathy or understanding from Protestants,—and small wonder, perhaps, considering the history of the country and the effect of a couple of centuries of penal laws. No country could thrive in this artificial atmosphere, which has a cramping effect on all development; and of course the case is far worse in the North, where British statesmen have exploited the worst aspects of religious bigotry.

SECTARIANISM FOSTERED BY BRITISH

“It takes all sorts to make a nation, and freedom of social and intellectual intercourse is essential to its upbuilding. It is precisely for this reason that sectarianism has been sedulously fostered by British rule and British influence, which has always aimed at keeping Ireland weak and divided in order to dominate her more easily. And this influence has permeated our educational systems and even our homes, and has unconsciously warped the minds of many who are by nature of a frank and liberal disposition.

GAELIC LEAGUE UNITES CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS

“It is the aim of this paper to show that this state of things is artificial, and not really natural to the Irish people, who when left to themselves are remarkably free from religious bigotry or class snobishness, two evil things which often run side by side. And the best way to prove this is to consider what the character of the people is showing itself to be under the influence of the Gaelic League and its political counterpart, Sinn Fein,—using the term in its broadest national sense. These two movements have not so much changed the character of the people; rather, they have set free its natural elements, which were at the point of strangulation by the anglicizing influence at work in Ireland for so long. They have in fact given her back her soul. With the Gaelic League came a great and absorbing enthusiasm which set people of all denominations working side by side in fellowship and love. Under the sterner discipline of Sinn Fein, and with the stress of the danger of national extermination, we are learning still more to trust each other. The Gaelic League left it as a deeply felt, only half-expressed sentiment. The latter movement is leading us, one might almost say forcing us, to speak out our minds frankly to each other by the necessity of our interdependence. I write as a member of the Church of Ireland (Protestant Episcopal), and as practical experience is of more importance than many generalizations, I will, even at the risk of appearing somewhat egotistical, give briefly some personal observations bearing on this question, taking in succession the different phases of work for the Gaelic revival with which I was connected. I may mention in the first place that I was brought up in the sort of atmosphere I have attempted to describe, among people who were liberal-minded and sincerely patriotic according to their lights, but who never got away from a feeling of utter hopelessness about the ultimate destiny of Ireland, and who were in reality entirely remote from the real life of the country. This feeling of discouragement prevented my taking any sides in politics, and the days of the industrial revival and of cooperation had hardly dawned then, nor would they of themselves without the sentiment of nationality have made any strong appeal to me. But when I joined the Gaelic League in 1905 everything seemed changed to me. I found there a new life, hopeful and buoyant, which, paradoxical as it may sound,

had yet its roots deep in the past. Catholic and Protestant met there for the first time on common ground; so also did landlord and the rank and file of the people. Dr. Douglas Hyde, who was President of the Gaelic League from its organization in 1893 to his retirement in 1915, is, as is well known, a Protestant, and the son of a Protestant clergyman. He was beloved and honored as much by members of the one church as of the other, by priests as much as by laymen. The Coisde Gnotha or Executive of the League was never without Protestants on it, of which I had the honor to be one; and to say that we were made cordially welcome is far short of the mark. There was always a feeling that a special place was prepared for us, which to me at least was very touching. At a later period the first place on the Executive has been gained by another lady, also a member of the Church of Ireland, who has headed the list year after year for all Ireland. The work for the Executive entailed going about the country in the summer to open a Feis or help to judge the competitions, as well as sitting on committees in Dublin. But town and country were the same. I found always the same warm spirit of camaraderie in the Gaelic cause, in the glens of Antrim or in Tyrone or in the most western part of Connaught, where I came as a stranger, as well as in my native Limerick, with its sister counties of Clare and Kerry.

OLD RELIGIOUS BARRIERS BROKEN DOWN

"I was instrumental in starting a new branch of the Gaelic League (Craohn na g'Cuigi the Branch of the Five Provinces) in Dublin, the primary object of which was to get Protestants and people of different political views to the majority to join in the national movement. It has, I am glad to say, been very successful, and neither politics nor religion have prevented it from taking its place with the other branches, which have a preponderance of Roman Catholics in them. We worked side by side, sometimes for years without even knowing to what religious persuasion our colleagues belonged. To Americans it may seem strange that one should lay such stress on this, but anyone who has lived in Ireland under the old regime will realize what the breaking down of the religious barriers has meant. Our Branch is also as broadly democratic as any of them.

"When the Branch was in good working order I turned my attention to the founding of a Gaelic College in County Clare (O'Curry College, Carrigaholt), and there again my experiences were the same. The lady who took the most prominent part in the organizing work in the country, Miss Geraldine Griffin of Kilkee, was a Roman Catholic; but she was able to gather to our support the Protestant rector as well as the local priests, and when it was established the bishops of both denominations visited it, and certainly my own bishop got as warm a welcome from the students as did the other.

"The next thing was a tour of the States with an exhibition of Irish arts and crafts for the purpose of explaining to the Americans by means of lectures, demonstrations, and concerts what was going on in Ireland, and to make money for the Gaelic League. I will only say in this connection that my colleagues for the year and a quarter that we were there were all Catholics, but that no question of religion ever divided us, or made my position awkward in the smallest degree. The working together in a strange country intensified our feeling of comradeship. I believe, too, that the personnel of our little band in that way evoked sympathy, and was in itself a demonstration of the drawing together of all creeds and classes under the Gaelic League.

PROTESTANTS JOIN WITH CATHOLICS TO AVERT CONSCRIPTION

"An interlude, but owing to the stress of the times a very stirring interlude which had also permanent results, was the stand made by a considerable number of Protestants throughout the country against conscription. It is known to everyone how that peril, which would have meant the final blow to the remnant of the Irish nation, was averted, and how hard the struggle was. It looked at first as if the Protestants of Ireland were going to stand aloof altogether from that struggle, and ignominiously to allow themselves to be classed with the political and religious bigots who were trying to make capital out of the situation. A little band of us then, mostly members of the Church of Ireland, issued a manifesto calling on the Protestants to 'join with their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen,' and stating that it was wrong to force a nation against its will and conscience. Our difficulties were enormous, owing to the opposition of the superior ecclesiastics, the economic pressure brought to bear on many who were secretly in sympathy, and the fact that we could not get a hearing in the Unionist papers. In spite of everything, however, we made ourselves felt, and received most touching tributes from all parts of Ireland from Catholics who appreciated our efforts, and from Protestants who had no opportunity otherwise of registering themselves publicly as being on the national side.

A NON-SECTARIAN COEDUCATIONAL SCHOOL

"I had to do also with a school recently started outside Dublin (Saint Brendan's, Dun Laoghaire), where Protestant and Catholic children live and do all their lessons together, except religious instruction, which is specially arranged for according to the wishes of the parents. It is a bold experiment,—how bold only those who have worked in Ireland under the old conditions will understand; but, though small as yet, it is getting on well and has, I hope, a future before it. The head master is a Protestant, and the principal assistant a Roman Catholic. A Professor of Trinity College has his girls there,—the school is co-educational, another innovation in Ireland, as well as children of Catholic and Jewish parents; and boys brought up in strongly Unionist beliefs sit side by side with ardent little Sinn Feiners.

GAELICIZING IRISH PROTESTANTISM

"I come now to the starting of Cumann na n'Eaglaise, the Irish Guild of the Church, which from this special point of view is by far the most important, as it is a question no longer of individual Protestants, but of a body of members of the Church of Ireland who, moved by the isolation of their Church, have definitely taken up the work of Gaelicizing and nationalizing it, and bringing it into touch with the country. The Guild occupies itself chiefly with conducting services in Irish in one of the principal churches in Dublin, with teaching the language to members of the congregation and others, and in running social and other functions in which all can join. It has been most cordially received by Gaels of other denominations, who realize what uphill work it has been, chiefly on account of the identification in the minds of most of its higher ecclesiastics of the Irish language and ultra-national politics. It issues a monthly magazine (*The Gaelic Churchman*), and does a great amount of propaganda work, and has been successful in winning the support of a number of the bishops and other clergy, who are beginning to understand its aims. So warm is the appreciation of the Roman Catholic Gaels that

when the Guild has occasion to get up a sale or concert, they are ever to the fore to help, and there is the curious spectacle of the performers at a concert being almost all Catholics,—they being more proficient in the national music and dances than the Protestants, who often for the first time come in contact on these occasions with the native traditions and culture. These simple experiences make one hopeful for the ultimate blending of the different parts of Irish life, which for so long seemed to jar hopelessly with each other.”

Q. Commissioner Howe: May I ask you where this is written from? A. Dublin. But the lady is from Clare. She has written it from Dublin. *

Q. Mr. Manly: She is a County Clare woman? A. Yes, she is. I might explain that Miss O'Brien belongs to one of our very best-known and finest families,—a very old family there.

Q. Commissioner Howe: And is she describing conditions in County Clare? A. No, in Ireland. Throughout all Ireland. And here are a few other very short papers.

Q. Mr. Manly: Shall I read them for you? A. Yes, if you please.

BRITISH INCITE RELIGIOUS FANATICISM FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROFIT

Mr. Manly: This is signed, “A Belfast Business Man.” You know personally who wrote it?

Miss Townshend: That came from Miss O'Brien.

Mr. Manly: This is signed by a Belfast business man, a Protestant:

“Religious differences in Ireland benefit the English Government, inasmuch as that Government can thus attach one side to itself. A disunited people here is England's greatest asset. English statesmen know that they could not hold out against a united country. That is one of their secret reasons for partition. They fear that four millions of Irishmen would have more brains than thirty-six millions of British. To emphasize our religious incompatibilities is one of their best cards, both here and in India. Some years ago, when the Indian hill tribes rose in revolt, the English press screamed that the tribesmen had invaded the Hindoo or Mohammedan temple and ‘burned the sacred books.’ That was intended to enlist the owners of the ‘sacred books’ on the English side. It was a perfect type of English procedure.

“Belfast trades unions are very impotent because of Orange and Green differences. Employers know that it is to their advantage to prevent a coalition of workers. Concerted action by the workers is very difficult when the employer or his newspaper tells the Orange workers that any demand is the result of a ‘plot to dishonor Ulster.’ They are told not to be led by the nose by ‘emissaries of Rome.’ If a workers’ organization is becoming formidable, a riot has to be organized. That arrests fraternal negotiations. Before 1914 Sir Edward Carson told an English audience that the majority behind him in Belfast (employers and workmen) were so united that there had not been a strike there for several years. That is where the advantage to the employers came in. A wealthy man, by giving the Ulster Volunteers five hundred pounds for a drill hall, could save two or three thousand in the wages bill of that year. These wealthy men

have the 'front seats in the synagogue,' and pay well into the Church funds. Consequently they expect the clergy to support their 'religion and liberties' in the pulpit and on the platform. The clergy are too often the auxiliaries of mammon, while they profess to preach Christ. Great is the mystery of iniquity. The dupes are honest fanatics, and in their ignorance believe everything they are told. They are prepared to do anything required, from the looting of a convent. If there were no pope or no papists, eight out of twelve Belfast men would be without any religion at all. In fact, Belfast Protestantism is not a spiritual religion in any sense. It is a fanaticism exploited by politicians and materialists for their own ends."

IRISH PROTESTANTS WORK FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Mr. Manly: This one is signed by "Lily Williams." Who is she?

Q. Commissioner Addams: Do you want to hear these without signatures? We ought to have their signatures in order to make them binding.

A. Miss Townshend: Well, I think we can get the names for you. There is sometimes trouble about getting papers through. I think that is the reason they were not signed.

Commissioner Addams: I think we might go on with them then.

Mr. Manly (reading):

"It has been the earnest wish of Protestant Irish Ireland workers to sink religious differences and everything that made for division among us in the common cause we all have at heart. So successful have we been on our side that British political propoganda has made it appear as though national aspirations were confined solely to one religious body in Ireland, and tries also to make it appear that Protestants are antagonistic to national aspirations. Protestants in the past and Protestants today in larger numbers than in the past are in accord with their fellow-countrymen in the fight for independence, cooperating in every movement that makes for a free Ireland. In the elections, both parliamentary and municipal, Protestants it has been proved voted Republican. Protestants took prominent part in the Easter Uprising; Protestants are taking active though inconspicuous part today in carrying on the fight. In all public funerals of Irish martyrs Protestants took part, thereby publicly demonstrating their sympathy with the cause for which the martyr died.

"So harmoniously have Protestants and Roman Catholics worked side by side in the Gaelic League, oblivious of all religious differences, that when organizing a lecture for propogandist purposes, we Protestants were at a loss to know which of our members belonged to the Protestant Church and which to the Roman Catholic. In error we invited several Roman Catholics to help us, explaining that it was a lecture by Canon Healy, Protestant, and the lecture to be held in a Protestant school house. We did not meet with one refusal from our Roman Catholic fellow-workers. The subject of Canon Healy's lecture was traditional Irish music, and the best music at the lecture was supplied by Roman Catholics.

"In proportion to our numbers, to the best of my belief, Protestants working actively in Ireland's cause compare very favorably with our fellow Christians so engaged.

(Signed) "LILY WILLIAMS."

Miss Townshend (to Miss Bennett): She is a member of the Women's International League, is she not?

Miss Bennett: I don't know her personally. She may be.

Miss Townshend: Here is a copy of *The Gaelic Churchman*.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Do you want to put that in? Is there anything else you want to leave, Miss Townshend? A. Well, here is another article by a Protestant lady, and a long article by Miss Nellie O'Brien.

Commissioner Addams: Yes, just put them in, if you please.

Miss Townshend: And also I have a pamphlet by Countess Desart, Lady Desart, on the Gaelic League movement.

Commissioner Addams: Thank you very much.

CONTINUED TESTIMONY OF MISS LOUIE BENNETT

CROWN FORCES MALTREAT CATHOLIC CHURCH

Miss Bennett: Miss Addams, I would like very much to inform the Commission about the treatment given the Catholic Church by the Crown forces. I don't know whether you have had anything on that or not.

Commissioner Addams: No, we have not. We would like to hear it.

Miss Bennett: I cannot understand myself why there should be this attitude taken by the British Government towards the Catholic Church. Of course this is true. This whole movement has been intensified on the part of the whole people by a religious feeling. To me the most remarkable thing about it is the religious feeling underlying it. Now, I don't mean the least bit something that is inspired or guided by the Catholic Church. It is in the people themselves, because they have met every one of these trials in the same intense religious devotion. I referred to the hunger strikers in Mountjoy, and it was very remarkable at the time of the Mac-Swiney hunger strike. Every evening they had prayers, even in districts where the priests were not in favor of it,—for many of the priests were not in favor of Sinn Fein. Where I live, ten miles outside of Dublin, the priest there did not want to hold a meeting, and the people met there themselves and recited the rosary, until finally the curate came down and led them.

The British forces have killed two priests up to the present time, and six others are in prison. A Kilkenny priest was arrested the other day because he had a receipt for the Republican loan and a proclamation of Dail Eireann and two other documents which I have myself.

Q. Major Newman: Can you give his name? A. Rev. P. H. Delahunty, of Callan, County Kilkenny. The *Irish Times* has twice

said that he has been sentenced to two years at hard labor. Another paper said it was not at hard labor. I don't know, myself.

Q. But there is no question about the two years, is there? A. No, he was sentenced to two years.

CONVENTS TERRORIZED BY MIDNIGHT RAIDS

Then in Dublin they have raided the monasteries. They have also raided two convents. They raided one convent in Merrion Square, where there is a rather high class of nuns,—nuns who took in Belgians and did Red Cross work during the war. And there in the middle of the night the military went and battered at the doors and roused up the Mother Superior. And she had to allow the armed men in the middle of the night to go through the house.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Looking for arms? A. They said they were looking for men as well as arms. Then they went to another convent, one of the strictest convents, where the nuns are not allowed even to speak to their own relatives except through a grating. And they raided this convent, and even searched the nuns' rooms in the middle of the night.

Q. Was that for arms too? A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Manly: Can you give the names of those convents, Miss Bennett? A. I can give them to you. The first was in Merrion Square, Dublin, and the second one was the Ranelagh Convent in the north side of Dublin.

Q. Commissioner Addams: And those were Unionist nuns? A. They had Unionist sympathies in times past.

PRIESTS ARRESTED AND ABUSED

Then within the past two weeks they raided the Capuchin Friars in North Street, Dublin. They arrested there Father Dominic, Mayor MacSwiney's priest. And they also arrested one of our best-known and best-loved priests in Dublin, Father Albert. Both of these men I think were chaplains during the war. Father Dominic I am sure was, and I think Father Albert was. They took these two men off and separated them. We know, because we got Father Albert's story straight. And they brought a rope in and threatened to hang him or shoot him with a revolver if he didn't give them certain information. This was told to our friend Miss Griffin. Father Albert could not see anyone, but she went to the monastery and she saw one of his friends there and got the exact details. And twice while they were threatening him he heard shots fired and heard a body fall, and he naturally thought it was Father Dominic. Of course, it was sheer terrorism. Meantime, Father Dominic was also being threatened with revolvers and with this halter, and terrorized in that way.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Are they out now? A. No, I don't know. Of course, I left immediately after. I have the account of Father Dominic's trial here I would like to leave with you. He was charged with having in his possession a private letter to a friend written at Brixton Prison, in which he made a statement which, if published, was likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty's subjects. He was also charged with having in his possession a diary which he said he had written while he was attending Mayor MacSwiney in Brixton Prison. And he was court-martialed for having in his possession this letter and this diary. I don't know what he was sentenced to.

Mr. Manly: He was sentenced to two years.

The Witness: What good will it do? It looks like they were deliberately trying to create a religious war.

TERRORISM AT CHURCH SERVICES

Q. Mr. Manly: We have had testimony from some of the members of the Royal Irish Constabulary that they were under orders to attend Catholic services with their arms drawn, two constables standing at the front of the altar with their guns at the ready, and two at the rear of the church. Has that been the case in Dublin, do you know? A. I don't know personally. I have heard of many cases of outrages throughout the country against churches.

Q. This was at Clogheen. A. Yes, I have no doubt of it at all. Such things are happening throughout the country. A friend of mine wrote me about the beating of young men when they were coming out of a chapel in County Wexford, where there had been no shooting at all. Of course, the people have been beaten on many occasions coming out of church. These young men were attacked and beaten so that it broke their teeth.

Q. Mr. Manly: And this is just to arouse feeling between the people? A. Well, I could not say that positively, but it looks like it,—it looks like it.

PERSECUTION UNITES PEOPLE OF ALL CREEDS

Q. Major Newman: Well, perhaps you can say whether it is having that effect? A. No, it is not. Such persecution only draws people of all creeds together.

Q. Commissioner Howe: What proportion of the Irish people are now openly affiliated with the Republican cause, do you know? What is your opinion? A. Of course, they say 75 per cent. of them are. They base that on the elections; but it is not an accurate way, because everyone who is not a Unionist will vote Sinn Fein.

Q. Commissioner Addams: There are getting to be only two

parties now? A. Yes, that is it. No Nationalist now wants to split the thing when it comes to a question of voting. They want to stand together. I think there is a pretty strong contingent who are dominion home-rulers, but almost all of them support the Republicans when it comes to a vote.

Q. Mr. Manly: Is that getting stronger in the country? A. Yes, yes. Every atrocity creates a lot of Sinn Feiners. You see, the position is that even the Unionists are disgusted with the British Government. Even they are. They do not like the methods it uses.

Miss Townshend: A Protestant clergyman near Dublin recently preached a sermon that the Unionists should join up with Sinn Fein. A relation of mine heard the sermon preached.

Q. Commissioner Howe: And all that is creating a greater solidarity in Ireland? A. Yes, yes. It simply drives the people right into the Republican camp.

Q. Is that true in other districts? A. Yes, yes. Particularly the young men.

IRISH PRISONERS MALTREATED

Miss Bennett: The young men are all Sinn Fein. Of course you realize the number of men under arrest. Now it must be at least 3,000. About Christmas time we had the figures, and it was 2,000 then, and there must be 3,000 now.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Are they in Ireland? A. Many of them are. They have a big prison camp in County Down, in northern Ireland, and another one in Galway.

Q. Mr. Manly: They have interned them? A. Yes, they have interned them.

Q. Major Newman: Do you know anything about the conditions of those camps? A. Just before I left I was making inquiries. I know a woman whose husband is there, and she told me that they are all suffering from the cold and an affection of the feet and the bad food. She said that if these conditions continued they would all be in the hospital.

Miss Townshend: It is a very exposed place. Three sides are exposed to the sea. The Ulster Volunteers were trained there, but not at this time of the year.

Q. Do you know whether there have been any deaths there? A. No. But the way the Black-and-Tans treat the prisoners in the Dublin prisons is awful. A friend of mine goes up to the barracks to see a friend,—at the Harbor Hill barrack. And she came back one day after a visit and reported the following incident to me. One Monday night and Black-and-Tans came in late, all drunk, and they started abusing these prisoners in the vilest language. And they said they would like to shoot all these prisoners. And they took

one man out of bed in his night clothes and ran him around the barrack yard. And they said that one of their comrades had been shot that day, and they showed him a dead body. But we could not verify that, because no Black-and-Tan had been shot that day. One had been killed the previous day accidentally. And we have that on the statement of Mr. X——. But I do not want this mentioned by the gentlemen of the press here.

MURDERS AND MILITARY FRIGHTFULNESS

We also have a complete list of the men, women, and children murdered in Ireland for the twelve months of 1920. I will not give you the details, but the total number is 203. Of these, 172 were young men and men of middle age; 12 were children under 17 years; 6 were women, two of them being pregnant at the time of their murder; 10 were old men of 60 years and over; 3 were boys of 18 years; 1 was a Catholic priest 73 years of age, and since then there has been another priest murdered, a young man 34 years of age.

It is a common thing for soldiers going along the country to fire shots at women and children who are going by. They have to lie down flat in the road because the Black-and-Tans fire at them,—I do not think to kill them, but simply to terrify them. My maid has had letters from home that she has shown to me, telling how the whole countryside is terrified by these insane practices.

Q. Mr. Manly: Well, Mrs. Quinn was shot like that. A. Yes, Mrs. Quinn was shot like that, but the case of the woman in Kilkenny was even a more terrible murder.

SEX CRIMES DIFFICULT TO ASCERTAIN

Q. Major Newman: Have you heard of any sex crimes? A. No, I have not personally, except that I have reports of two cases of court-martials, one of a soldier and the other of a constable, where they were court-martialed for assaults on women; and one was sentenced to two years. Of course, it is very difficult to get facts about such cases.

Q. But you have heard of two cases of courts-martial for sex crimes on women? A. Yes. Of course, the case of the drunken officers in Dublin breaking into a house where there were three women, and one of the women escaped and ran from the house; and the military were sent from the barracks and arrested the officers. And of course there are many instances of the brutal treatment of women, many, many of them.

Miss Townshend: And then there was the case of the old woman

of seventy years of age who was murdered by an officer whom they said later was crazy.

BRUTAL TREATMENT OF UNPROTECTED WOMEN

Q. Mr. Manly: Can you give us cases of the brutal treatment of women? A. Yes. There was a case of an old woman in Dublin. Her sons, it was said, were in the Republican Army. And the military raided her house. In it lived the old woman and an unmarried daughter and two married daughters and a little child two and a half years of age. On this day the unmarried daughter was at home, and she had charge of the little child. And they raided the house, and wanted to get the name of a certain man from her. And they put her up against the wall and put a revolver to either side of her head and demanded that she tell them his name. And she fell in a faint; and the next thing she knew there was a nurse standing over her. The Cork military hospital is near there, and a nurse from the hospital was standing over her.

The next day both the military and the Black-and-Tans came. The unmarried daughter was upstairs in bed, and the two married daughters and the mother were downstairs with the little child. Some of the men went upstairs to the room where the unmarried daughter was in bed, and the rest remained downstairs. And one of the married daughters went upstairs after them to stay with her sister. And then the two of them who stayed downstairs began to threaten the old mother to compel her to tell the name of this party they wanted. They took the little child away from her and took it outside. They got a can of petrol, and they threatened her with revolvers, trying to get this information about this man. And they said that they would set the place on fire if she did not tell them. Of course they frightened the poor old woman nearly to death. And upstairs they were threatening the unmarried daughter, and tried to get her to tell. And they said to her, "You had better leave this house, for we are going to burn it." They questioned her about her brother and asked her if she had a brother in the army—in the Sinn Fein army. On this occasion they battered in the door. They would not wait for the door to be opened, but battered in the door in order to get into the house, where there was no one but these women and a little child.

DRUNKENNESS PROMOTES BRUTALITY

Q. Mr. Manly: Were they intoxicated? A. Well, the girl who was downstairs said that the two men down there were intoxicated.

Q. Commissioner Addams: Do you think the drink question enters in? A. Yes, yes. Indeed it does.

Miss Townshend: The officer who shot that priest they said was drunk.

Q. Father Griffin? A. No, Canon Magner.

MURDER OF IRISH CIVILIANS ON THE INCREASE

Q. Would you like to submit any other papers on this subject?

A. Well, those figures I gave you from this list, which is very carefully drawn up, show that of the 203 murders listed, only 44 occurred up to the end of August. All the remainder occurred during the remaining four months. And of course the number has increased very much since then. They say they are shot trying to escape, but that is all humbug.

Q. You haven't the list of casualties on the other side, the constables, have you? A. No, this list does not include any casualties who have been killed in taking barracks or anything of that sort. None of them occurred in any kind of armed conflict.

Q. Is the list of men killed that way very large? A. Yes, it must be very large. But no list has ever been published.

Mr. Manly: Those are considered as casualties of war, and no complaint is made of the men killed in that way.

GAELIC MOVEMENT BRINGS NATIONAL REBIRTH

Q. Commissioner Addams: Is there anything else you want to say, Miss Townshend? A. Miss Townshend: Well, since we are coming from the Women's International League, this might be interesting. It is written by Dr. L. Paul Du Bois, who has written a book on *Contemporary Ireland*. It gives an excellent idea of what the movement in Ireland is.

Commissioner Addams: Would you read that, Mr. Manly?

Mr. Manly: Certainly. This is written by L. Paul Du Bois, and the article is entitled "The Gaelic Movement." (Reading):

"When we have considered the field of action of what is called the Gaelic movement, it becomes a matter of conviction that this is no merely superficial and artificial agitation, but a profound movement which may hold within it the germs of national rebirth, a movement that is destined to free the Irish nation from intellectual dependence upon England and give it back its own life, moral and mental, economic and social. We find, in one word, the promise of an Ireland worthy of the name, an Irish Ireland.

"A consideration of it must suggest and recall those other movements of national renaissance of which so many small nationalities of Europe have given demonstration during the course of the nineteenth century. The Czech language and literature were all but extinguished a hundred years ago, when one evening four or five scholars, the last depositories of the national treasure, met together in a certain house in Prague to consider means by which they might

bring this treasure to life again. A writer has said that if the roof of the house had fallen in there would have been an end of their nationality. They fought and they triumphed. Today, following the example of the Czechs, the southern Slavs and the Poles are fighting for the recognition of their civilization. From the beginning of the century, Wales, after Wesley's regeneration work, had readopted the Welsh tongue, and had created a new Welsh literature. Soon afterwards the Magyar language was saved from Pan-Germanism, and the Finnish from Swedish influence. The Flemish, with Hendrick Conscience, resumed their natural organ of expression without losing French, and the Norwegians, in spite of the Danes, reconstituted their language, as the latter had a century before revived theirs, which was being stifled by German.

"Everywhere the revival of the language has thus preceded or accompanied a national renaissance. Late in the lists Ireland, in her turn, comes to fight. She is struggling to preserve with her national language her right to live, her right to have a soul. She is fighting for something else as well, and this is the preservation of a group of ideas and traditions in the world, whose responsible depository she is. And it must be said that of all the small nationalities who, confronting the gross utilitarianism and corrupt materialism of the modern world, seem created to represent the claims of beauty, truth, and civilization, there is not one that is more worthy of being preserved than Celtic Ireland, very old and always young. In none of them do we find a more delicate or more spiritual genius, a genius richer in imagination, piety, and idealism. The preservation and development of it in complete, conscious, and fruitful expression is, more than any other, essential to the future of humanity.

"If this culture should perish it would be a crime. And if one takes the point of view of England's own self-interest, it would be a mistake. England has need of a populous Ireland, a rich Ireland, whose hostility she need not fear. But she has, above all, need of an Ireland that shall be truly Irish and Celtic. It is not a paradox to say that Ireland will be so much the less anti-English as she is the less Anglicized, as she is the more Celtic and national. Nor is this all. There is a Celtic factor in the composition of the English mind which has manifested itself clearly in the case of some of her greatest men and greatest poets. It is to England's interest that this Celtic influence should continue to counterbalance in her genius the German and Norman elements. It is Matthew Arnold and not we who say this, and the thesis may be found in his celebrated work on *The Study of Celtic Literature*.

"When the Gaelic movement was born in Ireland the general impression was that this movement came too late into a world too old. The cause seemed lost in advance. Foreign examples proved nothing, so it was said. Nowhere else had the national language fallen so low as in Ireland. No other country had to fight alone such a battle against such an adversary. If Ireland had but had behind her such solid strength as the Slav world behind the Czechs and the Poles, she might stand a chance of success! But what is Pan-Celticism compared to Pan-Slavism? Today, on the other hand, when observers note how the mind of the nation has awakened to enthusiasm; when the ardor with which the Irish people have received the new gospel, and the intelligence with which they have understood what was expected of them is known; when after fifteen years of work, obstacles have been surmounted and results attained, it begins to be said that the impossible sometimes comes true, and that success is not impossible. No doubt Ireland as yet is hut at the dawn of the new day. The battle has only begun, but it is already half won against the outside enemy, that is to say, against anti-Celtic prejudice. . . . The most sceptical of our Irish friends who five years ago smiled at Gaelic hopes are now almost sure that Ireland in the next generation will be

bilingual, at least for the greater part. For the present, in any case, no one will deny the positive result that the movement has produced in the social domain. From one end of the country to the other the Gaelic spirit is working as a powerful factor of peace and of union. The Gaelic revival has restored the national idea and raised it above and beyond party, and religious profession. Under the Gaelic banner there are neither Unionists nor Nationalists: everyone is Irish. Of the two Irelands the Gaelic renaissance is making one."

EDITORS IMPRISONED AND FINED

Q. Commissioner Addams: I am sure we are very glad to have that. And have you any other resolutions from the Gaelic League that you wish to submit? A. Miss Bennett: Well, the other one is about a paper. I don't know whether the American press here knows the case of the *Freeman's Journal*. The three editors of the *Freeman's Journal* were arrested on the charge of giving false information, and they were sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of three thousand pounds, although the substance of what they reported was true. A great agitation was made in the English press, and they have been released, as they say, on account of health conditions. I have got a statement from one of the editors of the *Freeman's Journal* about the whole court-martial case and the facts that came out. It is very illuminating, and if you wish, I will leave it with you.¹

Commissioner Addams: Yes, we would be very glad to have it, I am sure.

WAR ON THE WOUNDED

The Witness: And then this is a list of cases. It is from the *Irish Bulletin*, and is called, "War on the Wounded," giving cases where the British military have shot men and have shown utmost callous-

¹ The main charge made by the British Government against the editor and two directors of the *Freeman's Journal* was the publication of an article with a photograph showing the wounds on the back of a man who had been flogged by soldiers of the Berkshire Regiment while a prisoner in Portobello Barracks, Dublin. The accused journalists were tried by court-martial before soldiers stationed in Dublin, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, with a fine of £3,500 imposed on the company, although the prisoner who had been beaten, two reputable doctors who treated his wounds, and a photograph of the wounds taken two days after the beating established the truthfulness of the paper's account of the affair. But the Coercion Act now in force in Ireland makes such publications punishable, even though they be wholly true, if they are "likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty's subjects." The Manchester (England) *Weekly Guardian* for December 31, 1920, makes the following comment upon this sort of court-martial "justice" in Ireland:

"The sentence on the *Freeman's Journal* will probably have the desired minatory effect—already half produced by unofficial threats of arson and terrorism in a score of newspaper offices—of completing the subservience of the press in Ireland to Government-supplied news which is often nothing but unscrupulous propaganda."

ness in their treatment of men who were wounded, leaving them to suffer. One of these cases I have verified myself, where a young chap in Dublin called Doyle was shot in his yard. They arrested the other man in the house, his brother-in-law, and when they were taking him away in the lorry this brother-in-law heard the officer say, "I hope to God that I didn't kill him outright." But they left him lying there and he died in a short time. Then several hours afterwards they sent an ambulance to get him.

Q. Mr. Manly: Are the ambulances operating the Red Cross ambulances, or are they regular ambulances of the British Army?

A. Well, there have been some Red Cross; I have seen a few. But in many cases they just send a stretcher from the nearest barracks.

MURDER OF PRISONER CLOAKED BY FALSEHOOD

And I have here a very carefully drawn up statement by Mr. Edward Lysaght about the case of the man Clune. You remember on Sunday, November 21st, when those 14 British officers were murdered in Dublin. Well, a day or two afterwards it was reported that three men, Sinn Fein prisoners, were shot in attempting to escape. And the military gave a report that these men had attacked their guard, and were killed by the guard in self-defense, and a statement that this man Clune was a licensed trader. The statement was absolutely inaccurate in every detail. And Mr. Lysaght, who is in the cooperative movement and was very deeply and closely attached to Clune, he made a very careful investigation of the case, which I have here. The press will remember that Mr. Lysaght's life was endangered simply because he wanted to show up this case and give the facts about Mr. Clune's murder. Clune had absolutely no connection at all with the Republican movement. He had come up to Dublin Saturday with Mr. Lysaght, and was with Mr. Lysaght until a few hours' time before he was arrested and murdered.

COOPERATIVE STORE LOOTED AND DESTROYED

On the day this poor man was buried, the cooperative store at Raheen was looted and destroyed. They trampled tea and sugar and everything on the ground, and broke into the store room and carried away practically all the groceries or destroyed what they did not take. They did this while the men of the store were attending Clune's funeral. The next day they came and raided Mr. Lysaght's house, and Mr. Lysaght dare not go back for fear of his life. He does his work in Dublin the best he can.

PRISONERS TERRORIZED BY BLACK-AND-TANS

Mr. Lysaght himself was arrested and put into the same cell where Clune was, and the Black-and-Tans showed him the bullet marks in the wall and said, "This is where your friend Clune was murdered, and you will be murdered here too." There were some young fellows there, some university students. And this terrorism continued all day long. And he said that during the day that he was there these Black-and-Tans continued to drink and play cards throughout the day and part of the night. Of course, Mr. Lysaght is a very big man, and influence was brought about to have him released. And he was released after midnight and sent off without any guard,—simply a permit. And he had to walk a very long way across the city to where he lived. His life was really in danger.

Commissioner Addams: That will all go into the evidence (indicating documents submitted in Clune case).¹ Thank you very much. Is there anything more?

FROM A UNIONIST FAMILY TO REPUBLICANISM

Q. Mr. Manly: There is a question or two, Miss Bennett. I happened to be away during a part of your testimony, and if you have treated some of these things, just say so. How long have you been affiliated with the Republican nationalist movement? A. I am not a part of any political work at all.

Q. But you are Republican in sympathy? A. Yes, I am.

Q. The question I want to ask is this, if you could tell us: what are the outstanding facts that made you, of a Unionist family in a Unionist environment, come to this attitude? A. Well, I never was Unionist myself, although my family were. I had absolutely no interest in politics whatever.

Q. When did the turn begin to come? It seems to me that this personal attitude is rather important.

Commissioner Addams: Yes, it is significant, if she cares to give it. A. Well, I was just trying to think. I was born of a strong Unionist family, and of course was sent to an English school. I think I was born with an intense hatred of the English people. I cannot help it. It seems to be born in me. I remember that when I used to go along those English country roads and look at those houses, their placidity and comfortability always affected me.

Q. Mr. Manly: I suppose it was in contrast to what you saw in your own country? A. Yes, I suppose it must have been that.

Q. Major Newman: But you are Irish yourself,—both sides of your family? A. Well, my father's side was of English origin, three generations ago. Of course. I always had a great interest in

¹ See Exhibit IV hereof, pp. 1064-8.

the Irish question. And some years ago, when I was up in Belfast, a friend of mine induced me to read books relating to the Wolfe Tone and Emmet time. Up in Belfast they have a very fine collection of these old books. And I read some of these books, and I afterwards wrote a novel based on what I had read up there.

Q. That was the historical basis for your interest in politics?

A. Yes, it is. Then I was away from Ireland for a few years, and when I came back I was very much interested in the suffrage movement. And then when I touched the Labor movement, I got to be interested in it. And then, like many other slow converts, the 1916 uprising aroused a great deal of dormant nationalist feeling in me, just as it did in a vast number of people. Of course, you see, the manner of Connolly's death affected me very much personally, because I was in close touch with him. 'I knew his family, and I kept in touch with him when he was lying in prison, and of course at the time of his execution.

NEW YORK "TIMES" BOLSHEVIK SCARE UNFOUNDED

Q. Mr. Manly: There is a quotation here from the New York *Times* that I would like to get your interpretation of. (Reading):

"But little attention has been paid in this country to the Irish Labor Party. It has been working with the British Labor Party to bring about the withdrawal of troops from Ireland, yet all along has been playing its own hand. What that is was plainly declared by Mr. Johnson, the representative of Irish Labor, in the recent labor conference. He said: 'I do not want to deceive you. If the right of self-determination were given us, we would determine, if we could, for a workers' republic in Ireland.'

"That means a Soviet Government, with the confiscation of private property and the nationalization of all industries. What have Irishmen with a stake in their country to say to this? What are the Catholic hierarchy thinking about it? The latest news is that the impatient Irish Labor Party is calling upon the British Labor Party to resort at once to 'direct action' in order to force the Government to get out of Ireland."

Commissioner Addams: I don't think we need to have the whole editorial, Mr. Manly.

Mr. Manly: Well, this is a very important point. It is because it is apparent that there is a very concerted propaganda in this country to show that there is a direct connection between the Irish Republic and Lenin. He is always mentioned in this relation.

Commissioner Addams: Very well. Just go on.

Mr. Manly: The connection shown between Lenin and the Soviet Government with the Irish Republic is especially indicated in this next paragraph. (Continues reading):

"This is the Lenin program. It is a revolution against the Irish bourgeoisie. The whole thing looks more and more as if the Labor Party cared very little about the wrongs of Ireland, and was perfectly willing to make use of them in a way to delight the heart and further the projects of Nicolai Lenin."

SOCIALISM NOT STRONG AMONG IRISH LABOR

Q. Mr. Manly: Now, I wanted to ask you first whether, from your relations with the Irish Labor movement, do you know if that is a correct quotation of Mr. Johnson's attitude? A. No, it is not. Mr. Johnson, of course, is a Socialist.

Q. Who is Mr. Johnson, by the way? A. He is the secretary of the Irish Labor Party.

Q. Was he born in Ireland? A. No, he is an Englishman. He worked up in Belfast at first. I think he was a traveler of some kind. And then he became interested in the Labor movement. He is a very idealistic and fine type of man, very much so,—a splendid man. He did not come very prominently forward until after 1916. But after the uprising, when everything was in chaos in Dublin, he and another man named Cameron came down from Belfast, and they did very remarkable work. People were very badly frightened in Dublin, as you can imagine. And they got the workers together. That was the first Trades Union Congress. I just went down there as a visitor. I was reporting for a paper. It was the first Trades Union Congress that I went to. Johnson was the chairman. He is a very fine man. He is a moderate Socialist, not an extremist. Amongst the Labor Party there are a few,—I don't know if you would call them extreme Socialists, but they are strong Socialists.

Mr. Manly: Well, we have that in the United States.

The Witness: I think you have. But the rank and file are not Socialists to any great extent. They have not time to think about it. But many of the leaders are. What they think of is this: they want more wages, and they look to the trade union to get it for them. But outside of that, the political question absorbs them. And the leaders know it quite well.

Q. Major Newman: Do you think there is any considerable sentiment in Ireland among the workers to take over the government and run it? A. No. I have heard the leaders advocate themselves the taking over and running of the industries by the workers. But they say that the time is not ripe for it yet.

Q. But it is not part of the present program? A. No, it is not.

Q. Mr. Manly: There is no agitation for confiscation following the establishment of the Republic? A. Absolutely none. Of course, we all talk about the control of industry.

Commissioner Addams: Certainly.

The Witness: But there is no talk about having a workers' republic or even the confiscation of private property. But the Government is very much afraid of it. I know that.

Mr. Manly: Well, we have a government over here that sees things at night also.

The Witness: Well, yes, that is the way of it. There is, of course, a Socialist Party of Ireland, but it has a very small membership.

Q. How large a membership? A. I don't know; only a very small number of members. It is limited to Dublin.

Q. So that is the Soviet that is about to take over capital in Ireland? A. Yes, that is it, exactly.

LABOR WANTS REPRESENTATION IN THE DAIL

Q. Does Mr. Johnson hold any position in the Irish Republic?

A. No. That is why this Constituent Assembly was asked for in the Labor Congress meeting. Labor has no direct representation in the Dail. That is why they would like another Constituent Assembly, and secure representation in the Dail. Of course, many of the members of the Dail are very progressive, but they are not extreme Socialists. They are not usually elected simply for their economic views. As a matter of fact, the language has much to do in elections. The Gaelic speaker gets elected.

NO SOVIET GOLD IN IRELAND

Q. Mr. Manly: There is another thing in connection with this. We have had editorials, one of them during the last week in the *Washington Post*, charging indirectly as "it is said" that the Irish Republic is in receipt of enormous sums of money from the Soviet Government of Russia. Have you heard that in Ireland? A. For years I have heard it. At first we had the German gold, and now we have the Russian gold. I would not mind seeing some of it in Ireland. But I myself have seen nothing of it. And I did not see that the families of the members of the Dail or the Ministers have much gold to talk about, either.

SOCIALISM STRONGEST IN ULSTER

Q. Commissioner Addams: I suppose that the scare that the workers are getting control is shown by the insertion of the provision by Sir Edward Carson that there should be no levy in the new parliament in the north for fifteen years. A. Well, I think they have very much reason to be frightened in the north,—more than in the south. I think when the workers will get together up there you will have a very strong Socialist movement there.

Q. They are more industrial there? A. Yes, but more than that. They are very much under the influence of the Scotch workers. And, as one of the papers read here said, there are many of the workers up there who have no particular religion. It was a very interesting fact that at the last Trade Union Congress some of the Expelled Workers' Committee came down and gave us a report on

their work; and they told us that 25 per cent. of the men thrown out of their work were Protestants who were Socialists. They would not stand by the other Protestant workers who expelled the Catholics.

FARMERS THE DECIDING FACTOR IN IRELAND

Q. Mr. Manly: Well, it is true, is it not, that the majority of the Irish people are connected with agricultural life? A. Yes, it is.

Q. So that even if Mr. Johnson had the purpose expressed in this article of setting up a Soviet form of government, he would be decidedly outnumbered by the agricultural population? A. Yes. Of course, the deciding factor in Ireland is the agricultural population. But it is extremely difficult to say what line the peasant workers will take in the movement.

Q. But the tendency has been towards cooperation, has it not? A. Not among the agricultural workers themselves. I was talking to a man the other day who is in touch with the agricultural situation; and I asked him if he saw much tendency among the agricultural workers to take up small holdings, and he said no. And he is a man who travels about the country a lot and knows what he is talking about. Of course, these agricultural workers have been organized for only a year.

Q. That is the experience of all labor movements, is it not, that the agricultural worker tends to be slow and conservative? A. At the present time all the agricultural workers think of is first, more wages; and second, independence.

Q. Major Newman: Do you not think that the purpose of the Irish Republic after it gets independence is beyond the scope of this Commission?

A. Commissioner Addams: Yes, I thought that when this editorial was introduced. Well, then, shall I say that the hearing will come to an end? Is there anything else, Miss Bennett and Miss Townshend?

STATEMENT OF IRISHWOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

Miss Bennett: I really ought to read this statement from the Irish Women's International League.

Commissioner Addams: Yes, certainly, of course. You were going to read that before. Miss Bennett is a member of the Irish Branch of the Women's International League, and she has here a statement made on this question by her organization.

Miss Bennett: This is the statement that the Irish Women's International League prepared and gave to me especially to set before this Commission. (Reading):

RESPONSIBILITY RESTS UPON BRITISH GOVERNMENT

"The Irishwomen's International League affirms that the responsibility for the bloodshed and violence in Ireland rests upon the British Government, which refuses to allow her the indefeasible right of all nations to freedom, outlaws her duly elected Parliament, and persistently attempts to rule the people by force.

"Every effort made by Ireland's chosen representatives to carry on the government of the country with the consent of the people has been ruthlessly suppressed by the militarist forces of the British Government. The members of the Dail have been imprisoned time after time, and eventually driven to carry on their activities *sub rosa*.

"As an organization advocating passive resistance to tyranny, we wish to draw particular attention to the constructive work attempted by the Dail, with the cooperation of the people, and to the methods by which this work has been impeded or destroyed by the British Government.

THE SOLUTION

"In our opinion the solution lies in the decision of Great Britain to withdraw her forces from Ireland and to permit the Irish people to create and develop their own national institutions as a free State. The objection to this on the side of Great Britain is avowedly based on strategic considerations. A free Ireland she declares to be a military danger. Whilst strongly protesting against the denial of freedom from such a motive, we believe at the same time that no ground for this objection exists, and that a settlement may be reached which, with the friendly aid of America, would set at rest all such fears, reasonable or unreasonable. Republican Ireland has repeatedly affirmed through her leaders her willingness to enter into a treaty with Great Britain which would secure friendly relations between the two peoples.

"The problem,' stated Mr. de Valera, 'can only be solved by a Treaty of Peace signed by the accredited representatives of the two peoples, on the basis of a guarantee of Ireland's independence on the one hand and a guarantee of British security on the other, by some international instrument. The Irish people will, I believe, readily consent to give Britain a guarantee which can be ratified internationally, that they will not allow their island to be used as a base for an attack on British independence.'

IRELAND SEEKS ONLY INDEPENDENCE

"And Mr. Griffith has spoken to the English people as follows: 'Ireland seeks no more than the acknowledgment of her independence. Provided that acknowledgment be made, she is quite ready to enter into a treaty by which the independence and security of the two countries can be mutually guaranteed. . . . Freely admit that Ireland has the right to choose her own government, and Ireland ceases to be your enemy. Some of your politicians refer to Ireland as an enemy on your flank. When you deal with Ireland as nation with nation, there will no longer be an enemy on your flank. She will be a country by your side whose interest and whose will it will be to live in peace and amity with you.'

"In order to prove Ireland's material interest in maintaining friendly relations with England, it is only necessary to state that the trade between the two countries is worth £250,000,000 a year, and that each is the other's best customer. (*Sparling's Journal*.)

AMERICAN MEDIATION ETHICAL AND PRACTICAL

"We believe that Ireland's devotion to the national cause, her sufferings, and her endurance must stir the conscience of America and of all free nations. The Irish problem affects the ordered and peaceful progress of humanity and raises issues vital to the growth of human liberty.

"There are many practical reasons which make the present case of Ireland a source of interest and anxiety to America. It is not for us to enlarge upon these. But both ethical and practical considerations lead us to the belief that America would be justified in proposing to act as mediator in the present crisis and in giving moral support to that growing section of the English people who are prepared to concede to Ireland her just rights as a nation.

"If America and Great Britain were to cooperate in negotiating such a practical application of their own professed principles regarding small nations, we might then hope to see the principle of self-determination—which the Women's International League have asserted to be the essential basis of a truly righteous and durable international covenant—introduced into the constitution of the League of Nations, or (as we would prefer) of a new and more truly democratic covenant."

IRISH SPIRIT OF NATIONALITY UNCONQUERABLE

"The Irish people have proved how unconquerable is the spirit of nationality. The peace and happiness of the world depend upon the measure of freedom given to that spirit. If Ireland wins her freedom now, the world will see a triumph of spiritual over material forces, and may look forward to the future with a diminished dread of devastating wars."

Commissioner Addams: Thank you very much. We are very glad to get that in. I am sure the Commission is very grateful to these two ladies for coming over. They had a very uncomfortable journey, which they braved for a long ten days to give this testimony before the Commission, and we appreciate it very much.

The next hearing of the Commission is indefinite. We will come together on the call of the Chair. The hearing will now be considered closed.

(Thereupon, at 4:20 P. M., Wednesday, January 19, 1921, the Commission adjourned *sine die*.)

* * * * *

EXHIBIT I
SUBMITTED TO
THE AMERICAN COMMISSION ON CONDITIONS
IN IRELAND

*Memorandum on English Armed Aggression Against the Irish People
Resulting in the Killing of Policemen*

In response to the request made by the Chairman of the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland during the testimony of Miss Mary MacSwiney, the following statement, tracing the development of the present British campaign of military terrorism, is respectfully submitted by counsel:

NINETEEN HUNDRED SIXTEEN

Following the rising in Dublin during Easter week, 1916, the British government instituted an aggressive and ruthless policy of suppression, designed to destroy the Republican movement. During this period the policy was directed particularly against those suspected of being leaders in the Republican movement. Many of the leaders who were taken prisoners during the rising of Easter week, 1916, were executed under conditions which aroused vehement protest in England. At the same time a number of persons innocent of any official connection with the Republican movement were ruthlessly murdered in what have come to be known as the "King Street atrocities." In all thirty-eight Irish men and women were killed by the armed forces of the English government during the period May to December, 1916. The principal efforts of the British during 1916 were, however, directed toward an attempt to conduct a complete "round-up" of all the leaders of the Republican movement, apparently upon the theory that if the leaders were removed the desire for freedom upon the part of the Irish people would be dissipated. In accordance with this policy there were, during the year 1916, 3,226 arrests and 1,949 deportations of men and women suspected of connection with the Irish Republican movement. Although the British courts were at this time functioning, the larger number of the thousands arrested were held in custody for long periods, and deported without trial and without any charge being formally lodged against them.

NINETEEN HUNDRED SEVENTEEN

During the twelve months of 1917 there were no police killed in Ireland, with the sole possible exception of an Inspector who was injured while leading a baton charge against Dublin civilians, and who died later of his injuries. But in that year the political suppression of the Irish people was carried out in every part of Ireland by English military and police. The houses of prominent Irishmen were forcibly entered and searched. Three hundred and forty-nine Irish men and women were arrested for political offenses. Twenty-four leaders of opinion in Ireland were deported without trial to England for unknown and undetermined periods. Public meetings were suppressed, and in many cases when efforts were made to hold them, they were forcibly broken up by armed military and police who used rifle butts, bayonets and batons on women and children as well as on men. Newspapers with nationalistic sentiments were suppressed, and a rigorous censorship maintained against all others. Civilians were brought before courts-martial and given savage sentences for "seditious speeches" and kindred offenses. Two innocent civilians were murdered by military and police; five died of maltreatment in prison; upwards of one hundred were wounded in baton and bayonet charges. None of the armed forces guilty of these offenses was ever brought to justice, and in two instances it is known that policemen against whom verdicts of murder or unjustifiable killing were returned were promoted by their authorities.

NINETEEN HUNDRED EIGHTEEN

In the twelve months of 1918 there were no police killed in Ireland. The attempts to suppress the national movement in 1917 had resulted in failure. The establishment of the so-called Irish Convention, which was designed to break the national unity, was not successful, and in the year 1918 the aggression against the Irish people by British military and police was intensified. Private residences to the number of two hundred and sixty were raided at night by armed agents of the English Government. One thousand one hundred and seven Irish men and women were arrested for political offenses. In May of 1918, seventy-seven leaders of the national movement were arrested and deported without charge or trial. Warrants were issued for the arrest of many others, and as these were hunted down, later in the year, they were deported also without trial. Some forty proclamations were issued suppressing public meetings of national organizations. In spite of these proclamations the Irish people endeavored to hold public meetings. Eighty-one meetings, at which there was no disturbance or disorder, were broken up by baton and bayonet charges, and hundreds of men, women and children were wounded. Eleven National newspapers were suppressed. Many of the thousand Irish political prisoners were maltreated in prison, and one died of the effects of his treatment. Five Irish civilians were murdered by English military, and no punishment or even reproach was visited upon the murderers.

In the year 1918 economic duress was added to the weapons with which the English military authorities hoped to break the national demand for self-determination. The natural forerunner of the present-day destruction of Irish mills, factories, and creameries showed itself in this one-sided ruthless war upon the Irish people. All fairs and markets were now suppressed by the English authorities in districts sympathetic with the movement for independence, thus effectively paralyzing the economic life of the rural districts.

The Patience of the Irish People

During these two years the Irish people bore this incessant provocation with what a certain distinguished foreign visitor to Ireland described as "an almost criminal patience." The national energies were devoted to upbuilding a great political organization by which the national demand for independence might be expressed constitutionally. In December, 1918, this peaceful organization bore fruit. The Irish people in the general election held during that month repudiated English authority in Ireland, and elected their own Parliament and Government. This constitutional expression of the people's will, instead of being acknowledged by the English Government, was replied to by that Government's troops and police with more intense aggression than ever. After two years a people provoked by ruthless suppression, raiding, arresting, deportation, armed assaults and murder, began to prepare for the more intense measures they foresaw. *They were not permitted to import arms or munitions for their defense. Therefore they decided to take arms from their oppressors. In January of 1919 the first policeman was shot in the struggle accompanying one of these raids for arms.* The cry was at once raised in the English press that the Republican movement was led by murderers and terrorists, and should be sternly suppressed. Under cover of this cry, military and police aggression increased enormously.

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND NINETEEN

In the twelve months of 1919 *fourteen thousand residences were raided at night by armed military and police. Three hundred and thirty-five meetings were suppressed or proclaimed. Every National organization, even the elected Government, was declared illegal, and active participation in its proceedings was decreed a criminal offense.* Fairs and markets were suppressed in the counties of Cork, Clare, Mayo, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, and Galway. Whole districts were brought to the verge of bankruptcy in the effort to force them to abandon the claim to independence.

Four hundred and seventy-six armed attacks were made by troops and police upon peaceful and orderly gatherings of civilians. Two hundred and sixty Irish men, women and children were wounded by bayonet thrusts, rifle fire or the blows of rifle butts. Nine hundred and fifty-nine arrests were made for political offenses. Twenty leaders, in addition to the hundreds already in prison, were deported. Twenty-five National newspapers were suppressed. Eight civilians were murdered by military and police, and no effort was made to bring the murderers to justice.

The Killing of Policemen

During the twelve months of 1919, sixteen policemen were killed in Ireland. The majority of them were killed in conflicts between armed bodies of men and police infinitely better armed. In these conflicts, which had as their one object the securing of arms, the police casualties have been advertised as "cowardly murders." There have been, in fact, on these occasions as many civilian casualties as there have been police casualties. None of these civilian casualties is counted as a murder in these lists. In spite of the 16,450 acts of armed aggression against the Irish people committed by military and police in the year 1919, the national demand for independence was persisted in.

No clearer statement has ever been made with reference to the question of the killing of policemen than that contained in an editorial in the *London Nation* of November 13, 1920, page 212, as follows:

"The quarrel between Ireland and the British Government is not over murder. It did not begin with murder. It would not cease if murder ceased tomorrow. In the course of the two years 1917 and 1918 one single policeman was murdered. In those same two years there were 1,500 political arrests; fairs, markets, and other gatherings of unarmed men and women were broken up by violence, and the great majority of the men returned to Parliament by Irish constituencies were arrested or pursued by the Government." (*Italics as in original.*)

NINETEEN HUNDRED TWENTY

The policy of raids, suppressions, arrests, and widespread terrorism, which characterized 1919 proved to be futile, and instead of destroying the Republican movement, greatly increased its strength. On January 21, 1919, the Republic of Ireland had been definitely established as the result of the mandate given for its establishment by the Irish electorate in the general election of December, 1918. A Parliament was created, and a government responsible to it was selected. Departments for the various offices of state were established. The organization of the Republic by the elected government was then begun. During the twelve months following, in spite of the active efforts of the British soldiers and police, the Irish Republic succeeded in establishing a *de facto* government, recognized and supported by more than eighty per cent. of the Irish people. The Irish Republican courts superseded the British courts, and the British government in Ireland ceased to function throughout the greater part of the country, except for the activities of its spies, police, and soldiers. This was the condition described by the Honorable Herbert H. Asquith, when on June 2, 1919, he said:

"Lord French is at present Viceroy of Ireland, which is the darkest of the dark spots on the map, not of Great Britain, but of the world."

Later in the same year Hon. Herbert Samuel, former Cabinet Minister, said:

"Ireland is now being governed under military law. If what is now going on in Ireland had been going on in the Austrian Empire, all England would be ringing with denunciation of the tyranny of the Hapsburgs and of denying people the right to rule themselves." (Speech at St. Albans, December 8, 1919.)

The conclusive failure of the British policy of coercion during 1919 came in the municipal elections held in January, 1920, in which the Republican policy was endorsed by even a greater majority than it had re-

ceived in the general election of 1918. Inroads were made on the strongholds of Unionism in Ulster, and conclusive proof was given to the world that coercion by arrests, suppression, and wholesale raids was increasing the determination of the Irish people to secure their independence.

Inauguration of a Policy of Frightfulness

The English Cabinet was thus brought to a realization that the ordinary methods of arrest and imprisonment which had been the ruling policy during 1919 would not break the spirit of the Irish people. During the last days of March, 1920, therefore, the adoption of a policy of organized military terrorism was decided upon by the English Cabinet. On March 28, 1920, the *London Daily Express*, mouthpiece of Mr. Bonar Law, announced that General Sir Nevil Macready, Chief Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police, had been appointed commander-in-chief of the English Army of Occupation in Ireland. In making the announcement the *Daily Express* said:

"His (Sir Nevil's) sudden appointment to Ireland and his dramatic departure from police headquarters indicates that once again the Government requires a firmer hand on the military lever in Ireland, and that a new method of dealing with Irish disturbances is to be adopted."

On March 29 the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the London evening organ of the English Prime Minister, referred to the appointment of Sir Nevil Macready and said:

"The very wide powers to be conferred on him will enable him to employ not only the military and police forces at his discretion, but other means and forces will be available to deal with whatever circumstances may arise."

On April 3 the *London Daily Mail* said:

"Sir Nevil Macready, who is leaving for Ireland shortly to take up his new post as commander of the forces there, has been given practically a free hand by the Cabinet."

On the same day the *London Morning Post* said:

"Sir Nevil Macready is about to assume the command of the military forces in Ireland, and we assume that he is instructed to suppress the rebellion by whatever means may be requisite."

On April 10 the press announced the retirement of those among the high officials of the Royal Irish Constabulary who were known to be opposed to a policy of frightfulness. The officials who were asked to retire were Mr. W. M. Davies, Deputy Inspector General of the R. I. C., and Messrs. H. D. Tyacke and R. S. C. Flower, Assistant Inspectors General of the R. I. C. The press on the same day stated that these officials were to be replaced by Mr. C. A. Walsh, Mr. A. A. Roberts, and Mr. E. M. Clayton, officers who had proved their thoroughness in aggression. Some short time previously Inspector General Sir J. A. Byrne was removed from office and his place was taken by Mr. T. J. Smith, a notorious advocate of aggressive measures.

On April 23 the *London Daily Chronicle*, semi-official organ of the English Coalition Government, stated:

"The new policy which the Government has decided to adopt in Ireland is being rapidly developed. . . . General Macready has the full confidence of the Cabinet."

On May 11, 1920, an English Cabinet meeting was held in London. Sir Nevil Macready was present at this Cabinet meeting and took part in its proceedings. On May 12, Mr. Bonar Law was asked a question in the English House of Commons as to what steps had been taken to secure greater coordination between military and police in Ireland. He replied:

"I am glad there is an opportunity of answering that. General Macready has already taken most important steps, and yesterday, in consultation with a conference of the Cabinet, he had many other suggestions to make, all of which will be granted by the Cabinet. He does believe that in a comparatively short time the changes he has made will show effect."

On May 13, Lord Birkenhead (late Staff Officer of Sir Edward Carson's Volunteers), who was present at the Cabinet conference which had discussed the "suggestions" of Sir Nevil Macready, spoke at a dinner in London, and said:

"I cannot speak here tonight of what the Executive have done or to tell you of the conclusions they have reached; but I can tell you this, that as a Government we have decided to reinforce these men (the Constabulary) by every means in our power. We have taken special and wholly exceptional steps."

On June 19, Divisional Commissioner Smyth addressed the policemen in the police barracks at Listowel and outlined the new policy of the English Government, and instructed them as follows:¹

1. "I am getting 7,000 police from England."
2. "If a police barracks is burned, the best house in the locality is to be commandeered."
3. "The police are to lie in ambush and to shoot suspects."
4. "The more you shoot the better I will like you. . . . No policeman will get into trouble for shooting any man."
5. "Hunger strikers will be allowed to die in jail—the more the merrier."
6. "We want your assistance in carrying out this scheme and wiping out Sinn Fein."

On the same day it was announced to the police in Tralee barracks that inquests on victims of police shootings were about to be abolished by the English Government. Some of the police to whom these announcements had been made resented them and made them public.

It was denied by Sir Hamar Greenwood, English Chief Secretary for Ireland, on July 22, in the English House of Commons, that any such statements had been made, but on the following day, July 23, Inspector General T. J. Smith issued an order to the Royal Irish Constabulary announcing that "the Government has directed" that no prisoners were to be released until they had served their sentences; in other words, "Hunger strikers will be allowed to die."

On August 2, the English Chief Secretary for Ireland introduced in the House of Commons the Restoration of Order in Ireland Bill, one of the clauses of which made coroners' inquests illegal. The Chief Secretary admitted in the introduction of this bill that it had been drafted in the previous June; in other words, it was known in that month to the English officials in Ireland that it was the English Government's intention to suppress coroners' inquests. All of the other points of Divisional Commissioner Smyth's review of the "special and wholly exceptional steps" the English Government had on May 11 decided to take in regard to Ireland have been borne out by events subsequent to the Commissioner's speech. Thousands of English recruits are being brought to Ireland as "policemen." Whenever a police barracks is burned, the houses of prominent Republicans are commandeered or burned by the "police." More than one hundred and fifty innocent civilians have been murdered since the Commissioner's speech was delivered. That the Divisional Commissioner's address to the police in Listowel was an outline of the official policy of the English Government is no longer in doubt.

The New Policy in Operation

Meanwhile, General Sir Nevil Macready's "suggestions" to the English Cabinet, "all of which" were approved by that Cabinet, were put into operation. During the five months following the English Cabinet meeting held in London on May 11, 1920, one hundred thirty-three Irish towns and villages were sacked, "shot up," or partially burned. Sir Nevil Macready, having "the full confidence of the Cabinet," has not shirked at taking responsibility for this policy of terrorism which, in the words of Divisional

¹ See testimony of Rev. M. M. English, pp. 66-67.

Commissioner Smyth, has for its object "the wiping out of Sinn Fein." On September 23, two days after the sack of Balbriggan, which was accompanied by the savage murder of Lawless and Gibbons, a secret order was issued to the English troops in Ireland by direction of the "G. O. C. in C." or General Sir Nevil Macready. In that secret order it was said:

"There are indications that the measures recently taken by the Government for the suppression of disorders in Ireland are beginning to bear fruit and have the desired effects in, at any rate, the more moderate sections of Sinn Fein. . . . Without being unduly optimistic, the Irish Government hope that if the pressure is maintained and if certain other measures which they have in view are successful, a great improvement in the situation may take place within the next two months."⁸

With reference to this "great improvement" predicted by General Macready, *The New Statesman*, a London weekly, said editorially on November 13, 1920:

"Whatever doubts we may have about the facts of individual outrages, Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Hamar Greenwood can no longer deny that men who, in the last resort, act under their orders commit numerous and atrocious crimes. They know that murder, theft and arson are becoming a commonplace in whatever part of Ireland the Black-and-Tans enter. They know that women and children have to hurry out of their beds at midnight to escape from houses deliberately set on fire by the agents of law and order. They know that men, including a priest and a policeman who resigned rather than take part in a 'shooting-up' orgy, have been dragged from their beds, stripped naked and flogged. They know that Army discipline itself is giving way before officially licensed brutality and violence. They know that British newspaper correspondents have been threatened with murder for speaking the truth. They know that Lord Bryce's sister-in-law, the daughter of a British officer, has been insulted by an officer in the present Army, and haled back from a British port to a prison cell in Ireland. They know that between thirty and forty creameries have been burnt down by Black-and-Tans, soldiers and police. They know that such a state of Government terrorism exists in Ireland as would seem horrible even under Turkish auspices in the Balkans."

The history of the last three months of 1920 is one well known to the Commission through the testimony of eye-witnesses and expert English investigators. It is needless, therefore, to reiterate what is already contained in the Commission's records. The burning and sacking of farms, creameries, private houses, towns and even great cities like Cork; the complete destruction of the economic and industrial life of the nation; the raids upon cathedrals, convents and institutions of learning; the murder of two priests under circumstances of the utmost brutality; and finally the murder of a woman (Mrs. Ellen Quinn) with her child in her arms and another about to be born, justified by Sir Hamar Greenwood as a "precautionary measure"—all these are matters which directly or indirectly have been brought to the attention of your honorable commission. They are the circumstantial evidence which proves that Divisional Inspector Smyth outlined to the policemen of Listowel barracks the official policy of the British Government in Ireland.

NINETEEN TWENTY-ONE

No new departure in policy appears during these months of unceasing outrages and atrocities until January 2, 1921, when an order was issued by the Brigade Major for Cork openly announcing a policy of reprisals without parallel in modern history. This statement as quoted verbatim in the Associated Press dispatches published in American papers of January 3, 1921, reads as follows:

"As the result of the ambush and attack on the police at Midleton and Glebehouse it was decided by the Military Governor that certain houses in the vicinity of the outrages were to be destroyed, as the

inhabitants were bound to have known of the ambush and attack and that they neglected to give any information either to the military or police authorities. The following houses were duly destroyed between 3 P. M. and 6 P. M. on Jan. 1. (List of houses destroyed appended.)

"Previous to the burnings notice was served on the persons affected, giving them one hour to clear out valuables, but not furniture."

This statement merely announces the consummation of the instructions contained in the proclamation of General Strickland, commanding the British forces in South Ireland: "The attitude of neutrality is inconsistent with loyalty, and will render such persons punishable." (New York *Times*, January 3, 1921.) It should be noted in this connection that the statement of the Brigade Major for Cork, quoted above, shows that the homes of the Irish people are to be burned merely upon suspicion that "the inhabitants were bound to have known" of the plans of the Republican forces.

These openly avowed declarations of British policy violate the Hague Convention of 1907, respecting the laws and customs of war on land, to which Great Britain was a signatory. The articles particularly violated are Articles Twenty-three (g) of Section II, and Forty-four and Forty-six of Section III, which read as follows:

"ARTICLE 23: In addition to the prohibitions provided by special conventions, it is particularly forbidden—

"(g) To destroy or seize enemy property, unless such destruction or seizure be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war.

"ARTICLE 44: A belligerent is forbidden to force the inhabitants of territory occupied by it to furnish information about the army of the other belligerent or about its means of defense.

"ARTICLE 46: Family honor and rights, individual life, and private property, as well as religious convictions and worship, must be respected. Private property may not be confiscated."

Reviewing this brief outline of British policy in Ireland, the conclusion is inescapable that from the beginning the policy has been one of ruthless extermination, which has grown bolder and bolder, and at last has been openly avowed as the Government of Great Britain has failed to hear the voice of any civilized nation officially raised in protest against her flagrant violations of international law governing warfare upon land, by which all civilized nations have solemnly pledged themselves to be bound.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK P. WALSH, *Counsel*.

By B. M. M.

* * * * *

EXHIBIT II

MEMORANDUM ON BRITISH ATROCITIES IN IRELAND—1916 THROUGH 1920

The following statement of British atrocities in Ireland has been prepared in response to the request made by the Chairman of the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland in connection with the testimony of Miss Mary MacSwiney. This statement consists of two parts:

First, a statistical summary of outrages committed by the armed forces of the English Government upon the people of Ireland from May, 1916, through December 31, 1920.

Second, a summary and detailed list of the individuals slain by the armed forces of the British Government during the years of 1917 through 1920, as compiled from court records, newspapers, and official records of the Irish Republican Government.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK P. WALSH, *Counsel*,

By B. M. M.

PART I

Summary of British Atrocities

The following summary has been prepared from records compiled by the Government of the Irish Republic. These statistics in whole or in part have been repeatedly published by the Irish Republic and have never been controverted:

	1916 from May	1917	1918	1919	1920
Murders	38	7	6	8	203*
Towns sacked and burned.....		4	98†
Deportations	1,949	24	91	20	467
Armed assaults on unarmed civilians.....		18	81	476	834
Raids on private houses.....		11	260	13,782	24,171
Arrests	3,226	349	1,107	959	4,109
Proclamations and suppressions.....		2	32	335	106
Suppressions of newspapers.....	13	3	12	25	‡
Creameries and manufacturing plants destroyed...		42§
Courts-martial	199	36	62	209	212
	<u>5,425</u>	<u>450</u>	<u>1,651</u>	<u>15,818</u>	<u>30,242</u>

*Including 6 women, 12 children, 10 old men, and 2 priests.

†To October 12, 1920.

‡Not reported.

§To November 30, 1920.

PART II

Summary of Persons Assassinated by British Armed Forces from 1917 Through 1920

During the four years, 1917 to 1920, 224 Irish men, women, and children have been assassinated by the armed forces of the British Government, as follows:

1917.....	7
1918.....	6
1919.....	8
1920.....	203

The figures for 1920 are drawn from a cable just received from Mr. Art O'Brien, representative of the elected Government of Ireland in Great Britain.

This cable further notes that of this 203 murders in 1920, there were 6 women, 12 children, 10 old men, and 2 priests.

A dispatch printed in the *New York Times* of January 5, 1921, giving a total of 212 persons assassinated by British police and military during 1920, reported 9 killed in armed conflict, 36 while prisoners, 69 in their homes, and 98 by indiscriminate firing. But the foregoing summary does not include Irish casualties in acts of war. It is confined solely to the murder of unarmed and defenseless civilians by the armed forces of the Crown.

(There follows a detailed statement giving date, name, address, circumstances, and source of evidence of each murder covered by above summary, which detailed statement the Commission has on file for reference.)

* * * * *

EXHIBIT III

TERRORISM IN TUAM

(The following documents were submitted in evidence by Miss Ellen Wilkinson, of Manchester, England. [See testimony, p. 604.] The original signed statements, duly authenticated, of which the following are true and correct copies, are in the possession of the Commission.)

A
RESIGNED CONSTABLE SCOURGED AND DRIVEN
FROM TOWN

First Statement of H. Ruddy

Bishop St., Tuam, 25/9/20.

I have to state that on the morning of 24/9/20, at about 2:15 A. M., I heard fierce knocking at my door. A man outside said, "This is Ruddy's"; "Open"; "We want to get in." My Mrs. opened the door and five men came into my house; 4 of them entered my bedroom; one of them carried an electric flash lamp similar to those supplied to the police, the others had revolvers in their hands. The man who carried the torch said, "Are you Mr. Ruddy?" I said, "Yes." "Dress quick," he replied, "and come along with us." They then put me into a motor car which was waiting close to my house and drove to Parkmore Terrace, where they halted. Four of them got off the car and went to a house in the terrace. They returned shortly with Mr. Thos. Owens, head porter with Gt. Southern & Western Railway. They put Owens into the car and drove as far as the Golf Links at Cloonascragh (2 miles from Tuam) on the Athenry Road, where they halted, got off the car, and asked me to come along, which I did. When we were about 40 yds. from the car, one of them said, "You are the turn-coat. You were in the police and resigned and turned Sinn Fein. You were seen leaving Galway the races day on a motor car with a Sinn Fein flag on the car. You are a Sinn Feiner now." One of them struck me on the face with his clenched fist and knocked me down. They then compelled me to take my trousers off, and put me in a stooping position with my hands resting on my knees; then they cruelly scourged me with a hard, sharp instrument like a walking cane split through the center. The scourging lasted about 10 minutes, when one of them said, "That will do. There is your road home,"—pointing towards Tuam. "Leave the town before a week or your house will be burned."

There are several marks on my body which bled a good deal yesterday. They were all tall, strong men with English accents, and wore trench coats and caps, save the motor driver, who wore a policeman's uniform waterproof coat; this man spoke like an Irishman. The car was driven in the direction of Athenry, and I returned to my home, where I arrived about 4 A. M.

(Signed) HUGH RUDDY.

The above statement was given to me by Mr. Ruddy on 25/9/20.

(Signed) (REV.) C. HANNAN, *Administrator,*
Tuam.

Second Statement of H. Ruddy

Tuam, 4/10/20.

I wish to state that at about 3:30 A. M. on this date I was awakened by loud knocking at my door. I asked, "Who is there?" and a man outside said, "Come on." I opened the door and about 10 or 12 men came into my house; some were dressed in soldiers' uniform and some wore trench coats. One of the men covered me with a revolver and said, "Dress quick and come along." When I was dressed I asked, "What is all this about?" and one man said, "We gave you 7 days to leave the town, and what steps have you taken to leave?" I said, "I have no place to go to, and therefore I must remain." He then said, "You are getting £3 a week Sinn Fein money. You are employed by the Town Commissioners, who are a Sinn Fein body." I said, "I must live; I am alive and cannot die." He then said, "When you had a good job you did not remain in it; seemingly you prefer Sinn Fein money to the King's money, and by your remaining in this town you are insulting your late comrades. The fact that you are walking around the town is an insult to your comrades, and you are a disgrace to them." He then presented a revolver and said, "Come along." My Mrs. then commenced screaming, and she said, "I will

go also," when one of the raiders said to me, "We will give you 4 days more to leave the town, and if you are not gone then we will make a bonfire over you and we will give you no chance of escaping."

(Signed) HUGH RUDDY,

Ex-Constable, R. I. C.

This statement was handed to me today by Mr. Ruddy.

(Signed) (REV.) C. HANNAN, *Administrator,*
Tuam, 4/10/20.

B

IRISH TRADES UNION OFFICIALS FLOGGED

Statement of Thomas Owens, Parkmore Terrace, Tuam, County Galway

On the morning of the 24th September last at about 3 A. M. I was taken from my house at Parkmore Terrace, Tuam, by a party of uniformed auxiliary police (R. I. C.) and conveyed by them in a motor lorry to a lonely part of the country some four miles distant where, having been first stripped of my trousers, I was brutally beaten by them with their belts, the buckled ends of which were applied to my back and body generally in a merciless manner for a considerable time. I was then allowed to walk or rather to crawl home (was told to run but was unable) as best I could, many shots being discharged over my head as I went away.

As result of the beating I received at the hands of those men I have been since then unable to resume work, and have been medically treated by Dr. Thos. B. Costello of Tuam. At present the wounds on my back resulting from the beating are almost healed up, but I am still being treated in hospital here for blood-poisoning in my hand resulting from the beating with brass-buckled belts. My hand is in a very critical condition (as Dr. Costello can testify), the blood-poisoning having penetrated as far as my shoulder, and gives me intense pain at times. According to the Doctor's opinion my arm will not be well for many weeks to come.

On the day after I was subjected to this barbarous treatment, my wife and family being in a state of nervous excitement and extreme terror (wife within a fortnight of child-birth) as result of occurrence, found it necessary to remove to a friend's house some 45 miles away, where they still remain, being too terrified to return.

Why I have been subjected to such brutal treatment by those members of the R. I. C. Auxiliary Force I can assign no reason whatever, as I have never actively participated in politics other than voting at election time, my attention being strictly confined to Trades Union Principles.

(Signed) THOMAS OWENS, *Railway Porter,*
Gr. Southern & Western Railway.

Stephen Kane, Secretary of Tuam Trades Council, Brutally Beaten

Mr. Stephen Kane is a shop assistant in Tuam, where he has been for some years. On the night of September 20, 1920, he was in the Hibernian Hall when a party of Black-and-Tans entered and ordered "Hands up," and everyone was searched, Mr. Kane among the number. A letter was found on him from the Trades Council in Dublin and addressed to him as the local secretary for Tuam. It contained nothing of a seditious character. He was taken to the Police Barracks, which are quite near, and brought before two Black-and-Tan officers and the District Inspector of Police, and asked was he secretary to the Trades Council. He replied that he was. He was also asked for the names of the President and members of the Council. He replied that he did not know them. He was kept at the Barracks from 10 P. M. till 9 A. M.

About 2 A. M. an officer put him in charge of three Black-and-Tan men with rifles and bayonets and he was brought to the door, where he heard an officer say, "Take him out and give him hell!" They walked him about 10 yards; when one of the men suddenly struck him a vicious blow on the head, then a second one, also on the head, and again a third one on his jaw, which he said would have stretched him but that he put up his hand and some-

what saved his face. (I saw today, Nov. 1st, that his finger is still sore and swollen from the blow.) Before leaving the Barracks he was made to swear and sign twice that he would resign the secretaryship of the Trades Council. He was then brought up as far as the Square and made to sit on the seat outside the Hotel for about half an hour. The officer with him then proceeded to conduct him home, but on the way they met another officer with 3 men who ordered him back to the Barracks again. A lorry stood at the Hotel door, and he was ordered to get into it, and immediately ordered out again—finally to the Barracks, where he was left in the day room by the fire. His face was covered with blood from the blows, but he was not given any means of bathing it.

At 9 A. M. he was told to go home, and again threatened that if he did not resign or was found at any club he would be shot. He returned home to find that his rooms had been searched and the minute-book of his society and a book of rules of same, also some private letters, had been taken; these have not since been returned. Among his private correspondence was a letter from his brother, who is a policeman in the North of Ireland, in which he stated that he would be able to resign in November, having completed his fifteen years' service, and that he was very glad of it, as he was fed up with the life he was leading.

On Sat., Oct. 23rd, he was sent for to the Police Barracks, where he was interviewed by the County Inspector, who asked him some questions, and during the interview was writing on a sheet of paper in front of him. He read the statement he had written to Mr. Kane and also gave it to him to read. After reading it, Mr. Kane said he did not consider it an accurate statement and refused to sign it. "Oh!" said the C. I. to a police sergeant who was present, "he refuses to sign it." He was then told he might go and that he might continue his secretaryship.

Note.—The following paragraph was taken from the *Irish Independent* of Sat., Oct. 30, 1920, and in view of the foregoing facts, which are quite accurate, it throws some light on the manner in which inquiries are conducted on behalf of the Government:

"Treatment of Mr. S. Kane, Tuam

"Questioned by Mr. F. Roberts as to the treatment by the police of Mr. S. Kane, Tuam, Sir H. Greenwood said he was arrested on September 20 in a building in which seditious documents were found. He was detained in the barracks for some hours pending inquiry. He was not asked to resign membership of the I. T. and G. W. U., and the statements that he was kept in the street, beaten to the ground with rifle butts, and frequently assaulted, are entirely untrue."

C

WANTON FIRING AT PEOPLE ON HIGHWAY

On Friday, Oct. 8th, we, John Connor, Carrarea, and Michael Kenny, Beagh, being working on the Tuam-Dunmore road at Gallagher, were sitting on the wall taking our dinners when four lorries of uniformed men (uniform black) came along. When about 300 yds. from us they fired two shots. Then I, John Connor, turned and lay flat on the ground, and I, Michael Kenny, stood up and put up my hands. A little girl—a daughter of Michael Kenny's—standing beside us also put up her hands. While lying on the ground I, John Connor, got a bullet—the third shot—in the hip. They fired altogether about eight or nine shots. When passing us out, the men in the lorries shouted at us to put our hands up higher, and one of them said, "There is one wounded; let him have another." They indulged in cursing and shouting while passing us out.

(Signed) JOHN CONNOR.

MICHAEL KENNY.

Witness: Rev. Francis C. Lynch, C. C., Tuam.

* * * * *

EXHIBIT IV

OFFICIAL FALSEHOOD TO CONCEAL MURDER: THE CASE OF CONNOR CLUNE

Note.—Cases have repeatedly come before the Commission where the justification alleged by the Crown forces for shooting Irish civilians has been their connection with the "murder gang"—the Irish Republican Army,—and their attempts to escape after they have been made prisoner. Affidavits proving the falsity of the official report in two such cases are included in the testimony (pp. 767-9, 772-3; see also p. 931). The complete evidence in the Connor Clune case is presented here, because (1) the reliability, social standing, and integrity of the relator, Mr. Edward Lysaght, are not open to question; (2) Mr. Lysaght's statement of facts directly convicts the British Government in Ireland of untruthfulness in attempting to justify this murder; (3) the false official version was published in the press before even the military inquiry had reported its findings; and (4) Mr. Lysaght was punished for giving truthful evidence contrary to the official report by being imprisoned (see testimony, p. 1046), by the raiding and robbery of his home, and by the destruction of the cooperative enterprise of which he was the manager.

A

THE OFFICIAL VERSION

(From the London *Times*, 24 November, 1920)

SINN FEIN LEADERS KILLED

DESPERATE FIGHT IN GUARD ROOM

MURDER GANG MEMBERS

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Dublin, November 23.

A graphic story of the shooting of three prisoners during an attempt to escape from military custody is published today in an official report issued from Dublin Castle. The men were well-known members of the Irish Republic organization, and their arrests were regarded as of some importance.

They were taken in Dublin on Saturday night. Two of them were together in the same bed and among other articles found in the room were two complete suits of the uniform of a British colonel. The third man was captured in Vaughan's Hotel, Rutland-square.

So many men were in custody in the various places of detention in the city that these three—Richard McKee, T. C. Clune, and Peter Clancy—were taken to a house in Exchange-court, off Dame-street, which until recently was used as the headquarters of the Detective Division of the Metropolitan Police. The Official Report, after telling of the arrests, describes the guard room in which they were confined in Exchange-court, with a guard of four men. It says:

The three prisoners suddenly rose to their feet, and the sentry turned round on hearing the noise. One of the prisoners had a Mills bomb in his hand, which he had abstracted from a box of bombs under a bed. This he threw at the sentry. The bomb did not explode because, unknown to the prisoner, none of the bombs had been detonated. The sentry jumped to one side, and the prisoner, throwing a second bomb, dashed behind a pile of mattresses when the sentry fired.

Another of the prisoners meanwhile had seized a rifle and fired at the other members of the guard. Both ducked behind the table, which

was upset, and the shot lodged in the wall. The third prisoner lifted a shovel lying near the fire and aimed a blow at the men who were crouching behind the overturned table. The shovel crashed into the wood, but missed the men.

The commander of the guard, hearing firing, at this moment rushed into the room and fired. This sudden diversion enabled both his companions to rise from the table, and as they fired together the second and third prisoners fell simultaneously. The whole affair lasted only a few seconds.

It is presumed that the prisoners, who had seen all the movements of the garrison since Saturday night, had observed that at 11 o'clock more of the men were out on duty and that they were practically alone in the building with the guard of twelve men.

T. C. Clune was a lieutenant in the 1st Battalion, Clare Brigade, I. R. A. He was arrested about 10:30 on Saturday, November 20, at Vaughan's Hotel, Dublin. When the officers arrived there he tried to get from the lounge to another room, but was held up. He had been staying at the hotel for a number of days, but had not registered. He asserted that he had trusted an employee of the hotel to book for him, but on his being confronted with this individual his statement was denied. He had no luggage. He was unable to give a satisfactory account of his movements, and a letter was found on him connecting him with a number of persons in custody and others who are now evading arrest. His pocket-book contained some information as to his associates, as well as a number of names, among which are those of Michael Collins, Sean Tracey, and other lesser-known members of the I. R. A. There were also some notes on the procuring of passports.

Reports from the country this morning told of searches of public offices all over Ireland, the seizure of books and documents, and of numerous arrests. Again tonight reports from the provinces tell of numerous arrests made during the day, and altogether the number of people taken into custody in Dublin and the country during the past few days must run into hundreds.

B

THE FACTS ABOUT CONNOR CLUNE

As Given by Mr. Edward Lysaght, Raheen, Tuamgraney, County Clare

Connor Clune was managing clerk of Raheen Rural Industries, of which Mr. Lysaght is managing partner. He had been in this firm's employ for seven years. Raheen Rural Industries is a firm of farmers, nurserymen, woodworkers and contractors, employing about 90 men.

Connor Clune has been known to Mr. Lysaght for the last seven years. Mr. Lysaght had always a high opinion of his character, and of late, since Clune had been head clerk, had been on terms of intimate friendship with him, as they were both deeply interested in the economic development of Raheen and of the country in general. For the last six months Mr. Lysaght had walked with Clune practically every evening, and had been away with him for holidays, etc. They had, as everyone does in Ireland, discussed politics to a great extent; neither of them belonged to any political organization; both of them were opposed to the use of physical force; they were both immensely interested in economic development, and were both Irish speakers, belonging to an Irish speaking society called "Fainne," which is an entirely non-political society, besides being very small and little known, and has never been interfered with in any way by the Government.

Mr. Lysaght is perfectly convinced that Mr. Clune was not and never had been a lieutenant of the Irish Republican Army; his political doctrines would have been against this. Mr. Clune was never, moreover, "on the run," nor were his movements ever anything but perfectly open. For instance, he never slept away from home except when occasionally sent to

Dublin or elsewhere on his firm's business. All this can be vouched for by Dennis MacMahon, of Raheen, County Clare, another chief employee of Raheen Rural Industries.

The annual audit of a section of the Raheen Rural Industries was due on Monday, November 22. At the last moment Mr. Lysaght decided that he would send Clune to Dublin for this audit instead of the man who usually did it, and who was needed at home. As Mr. Lysaght was himself going to Dublin by car on Friday, November 19, and as the railway trouble had rendered the trains most uncertain, Mr. Lysaght decided to take Clune with him by car on Friday, November 19, the appointment with the auditor for the audit of the books having been fixed for the following Monday (22d). The journey to Dublin was therefore made on Friday, by car, and the occupants of the were Mr. Lysaght, Mr. Clune, and an employee of the works, named Con Barrett, who was to learn to drive the car. They reached Dublin about 3 p. m. Mr. Lysaght spent the night at his Dublin flat, and Mr. Clune at the lodgings he was accustomed to stay at when in Dublin at 54, Haddington Road, kept by Miss Lynam.

On Saturday morning Mr. Lysaght again spent a considerable time with Clune, and the latter told him that he had been to see the auditor and had confirmed the appointment for the audit of the books on Monday. The auditor was the Irish Agricultural Organization Audit Department at Plunkett House, the name of the auditor either Swayne or Cassidy, and the section of the business of which the books were to be audited was the Raheen Co-operative Society. Mr. Lysaght lunched with Mr. Clune at Mitchell's shop in Grafton Street, Dublin, went for a walk with him and another friend after lunch, and parted from Clune about 3 p. m. Clune had asked him to spend the evening with him and go to a theater, but owing to another engagement Mr. Lysaght was unable to do this. He heard nothing more of Clune till he heard a rumor of his arrest on Monday morning. Mr. Lysaght spent from early on Monday morning until 11 a. m. on Tuesday trying to find out his whereabouts, but could obtain no information from official sources. Plunkett House also made every possible attempt to get some information from the authorities, but without success. On Tuesday morning Mr. Lysaght went in despair to a Dublin solicitor to see what could be done; and while he was there, the solicitor's clerk rushed in with the news that the three prisoners in Dublin Castle, including Clune, had been shot; this had just come out in the stop press edition of the press. Mr. Lysaght and his solicitor went instantly to Dublin Castle and asked to see the body. They were sent to the George V Hospital, where the body had been taken, and spent some hours there, without being allowed to see the body. Finally the Castle was rung up by the Chief Medical Officer and the reply came that Mr. Lysaght was not to be permitted to see the body. Eventually the Medical Officer made the identity quite certain by a written description of the clothes. Mr. Lysaght then left with his solicitor, leaving his address and saying that he would give evidence at any inquiry if wanted.

On reaching home on Tuesday after lunch Mr. Lysaght found a telephone message awaiting him, summoning him to give evidence at a military inquiry. He went instantly to this inquiry, and found that it was a secret military inquiry, consisting of a President, Captain Ansted, who Mr. Lysaght is under the impression belonged to the Wiltshires, and two junior officers (these two could probably be identified, as they also signed the burial order and the accompanying warning as to funeral processions). The witnesses were only allowed to come one at a time into the court (though when Mr. Lysaght had finished giving his evidence his solicitor was permitted to come in and read it before Mr. Lysaght signed it). The only questions asked of Mr. Lysaght at this secret inquiry were questions of identification. Mr. Lysaght insisted, however, on making a statement as to the character of Clune, and as to his traveling up from County Clare on the previous day. At that time he had not seen the Dublin Castle statement as to the affair, and did not therefore know that allegations had been made as to Clunes' pocketbook, etc.

Within ten minutes of coming out of the secret inquiry, Mr. Lysaght bought an afternoon paper, and found printed in it the Dublin Castle official report of the shooting of the prisoners—which therefore must have been issued before the secret inquiry reported. In this Dublin Castle report he first saw statements as to the incriminating pocketbook, letter, etc.

The next day, Wednesday, November 24, Mr. Lysaght was allowed to remove the body. He had to act altogether alone in this matter, as Clare is almost completely cut off from Dublin, owing to the railway trouble. On the 25th he received the personal effects, with the exception of a pocket-book and tie-pin (the latter is the pin worn by members of the Irish-speaking Society to which Clune belonged). In signing for the receipt of the effects, Mr. Lysaght mentioned that they were missing, and sent a formal demand for them to the Garrison Adjutant, Dublin District. (Not yet received.)

Dublin Castle Statement False

Mr. Lysaght particularly emphasised the totally incorrect information given in the Dublin Castle statement. He is perfectly convinced, for the reasons given above, that Clune had nothing to do with the I. R. A.; his name was Connor Clune, and not T. C. Clune, as stated by Dublin Castle; he had only arrived in Dublin the previous day, and was not staying at Vaughan's Hotel. Mr. Lysaght is convinced that the pocketbook found upon Clune was the usual note-book carried by himself, Clune, and the other officials of the Raheen Rural Industries. It contained odd notes; the fact that it contained the names Collins and Tracey is not to be wondered at, as the Raheen Rural Industries had an employee called Tracey who had applied for a sick-ticket, and it was therefore likely that he should be mentioned in the note-book. As regards the name of Collins, Mr. Lysaght had an appointment with a solicitor of that name on the day before Clune was arrested, and Clune may well have made a note of this in his book; or the name "Mullins," an employee of the firm, may have been mistaken for M. Collins. Re. the passport notes mentioned in the Dublin Castle Report, Mr. Lysaght had since May, 1918, procured passports for his mother, wife, and for his children's governess, and the correspondence relating to these had passed through the Raheen office, so that it is very probable that Clune had jotted down notes in his book about obtaining them. With regard to the letter stated to have been found on Clune, Mr. Lysaght, not having seen the letter, cannot say what it was, but is convinced that it could be easily explained by Clune's friends.

C

STATEMENT BY MRS. KATHERINE LYSAGHT REGARDING RAID AND ROBBERY OF HOME AND DESTRUCTION OF COOPERATIVE SOCIETY

On Friday, November 26, the R. I. C. Auxiliary Force made a raid on Raheen while all the members of the office staff and most of the workmen were at the funeral of Connor Clune. At the Manor House they broke open the doors of the business offices of the Raheen Rural Industries and searched for papers; they forced locks of presses, and threw such correspondence, bills, ledgers, etc., as they did not confiscate over the floors of both rooms. They entered the large room used as a store for the goods of the Raheen Workers' Cooperative Society, and carried away practically all groceries, jam, bacon, boots, etc., and most of the remainder they spoilt by spilling contents of parcels and tins: e. g., the only things intact were bags of flour too heavy to remove. The whole store was ransacked and left in confusion. While they were carrying away the loot they fastened four men who had remained at Raheen and not gone to the funeral into the garage. At the private residence they made a complete search and carried away papers, two boxes of cigars, boxes of toilet soap, and a certain amount of clothing.

On the following afternoon a large party of this force returned. Those who went to the Manor House, though offered keys, continued the destruction of doors by breaking panels and forcing an entrance, and completed the search they had begun on the previous day. In addition to the goods taken from the Cooperative Store, three bicycles, a typewriter, the leather post-bag, files of telegrams, bills and receipts and business papers; also private correspondence, much of it unopened, awaiting Mr. S. R. Lysaght's return, were carried away, and the remainder strewn about the floors.

The private residence, which is in charge of a caretaker during the absence of the family, was entered, and the woman who was engaged in setting the house in order after the previous day's raid was ordered "Hands up." She and a lady who had been a nursing sister in France for several years during the war were in the house during the whole time the Auxiliaries searched and carried away a great quantity of clothing, etc.

Mr. S. R. Lysaght, who is away in Australia, had left his private deed box locked. This was burst open and manuscripts scattered about. All his shooting suits and thick cloth suits were taken—twelve in all—also several suits of E. Lysaght's, four overcoats, a large quantity of socks and stockings; two large presses of underclothing were completely emptied and the contents taken. Every available bag and valise in the house was taken to carry away loot, in addition to the bags brought by the raiders. A picture was cut out of the frame and a valuable Japanese bowl and even Japanese table centers taken. They spent some time in examining every box and drawer in the room occupied by myself, and took underclothing, an evening dress-bodice, a wrist watch of my daughter-in-law's, and various other things. What was not taken was left in utter confusion and much of it trampled underfoot.

A roll top desk was forced open and most of the contents confiscated. While this was being done a bottle of brandy unopened and a half bottle were found. The half bottle was drunk and the lady who was standing by was ordered to get a corkscrew to open the other, but she refused, and took the bottle of brandy and would not give it up.

I do not yet know the complete extent of the depredation. Things of various kinds were picked up outside, left by the raiders: e. g., six spoons and a photograph in a frame under a tree close to the house; a hat here and a shirt there, and so on. My daughter-in-law being in France, I am unable to give a detailed list of her losses, but these are certainly considerable, as her presses in which she left a good deal of clothing were rifled. A sovereign and two half-sovereigns, christening presents to my little grandson, were taken and a receipt given for them.

Before the house was left by the family everything had been put in order, and keys given to the caretaker so that if Crown forces wished to search again they could do so without causing any disturbance. The house had already been twice searched by the military in October, but in a very different manner from the recent raids.

(Signed) KATHERINE LYSAGHT.
(MRS. S. R. LYSAGHT.)

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